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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I.—Why did Shakespeare Create Falstaff? By ALBERT H. TOLMAN,	1
II.—Goethe's Revision and Completion of his <i>Tasso</i> . By WILLIAM A. COOPER,	14
III.—Le Roman Militaire en France de 1870 à 1914. By ALBERT SCHINZ,	30
IV.—Charles Churchill's Treatment of the Couplet. By JOSEPH M. BEATTY, JR.,	60
V.—The Influence of Conservatism on the Art of Pereda. By JOHN VAN HORNE,	70
VI.—Herbert Spencer and the Rhetoricians. By GEORGE B. DENTON,	89
VII.—The <i>Revelations</i> of Methodius: Corrections. By CHARLOTTE D'EVELYN,	112
VIII.—A New Version of the <i>Peregrinus</i> . By KARL YOUNG,	114
IX.—The Narcissa Episode in Young's <i>Night Thoughts</i> . By HORACE W. O'CONNOR,	130
X.—Contributions to German Lexicography from Translations of Heinrich von Eppendorff. By W. KURBELMEYER,	151
XI.— <i>Vers Libre</i> . By MATHURIN M. DONDO,	189
XII.—Wordsworth's Eye. By MARIAN MEAD,	202
XIII.—Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto: Supplementary. By ALLAN H. GILBERT,	225
XIV.—Liturgical Influence in the <i>Dream of the Rood</i> . By HOWARD R. PATCH,	233
XV.—The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad. By HYDER E. ROLLINS,	258
XVI.—The Nature of Tragedy. By CHARLES E. WHITMORE,	341
XVII.—The Ballad and the Dance. By LOUISE POUND,	360
XVIII.—Notes on the Form of <i>The Dynasts</i> . By BARKER FAIRLEY,	401
XIX.—An Objective Study of Syllabic Quantity in English Verse. By ADA L. F. SNELL,	416
XX.—The Poe-Griswold Controversy. By KILLIS CAMPBELL,	436
XXI.—The German Dramatist of the Sixteenth Century and His Bible. By JOS. E. GILLET,	465
XXII.—Middle English <i>Olanresse</i> . By OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON,	494
XXIII.—The Young Man Betrothed to a Statue. By PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM,	523
XXIV.—Play-Publishing in Elizabethan Times. By H. ROBINSON SHIPHERD,	580
XXV.—The Prose Dialogue of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. By BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD,	601

PUBLICATIONS
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VOL. XXXIV, 1

NEW SERIES, VOL. XXVII, 1

I.—WHY DID SHAKESPEARE CREATE
FALSTAFF?

We cannot help thinking of certain characters in Shakespeare as real beings. We wonder what this person did before the play opened, and after it closed. What was the girlhood of Portia? Why had Othello never suspected the baseness of Iago? What was the fate of Shylock after the scene in court? Of what sort was the married life of Beatrice and Benedick? Such questions are insistent and compelling, irrelevant though they are.

Of the characters of the great dramatist, Hamlet, Cleopatra, Iago, and Falstaff are among the most marvellous. They are portrayed with such fulness and intensity that they seem to outrun the very laws of their being. They escape from the world of fiction and *are*. Historical characters are less real than they. And these persons furnish a part of the circulating medium of our mental life. We think in terms of them.

Each of the first three named, Hamlet, Cleopatra, and Iago, is the central force in a great play. *Hamlet* without

Hamlet is the stock example of the unthinkable. But how is it with Falstaff? Is he a mere accident that befell Parts I and II of *Henry IV*,—a happy casualty? In one criticism we read: "The usual fool not appearing in *I Henry IV*, Falstaff seems to be introduced merely to fill his place at first."¹

I believe that nothing is more striking in the work of Shakespeare than the intimate union of the plot and the characters. They are mutually interdependent. Aristotle held that the plot of a drama is more important than the persons. The tendency of modern criticism is to look upon the characters as the primary, significant factor. Ideally, the more important of the two elements is—both. There should be the most intimate union possible of the action and the persons, a complete fusion.

In Shakespeare's best work the plot and the characters determine each other. We know that the playwright usually started with some borrowed story, but the final result often approximates a perfect union of the two elements. The story requires the persons, and the persons fashion the story.

Even the special students of the dramatist have been slow to appreciate this point. It was Coleridge himself who spoke of "Dogberry and his comrades" in *Much Ado* as "forced into the service, when any other less ingeniously absurd watchmen and night-constables would have answered the mere necessities of the action." A few writers had pointed the way to a sounder interpretation; but it was Dr. Furness who showed clearly that Dogberry and his associates were foreordained from before the foundation of the world for the exact rôles which Shakespeare wished them to play, that the dramatist "was forced to

¹ Misses Porter and Clarke, *Poet-Lore*, vol. xi, p. 98.

have characters like these and none other. The play hinges on them." For example: "Had Dogberry been one whit less conceited, one whit less pompous, one whit less tedious, he could not have failed to drop at least one syllable that would have arrested Leonato's attention just before the tragic treatment of Hero in the marriage scene, which would not have taken place and the whole story would have ended then and there."²

The early and constant popularity of Shakespeare's Sir John Falstaff is noteworthy. An interesting table at the close of *The Shakespeare Allusion-Book*³ summarizes all the known references to the works of the dramatist up to the year 1700. In this table the total number of allusions to each play or poem is given; but it was found necessary to treat Falstaff as a work, and to record the references to this character apart from other references to the separate plays in which he appears. Up to 1650 *Hamlet* is alluded to oftener than any other play. During this period three other works also—*Venus and Adonis*, the two parts of *Henry IV* taken together, and *Romeo and Juliet*—show each of them more allusions than are found for Falstaff. But during the second half of the century, the references to Falstaff decisively outnumber those in any other group, there being 48 of these against 37 each for the plays *Hamlet* and *Othello*, which come next.

Maurice Morgann's *Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff*, which appeared in 1777, can fairly be called, I presume, the first full discussion of any Shakespearean character in any language. Thomas Secombe is of the opinion that "for style, intellectuality, knowledge of human nature, and consequent profound

² New Variorum edition of *Much Ado*, pp. xxxi, xxxiii.

³ Vol. II, p. 540, Duffield & Co.

appreciation of Shakespeare, Morgann's essay has not been surpassed." ⁴ It certainly seems probable that the character of Falstaff, upon which the dramatist has lavished his power and the world its appreciation, is not a mere chance overflow of Shakespeare's creative energy, but is essential to his purpose and closely adapted thereto.

However, as already suggested, an opinion is prevalent which runs somewhat as follows: a comedy should furnish fun; Shakespeare invented Falstaff for this purpose; as a mirth-producer, a sort of superior end-man, plump Jack is a great success; no close connection between his rôle and the serious portion of the plays is necessary; and there is no need of any farther explanation of the origin of what Morgann calls "the most perfect comic character that perhaps ever was exhibited." This simple view is improbable, but it is possible. In *The Rehearsal* Bayes is made to ask: "What a Devil is the Plot good for, but to bring in fine things?"

Some may suppose that the character of Sir John Oldcastle in the old play *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* is the original of Shakespeare's Sir John Falstaff. There is a touch of truth in this. But Oldcastle, familiarly called "Jockey," has in *The Famous Victories* only a minor part among the evil companions of the Prince; and he has scarcely a suggestion of Falstaff's overflowing humor. Perhaps the most taking thing that he says is the jocular comment on King Henry IV: "He is a good old man, God take him to his mercy the sooner." Hardly a character in Shakespeare is more entirely the creation of his own mind than the fat knight. Sir Sidney Lee says with simple justice: "Shakespeare touched the comic scenes of the old drama with a magic of his own, and

⁴ Article on Morgann, *Dictionary of National Biography*.

summoned out of its dust and ashes the radiance of the inimitable Falstaff."

I believe that Falstaff is a central element in the two parts of *Henry IV*, an organic portion of their structure. Yet he does at times seem to be mainly a fun-maker, a character whom we both laugh with and laugh at, and almost in the same breath. Nothing has helped more to give this impression than the fat knight's account of the double robbery at Gadshill.

Critics have not squarely faced the difficulty in interpreting Falstaff's preposterous story of the Gadshill incident (*I Henry IV*, II, iv, 126-313). Professor Bradley has shown conclusively that Sir John cannot possibly have supposed that his lies on this occasion would be believed.⁵ Falstaff, speaking to a company of bright men concerning those "rogues in buckram suits," says in effect: "2 = 4 = 7 = 9 = 11." Surely he did not expect them to believe him.

But Professor Bradley does not interpret the whole situation. The difficulty which he ignores is as great as that which he explains. After Jack's absurd contradictions have been duly exposed, and he has gone out to interview the old nobleman from court, we have this conversation:

Prince. Faith, tell me now in earnest, how came Falstaff's sword so hack'd?

Peto. Why, he hack'd it with his dagger, and said he would swear truth out of England but he would make you believe it was done in fight, and persuaded us to do the like.

Bardolph. Yea, and to tickle our noses with spear-grass to make them bleed, and then to beslobber our garments with it and swear it was the blood of true men.

(*I Henry IV*, II, iv, 334-43)

⁵ "The Rejection of Falstaff," *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, Macmillan, 1909, pp. 264 ff.

This part of the scene Professor Bradley does not glance at. Why did Falstaff make such careful preparations to deceive the Prince, and then pour forth a stream of preposterous and mutually contradictory lies? Why this elaborate preparation for a deception which is not even attempted?

It may be claimed that Shakespeare is here filling his play with a lot of farcical fun, regardless of plausibility and consistency. A recent able writer says: "Falstaff piles up his exaggerations pellmell, despite the interrupting jeers of the Prince and Poins, and turns at once from wit to butt. . . . That Falstaff the wit should thus turn into a butt involves a lack of unity and consistency in the portrayal which in higher art is nowadays impossible but was then not rare. He was the comic character—men asked no more."⁶

I cannot think that Shakespeare's art is here so naïve and inconsistent as the above statement supposes. Let us seek for a more satisfactory explanation.

The fat knight has made the most careful plans to deceive the Prince and Poins. This is his immediate purpose. When he begins to tell his story, however, the confident, satisfied manner of those whom he would dupe shows him, I believe, that in some way they have got in behind his guard, that his secret is known. Probably the truth about those "two rogues in buckram suits" now flashes upon his mind, a mind of almost preternatural quickness. Instantly he begins piling one lie upon another in order to turn their attention from his apparent cowardice, about which he is sensitive, to his lies, in which he has the pride of an inventor. While he is pouring forth

⁶ Professor E. E. Stoll, "Falstaff," in *Modern Philology*, October, 1914, p. 86.

these fabrications, he can take his bearings, judge how much his opponents know, and overwhelm them with witty sallies. Unperceived by them, Falstaff is here doing exactly what on another occasion Poins sees to be his purpose: "My lord, he will drive you out of your revenge and turn all to a merriment" (*II Henry IV*, II, iv, 323-324). Here, too, he is trying to drive them out of their desired success, and to turn all to a merriment.

To be sure, it was prophesied that "this fat rogue" would tell "incomprehensible lies"; but his slower-witted opponents had intended that his falsifications should serve their purposes. This riot of invention bewilders them and divides their attack. While they are eagerly exposing "these lies . . . like their father that begets them, gross as a mountain, open, palpable," the moment for pressing home the charge of cowardice passes, and the fat knight is left half a victor. The situation becomes a race of wits, in which Jack easily wins. His intended discomfiture is fairly washed away in the overwhelming flood of his unabashed wit and merriment.

If this interpretation of Falstaff's behavior on this occasion be accepted, we shall not feel obliged to regard him as a pure fun-maker, turning from wit to butt and from butt to wit, regardless of consistency and without any reference to the larger interests of the play. Whether the reader can accept the view here favored or not, let us now try to learn whether we may fairly hold that Shakespeare had a distinct, serious purpose in portraying this character.

Harry as Prince and as King is the central figure in three successive plays. He has been considered Shakespeare's ideal of active, practical, heroic manhood. The victor of Agincourt was the glory of the English nation.

The broad-minded Shakespeare here takes a man of action, not of thought, as his hero.

The accession of Henry V to the throne seemed to be accompanied by a complete transformation in his character. "Whereas aforetime," says Holinshed, "he had made himself a companion unto misruly mates of dissolute order and life, he now banished them all from his presence," having "determined to put on him the shape of a new man." The Archbishop of Canterbury, in the play of *Henry V*, declares concerning the young king:

The breath no sooner left his father's body,
But that his wildness, mortified in him,
Seem'd to die too; yea, at that very moment
Consideration like an angel came
And whipp'd the offending Adam out of him,
Leaving his body as a paradise
To envelop and contain celestial spirits.

(1, i, 25-31)

How shall Shakespeare win our sympathy for his hero even while the Prince is "a companion unto unruly mates of dissolute order and life"? If the dramatist succeeds in this, how shall he gain our approval when the new King suddenly turns upon his former friends and banishes them? And how can he make us feel that the boon companion of roisterers develops naturally into the hero-king, admired of all? A large part of the answer to all these hard questions is—Falstaff. His personality makes the seemingly impossible possible, even natural.

The fascination of Falstaff is intensely humorous and human. The enjoyment which his overflowing wit and good-humor radiate upon his associates, the gusto which his very presence imparts to their lives,—all this is measured for us by the spontaneous outcry of Bardolph when he learns that Falstaff is dead: "Would I were with him, wheresome'er he is, either in heaven or in hell!" (*Henry*

V, II, iii, 7-8). Who can blame the Prince because he steals away from the tedious formalities of court life to spend the time with a fellow of infinite jest?

The first scene in which Falstaff appears, however, with all its wit and good-fellowship, contains the planning of the Gadshill robbery. Shakespeare makes it plain that the Prince joins in the escapade purely from mischievous delight in tricking and exposing the fat knight; and he breaks the shock still farther by having Hal tell us in soliloquy at the close of the scene that his companionship with thieves is to be but temporary:

I know you all, and will a while uphold
The unyok'd humour of your idleness;

.
So, when this loose behaviour I throw off
And pay the debt I never promised,
By how much better than my word I am,
By so much shall I falsify men's hopes;
And like bright metal on a sullen ground,
My reformation glitt'ring o'er my fault,
Shall show more goodly and attract more eyes
Than that which hath no foil to set it off.
I'll so offend, to make offence a skill,
Redeeming time when men think least I will.

(*I Henry IV*, I, ii, 218-40)

This soliloquy may, as Dr. Johnson declares, "keep the Prince from appearing vile in the opinion of the audience"; but it is hardly artistic. I have sometimes wished that Shakespeare had given Hal at this point merely a few broken phrases that should suggest the faint stirring of a better purpose. The definiteness of the Prince's programme repels us. These words always remind me of the German judge who is said to have declared solemnly: "I vill consider de case t'ree days, and den I vil decide in de affirmatif."

Shakespeare understands how to give as in a long vista

a sense of multitudinous experiences that the drama has no time to record. Two remarks of Falstaff skillfully suggest many untold merrymakings of himself and the Prince, and explain the secret of his power over Hal. In the scene where each of them has played the King and the Prince in turn, we are delighted by the wealth of rich comedy which this simple incident has produced. Surely, the force of nature can no further go. But when Bardolph interrupts them to say that the sheriff and the watch are at the door, the knight declares indignantly: "Out, ye rogue! Play out the play; I have much to say in the behalf of that Falstaff." Thus, all that we have heard was but a beginning; and we get an impression of boundless mental fertility and comic power.

The sources and the nature of Falstaff's dominion over Hal are again made plain when the fat knight comments thus upon the foolish Shallow: "I will devise matter enough out of this Shallow to keep Prince Harry in continual laughter the wearing out of six fashions, which is four terms, or two actions, and 'a shall laugh without intervallums. . . . O, you shall see him laugh till his face be like a wet cloak ill laid up" (*II Henry IV*, v, i, 87-95). We envy Hal the past good times that are here implied. Could he have banished Jack when he did if he had known what a feast of fun had been thus carefully provided for him? How much he lost!

Falstaff's personality helps to solve the fundamental difficulties in the plan of Parts I and II of *Henry IV*. How can we pardon Prince Harry's forgetfulness of his dignity and his fondness for low company? The fascination of Falstaff is his sufficient excuse. How can we sympathize with the newly-crowned King when he banishes the master of his revels? Shakespeare has gradually made clear to us the evil influence of this "white-bearded

Satan," and the necessity that the King shall break away from him. The sermon on the occasion of the banishment seems somewhat Pharisaical; yet if Falstaff were once allowed to speak, the King might not be able to resist him, and we accept the situation as right and necessary. The whole development of Hal is made natural and understandable by the influence of Falstaff.

When Shakespeare attempted to make Falstaff sufficiently attractive to palliate and almost justify Prince Hal's intimacy with him, and also sought to make him later repellent enough to justify the newly-crowned Henry V in rejecting his former friend,—the dramatist attempted something that was impossible. The man who could succeed in both of these attempts might be trusted to square the circle. Shakespeare did his best to make the strange transformation in Henry's character which he found in the records seem natural and credible. In *I Henry IV*, in order to make us sympathize with Prince Hal when all the good people about him disapprove, Falstaff conquers us with his irresistible humor and good-fellowship. His presence creates an earthly paradise of no mean quality. We are merry with him—"twice and once," as Silence would say. He appeals to our hearts, yea deeper still, to our diaphragms. We are his.

Then, in *II Henry IV*, Shakespeare begins to weaken the bond of sympathy between us and the fat knight. In this play we see little of the good-fellowship between Hal and Falstaff. Falstaff's selfishness, effrontery, licentiousness, are forced upon us. We discern the real nature of the sordid, infectious, criminal world of Mrs. Quickly and Doll.

But the imparting of motion requires time. Much more does the stopping of motion, and following that, the imparting of new motion in the opposite direction, require

time. This maxim from the physical world is still more true in the world of human relations, the realm of the emotions and sympathies. There is not time enough in the perusal or the acting of *II Henry IV* to change our minds from the sympathetic to the judicial attitude toward this supreme humorist. When Henry V, fresh from his coronation, condemns and banishes his genial friend, our sympathies are baffled. We feel keenly how much there is to say in the behalf of that Falstaff, and cannot abandon him at once. Refreshed by his humor, knowing, as George Radford says, that, "but for the cheering presence of him, and men like him, this vale of tears would be a more terrible dwelling-place than it is,"⁷ our hearts rebel at his punishment, even while our judgments approve.

By his treatment of Falstaff in *Henry V*, Shakespeare recognizes that the old knight still retains our sympathy. In the Epilogue to *II Henry IV* he promised to "continue the story, with Sir John in it," but later he perceived clearly that Falstaff would be out of place amid the heroics of *Henry V*. Nevertheless, the pathos with which his death is told is a final manifestation of his attractiveness. The unkindness of the young king's dismissal of his boon companion is freely dwelt upon. "The king has killed his heart," says the sympathetic Hostess; "The king hath run bad humours on the knight," is Nym's version; the grandiloquent Pistol tells us: "His heart is fractured and corroborate."

The scene in which the Hostess tells the story of Falstaff's death is saturated with mingled humor and pathos beyond any other that I know. Sir John may have "babbled of green fields"; he certainly babbled of some

⁷ In "Falstaff," contributed to Augustine Birrell's *Obiter Dicta, First Series*.

other things. At last the end came. "'A . . . went away an it had been any christom child"; went to "Arthur's bosom, if," as the Hostess truthfully adds, "if ever man . . . went to Arthur's bosom."

It is plain that the rôle of Sir John is not restricted to what is indispensable to Shakespeare's main purpose. The knight spreads his genial bulk over four plays, if we include *Henry V*. We see that Shakespeare, too, submits at times to the potent charm of this character, and allows him to have free course and be glorified. The part of plump Jack is joyously expanded and diversified, for the delight of men and the glory of Shakespeare. This fact has prevented most students from perceiving that the rôle of Falstaff lies at the very foundation of these plays, that it is a structural necessity.

ALBERT H. TOLMAN.

II.—GOETHE'S REVISION AND COMPLETION OF HIS *TASSO*

Goethe's literary sources for the *Ur-Tasso* acquainted him with the legend of Tasso, which had sprung up even before the publication of the first biography of the poet, by Manso, in 1620 (twenty-five years after Tasso's death), and flourisht unchecked till the appearance, in 1785, in Rome, of the Abbate Serassi's *La Vita di Torquato Tasso*. One prominent feature of the legend, the love affair between the poet and the Princess Leonora, sister of the Duke of Ferrara, was retained by Goethe, even after he read Serassi's attempts to disprove it, because he was making the love motive in the drama a reflection of his own relation to Frau von Stein. As that Platonic relation had unfolded itself in life its reflection had assumed shape in the drama, till, on the completion of the second act, the poet had realized that there was a crisis ahead, both in life and in the play; and as he did not care to picture it in fancy, the two-act fragment was laid aside, in November, 1781, and was not toucht again till the author went to Italy. This fragment, the *Ur-Tasso*, was written in "poetischer Prosa." The finisht drama is in un-rimed iambic pentameters. The revision of the drama was begun in Italy and finisht after the poet's return to Weimar. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss certain features of the history of that revision.

My presentation produces no new documentary material, but attempts to read between the lines of documents already publisht. I take for granted, because it is a most plausible assumption, even tho it does not seem to have occurred to others, that Goethe had become acquainted with Serassi's

biography some time before the date of the letter in which he said he was reading the work. It would be absurd to maintain that his letters and conversations that have come down to us contain the full record of his reading. Serassi is mentioned by him only twice: once in a letter from Italy, in 1788, and once in the year 1816. He drew material for his various writings from many a book which he never mentioned in letters or conversations, and investigators have unhesitatingly announced discoveries in such sources. Psychological supplementation of documents forms a necessary part of the study of such a problem as this.

Unlike scholars who occasionally bolster up their theories by asserting that Goethe was mistaken in his utterances concerning his past, as well as future, work on the drama, I hold to the view that with regard to the past the poet himself is our best-informed authority, and that his prophecies of what he should do, or have to do, in the future must be looked upon as mere prophecies, subject to further developments. Any investigator who reads thru, in chronological order, all of Goethe's recorded references to *Faust* or *Tasso* will certainly come to the conclusion that the poet himself would never have claimed any gift of prophecy as to these two works, if he had been confronted by his attempts in that field, as they have been so conveniently arranged by the indefatigable Gräf.¹ I distinguish, then, sharply between Goethe's historical reports and his forecastings.

Another point on which I take a step forward, as I believe, is the number of times the word "Antonio" is to be

¹ *Goethe über seine Dichtungen. Versuch einer Sammlung aller Äusserungen des Dichters über seine poetischen Werke, von Dr. Hans Gerhard Gräf. Frankfurt a/M. 1901-1914. 9 vols.*

scanned as three syllables in our drama, and the number of times as four syllables. In two cases the word occurs at the end of the line and, if scanned as four syllables, gives the line six stresses. As there are over twenty other undisputed six-stress lines in the drama, I unhesitatingly add two more to the number, because, after a certain date,—presumably after discussing matters metrical with his friend Moritz—Goethe began to scan the word as four syllables; and, since the third act, known to have been composed after that date, contains the word as four syllables in six undisputed cases, it is not only possible, as Scheidemantel admits, but most probable, that Goethe scanned the word also as four syllables in these two cases where it occurs at the end of the line.²

On the third point I find myself slightly at variance with the chief authority, viz., Scheidemantel, who discovered and interpreted the three receipts for money paid by Goethe to his amanuensis Vogel for copying the whole of manuscript “A” of the drama and all of manuscript “B” except the third act.

Let us now examine the documents.

When Goethe, on his tour of Italy, reached Venice, he hired gondoliers to sing verses to him from Tasso, according to the beautiful custom which had kept Tasso’s poetry alive among the common people. In Ferrara he sought to find the prison in which the unfortunate poet had languished so long, and it made him “ganz mürrisch” when the guides showed him, instead of the real prison, a wood bin or coal vault, which had been found to make a stronger appeal to the average tourist. In Rome he visited Tasso’s tomb and examined the death-mask bust of the poet, report-

² *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Goethes Torquato Tasso*, von Eduard Scheidemantel. *Programm*, Weimar, 1896, p. 9.

ing his observations to Frau von Stein (Feb. 2, 1787): "Das Gesicht ist von Wachs und soll über seinen Leichnam gegossen sein. Es ist nicht ganz scharf und hier und da verdorben, im Ganzen aber ein trefflicher, zarter, feiner Mensch." These brief contacts with the atmosphere of the historical Tasso sufficed to start work anew on the drama.

If we assume that this was the time when Goethe first made the acquaintance of Serassi's *La Vita di Torquato Tasso*, from which he acquired his first reliable knowledge of Tasso's real character and experiences, and became aware of the difference between the Tasso of legend and the Tasso of history, we shall better understand the further documents we have to consider. It is only reasonable to assume that a poet who was carrying with him the project of completing in Italy his unfinished *Tasso*, and was taking such pains to visit the scenes of Tasso's sufferings, and study his portraits, found out, either thru inquiry or incidentally, about the wonderful biography of the poet which had appeared less than two years before.

The documents show that Goethe began work on the new *Tasso* in January, 1787, and that, in February, this was the only literary work he planned to take with him from Rome on his journey to Naples and Sicily; for he proposed to finish it next. Whether or not he began by seeking to put the *Ur-Tasso* into verse before advancing to the third act, we do not know. He may have confined himself at first to reading about Tasso and his times, in which case Serassi would undoubtedly be his chief study, as this biography, which takes into account all the sources available at the time and discusses critically all the previously published literature on Tasso, was recognized as the one authority on the subject. And who would dare to say that Goethe did not at this time study the life of Tasso?

There is one thing that we are certain about, viz., that in this very month of February he was passing thru a phase of his relation to Frau von Stein which gave him the right mood for completing the drama, so far as the love motive is concerned. The scholar who first recognized this fact, after pointing out the striking parallel between a passage of a letter to Frau von Stein and an important passage in *Tasso*, drew the following inference: "Somit wurzelt der Schluss des 'Tasso' genau ebenso in des Dichters gleichzeitiger Seelenstimmung wie die ersten Acte, und man kann sogar behaupten, dass der Bruch mit Charlotte [von Stein] und seine Vorboten während Goethes italienischer Reise die Vorbedingung für den Abschluss der Dichtung gewesen sind."³

The letter in which Büchner found the passage was dated the 21st of February. A passage in the *Italienische Reise* under the same date shows Goethe in a mood to destroy all he had previously written; partly, no doubt, because of the turn his relation to Frau von Stein had taken, but chiefly, I believe, because of the new conception of Tasso's life and character which he had formed after reading in Serassi's biography. The passage runs: "Eins habe ich über mich gewonnen, dass ich von meinen poetischen Arbeiten nichts mitnehme als 'Tasso' allein; zu ihm habe ich die beste Hoffnung . . . das Vorhandene muss ich ganz zerstören; das hat zu lange gelegen, und weder die Personen, noch der Plan, noch der Ton haben mit meiner jetzigen Ansicht die mindeste Verwandtschaft." For the moment we are concerned only with the pessimistic mood, and that passed away in a few weeks, if not sooner. Under date of March 30th, we read: "Die

³ Wilhelm Büchner, *Selbsterlebtes in Goethes Tasso*, in *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, xv, pp. 178 ff.

zwei ersten Acte des 'Tasso,' in poetischer Prosa geschrieben, hatte ich von allen Papieren allein mit mir über See genommen."

The following words are very important: "Diese beiden Acte, in Absicht auf Plan und Gang ungefähr den gegenwärtigen gleich, aber schon vor zehn (sechs) Jahren geschrieben, hatten etwas Weichliches, Nebelhaftes, welches sich bald verlor, als ich nach neueren Ansichten die Form vorwalten und den Rhythmus eintreten liess." This is the only utterance concerning the relation of the plot and action of the *Ur-Tasso* to the first two acts of the finished drama that we have from anybody who ever saw them both, and I can see no reason for questioning the accuracy of Goethe's statement that the two acts of the *Ur-Tasso* were "in Absicht auf Plan und Gang ungefähr den gegenwärtigen gleich." How many lines of verse were composed we have no means of knowing.

Of the next day of the voyage we read: "Das ganze Stück ward um und um, durch und durch gedacht." Of the last day: "Ich war des ganzen Stückes so ziemlich Herr geworden." He was very happy to land in Palermo, and summed up the gain of the voyage in these words: "Der Plan meines Dramas war diese Tage daher, im Walfischbauch, ziemlich gediehen." But that is the last we hear of *Tasso* for some time, and when it is again mentioned it is as a postponed task. For example, on the 10th of January, 1788, in the *Italienische Reise*: "Wenn es mit Fertigung meiner Schriften unter gleichen Constellationen fortgeht, so muss ich mich im Laufe dieses Jahres in eine Prinzessin verlieben, um den 'Tasso,' ich muss mich dem Teufel übergeben, um den 'Faust' schreiben zu können, ob ich gleich zu Beidem wenig Lust fühle . . . Also die Prinzessin und den Teufel wollen wir in Geduld abwarten!"

Since he mentions *Tasso* first, we may assume that he took up for more thoro study the ponderous tome of Serassi's biography. On the first day of February he came to about the same conclusion as we noted in February of the previous year, and wrote, in a despairing mood (*Italienische Reise*): "Dann geht eine neue Not an, worin mir niemand raten noch helfen kann. 'Tasso' muss umgearbeitet werden, was da steht, ist zu nichts zu brauchen, ich kann weder so endigen, noch alles wegwerfen. Solche Mühe hat Gott den Menschen gegeben!" Apparently he was not yet able to fuse in fancy the old material employed in the *Ur-Tasso* and the new gathered from Serassi. But he actually began work, as we learn from three different paralipomena to the *Italienische Reise*. With this renewed work came renewed hope. On the 16th of March he wrote to Carl August: "Nun steht mir fast nichts als der Hügel 'Tasso' und der Berg 'Faustus' vor der Nase. Ich werde weder Tag noch Nacht ruhen, bis beide fertig sind. Ich habe zu beiden eine sonderbare Neigung und neuerdings wunderbare Ansichten und Hoffnungen." On the 1st of March he was able to announce (*Italienische Reise*): "Auch ist der Plan von 'Tasso' in Ordnung." This must refer chiefly to the plot of the last three acts, since the original plot of the first two was in the main retained. On the 28th he wrote to Carl August:

Ich lese jetzt das Leben des Tasso, das Abbate Serassi und zwar recht gut geschrieben hat. Meine Absicht ist, meinen Geist mit dem Character und den Schicksalen dieses Dichters zu füllen, um auf der Reise etwas zu haben, das mich beschäftigt. Ich wünsche, das angefangene Stück, wo nicht zu endigen, doch weit zu führen, eh' ich zurückkomme. Hätte ich es nicht angefangen, so würde ich es jetzt nicht wählen, und ich erinnere mich noch wohl, dass Sie mir davon abrieten. Indessen wie der Reiz, der mich zu diesem Gegenstande führte, aus dem Innersten meiner Natur entstand, so schliesst sich auch jetzt die Arbeit, die ich unternehme, um es zu endigen, ganz

sonderbar an's Ende meiner italienischen Laufbahn, und ich kann nicht wünschen, dass es anders sein möge. Wir wollen sehen, was es wird.

When Goethe says in this letter: "Ich lese jetzt das Leben des Tasso," "jetzt" does not necessarily mean that the reading begins the day the letter is written. It may just as well mean 'in connection with my renewed work on the drama.' He must have read the book thru before saying at the beginning of the month: "Der Plan von 'Tasso' ist in Ordnung."

From this letter to Carl August we learn that it was the closing scenes of the drama, which have to do with Tasso's banishment from the court of Ferrara, that occupied Goethe on his homeward journey. He departed from Rome on the 23d of April, and his feelings on that occasion are vividly described in the original draft of the closing paragraphs of the *Italienische Reise*:

Bei meinem Abschied aus Rom empfand ich Schmerzen einer eignen Art. . . . Ich wiederholte mir in diesem Augenblicke immer und immer Ovids Elegie, die er dichtete, als die Erinnerung eines ähnlichen Schicksals ihn bis an's Ende der bewohnten Welt verfolgte. . . . Angebildet wurden jene Leiden den meinigen, und auf der Reise beschäftigte mich dieses innere Tun manchen Tag und Nacht. . . . Ich ermannte mich zu einer freieren poetischen Tätigkeit; der Gedanke an 'Tasso' ward angeknüpft, und ich bearbeitete die Stellen mit vorzüglicher Neigung, die mir in diesem Augenblick zunächst lagen. Den grössten Teil meines Aufenthalts in Florenz verbrachte ich in den dortigen Lust- und Prachtgärten. Dort schrieb ich die Stellen, die mir noch jetzt jene Zeit, jene Gefühle unmittelbar zurückrufen. . . . Wie mit Ovid dem Lokal nach, so konnte ich mich mit Tasso dem Schicksale nach vergleichen. . . . Diese Stimmung verliess mich nicht auf der Reise trotz aller Zerstreuung und Ablenkung.

From Milan he wrote to Knebel (May 24), in a mood which we have twice before noted: "Jetzt bin ich an einer sonderbaren Aufgabe, an 'Tasso.' Ich kann und darf

nichts darüber sagen. Die ersten Acte müssen fast ganz aufgeopfert werden." He had learned from Serassi so many facts not contained in his earlier sources that he doubtless felt it would be a difficult task to revise the *Ur-Tasso* in the light of his new information. It is very important that we should not lose sight of the fact that all the above cited passages which speak of the necessity of sacrificing what had already been written refer to the future, not the past, work of revision, whereas the important passage in the *Italienische Reise*, above quoted, which compares the *Ur-Tasso* with the drama as we know it, refers to the revised drama after it has been published. This passage was doubtless written in the year 1817.

On the 18th of June Goethe was again in Weimar, and a letter of the 21st of July to Jacobi reports him at work on *Tasso*. Three weeks later he wrote hopefully to Frau von Stein, but progress was slow, partly because of the infinite pains he was taking with the composition, partly because he was seeking to overcome Carl August's prejudice against the subject, and partly because of interruptions. On the 25th of October he reached a stopping place.

At this point it will be well to inquire what parts of the drama have now assumed finished form. Of revision of the first two acts there is almost no certain documentary evidence, tho I shall show that there is some internal evidence. The only work on the third act of which we possess any evidence is so slight in amount as to be virtually negligible. When we come to the fourth and fifth acts we find that Goethe gave us a valuable hint in his letter of the 28th of March to Carl August, and told the essential facts in the first draft of the closing paragraphs of the *Italienische Reise*, both of which passages I have quoted.

The evidence of these passages is thoroly corroborated by receipts for the money paid by Goethe to his copyist

Vogel. The first receipt, dated the 4th of November, 1788, covers the work of copying the fifth act and the first three scenes of the fourth, in manuscript "A," as Scheidemantel has conclusively shown.⁴ So Goethe had begun at the end and worked backwards, a method of attack more than once employed by him, both before and after the writing of *Tasso*.

The work still to be done, then, is the completion of the revision of the first two acts, and the writing of the third act and the last two scenes of the fourth. The last two scenes of act IV were doubtless laid aside temporarily because of their importance in the Antonio plot, which the poet seems not yet to have worked out in detail.

The fact that the name "Antonio," which occurs ten times in the text of the first two acts, is scanned eight of these times as three syllables and only twice as four syllables, and is everywhere in Act V and the first three scenes of act IV scanned as three syllables, whereas it must be read as four syllables thruout act III and in its one occurrence in scenes iv and v of act IV, seems to me to have a significance that has not yet been fully realized. Up to November 4, 1788, the date of Vogel's first receipt, the name of the character was Battista Pigna, and it appeared in the text eight times as "Battista" and once as "Pigna." Between November 4th and the 27th of January of the following year the character's name was changed to Antonio Montecatino, as the manuscript covered by Vogel's second receipt shows. This necessitated the changing of the name in the earlier copied manuscript of the fourth and fifth acts. Goethe made the change by substituting "Antonio" for "Battista," which forced "Antonio" to be

⁴ *Neues zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Goethes Torquato Tasso*, in *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XVIII, pp. 163 ff.

a word of three syllables. The passage containing "Pigna" was recast, and in the new version "Antonio" was given three-syllable scansion. But thruout the new third act "Antonio" has four syllables. This tempts me to assume as extremely probable that much of the first and second acts had been provisionally put into verse while the character's name was still Battista, and that the change in name accounts for three-syllable "Antonio" in acts I and II as well as in acts IV and V, whereas the one line (359) containing four-syllable "Antonio" in act I and the one in act II (1524) may well have been written after the poet's ear had become accustomed to four-syllable "Antonio" thru the composition of act III. We know that the word has four syllables in the one line in which it occurs in the last two scenes of act IV, which were not among the parts of manuscript "A" covered by Vogel's first and second receipts. I ought to add here that Kuno Fischer called attention to at least one passage in act II that fits Battista better than Antonio, and Scheidemantel was suspicious "dass hier Battista sein Wesen getrieben habe," but neither one saw the full significance of three-syllable "Antonio" in acts I and II.⁵

On the 27th of January, 1789, Goethe paid Vogel 14 groschens for copying about two-thirds of the manuscript of acts II and III. In his article in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* dealing with these receipts Scheidemantel says the parts covered by the second receipts were: all of act II, except the first scene, and of act III, except 77 lines of the second scene, 73 lines of the fourth scene, and the four lines of the fifth scene. The passages which Scheidemantel says were not yet copied are all written by Vogel, but in a different style of penmanship, and the paper has a different

⁵ Cf. Scheidemantel, *Programm*, p. 9.

watermark. He suggests in a footnote another possible method of calculating the missing parts and arrives by this route at a result that seems more reasonable, but I think the case still awaits clear statement.

In order to make his statement come out right Scheidemantel has to say that Vogel, in making out his bills, took no account of quarter or half sheets, a sheet being folded to make four pages. I. e., Vogel would take no account of one page over, and might either throw in two pages for good measure, or charge for them as four pages. The figures which I propose assume that Vogel twice threw in an extra page and once charged for one page extra, viz., in his first receipt.

Beside the difference in penmanship and watermark, there is another reason why the first scene of the second act should have been laid aside temporarily, even tho it may have been ready to copy. In this scene between Tasso and the Princess we see the effect upon Tasso of his meeting with the envious courtier Antonio in the last scene of act I, which was not yet finally revised, as we shall see later. So I count this scene as not yet copied. The next gap, according to Scheidemantel, was four pages in the middle of scene ii of Act III. He cannot account for this in any way convincing to himself, but says the fact remains, and then in a footnote suggests the better calculation. I assume that Vogel wrote the four pages and was paid for them at the time, and that for some reason he later copied them again and received pay for that work also. That the last 77 lines of the act should have been added to the manuscript later is a reasonable supposition, considering the contents, to which we shall refer later, and I accept it.

Before proceeding to our calculation let us consider a further point, to which Scheidemantel first called attention in his *Programm* and again referred in the *Goethe-Jahr-*

buch article, viz., that the first three leaves of the first section of manuscript "A" of act III were cut out, as is shown by ends of words on the narrow margin that was left. Scheidemantel supposes that Vogel botcht his work here and had to recopy as a penalty. He may have had to crowd his lines too much to get them on six pages. We know that in the place of the six pages cut out eight were inserted and there are no two-page sheets in manuscript "A." The case would appear clearer, then, if we were to suppose that Vogel was paid for the six pages the first time he wrote them, and for only two pages when the eight were inserted in their stead. To sum up, my theory supposes that acts II and III were all copied except the first scene of act II and the last 77 lines of act III. Now for the figures.

The finisht manuscript of acts II and III numbers 83 pages. Subtract from this number 20 pages for act II, scene i, and that leaves 63. Subtract 5 for the end of act III and that leaves 58. Subtract 2 for the difference between the 6 pages cut out and the 8 pages put in their place, and we have left 56. Divide that by 4, the number of pages to a *Bogen*, and we have exactly the 14 *Bogen* for which Vogel receipted.

While we are dealing in figures let us check up Vogel's third receipt. He wrote all of manuscript "A" and all of manuscript "B" except the third act. There are two separate items in this bill, viz., 44 *Bogen* copied in April and June, and 21 *Bogen*, in July and August. Scheidemantel shows convincingly that the first item covers the balance of the first three acts of manuscript "A" and all of the first two acts of manuscript "B." In manuscript "A" act I has 47 pages; scene i of act II has 20 pages; add to this the 2 extra pages at the beginning of act III, and the 5 at the end, and the 4 recopied in the middle, and

we get 78 pages. Add to this the 98 pages of acts I and II of manuscript "B," and we get exactly the number of pages to make 44 *Bogen*. For the second item add to the 15 pages of the last two scenes of act IV of manuscript "A" the 70 pages of acts IV and V of manuscript "B," and we get 85 pages, making the 21 *Bogen* for which Vogel receipted, and one page extra, which he did not count.

Just when Goethe finisht act II, scene i, we do not know. I am inclined to believe that when Vogel began to copy acts II and III they were finisht, but the beginning of II and the end of III were temporarily withheld from the copyist, because of the close connection between these passages and the still-to-be-finisht fourth scene of act I and last two scenes of act IV. Goethe may have thought he might have several changes to make in these scenes and would rather make them before having the manuscript copied. Evidently he was still puzzling his brain over certain features of the Antonio plot, which was the harder to mold into shape, because it objectified the conflict between the Tasso and the Antonio in his own bosom.

Early in February, 1789, Goethe was at work again on the drama, and on the 15th he announced to Frau von Stein and Knebel that he was ready to begin to read to them the new drama. He could write the acts of his drama backwards, as we have seen, but could not expect his friends to enjoy reading them in that order. On the 6th of April Goethe described the state of his work in a letter to Carl August: "Ihre Frau Gemahlin sagt mir, dass Sie Freude an den [drei] ersten Scenen des 'Tasso' gehabt; dadurch ist ein Wunsch, den ich bei dieser gefährlichen Unternehmung vorzüglich gehegt, erfüllt, und ich gehe desto mutiger dem Ende entgegen. Ich habe noch drei Scenen zu schreiben, die mich wie lose Nymphen zum Besten haben, mich bald anlächeln und sich nahe zeigen,

dann wieder spröde tun und sich entfernen . . . Wenn ich vor den Feiertagen [Ostern] die letzte [4.] Scene des ersten Actes, wo Antonio zu den vier Personen, die wir nun kennen, hinzutritt, fertigen könnte, wäre ich sehr glücklich. Fast zweifle ich dran. Sobald sie geschrieben ist, schick ich sie."

Various attempts have been made to identify these three "lose Nymphen," but only those since Scheidemantel's discoveries have any weight nowadays. The letter itself would seem to point to the last scene of act I as one of the three, but Scheidemantel is inclined to reject it, in spite of the fact that there were still three scenes lacking when Goethe read the play to Duchess Luise almost five weeks later. He comes to the conclusion in his *Programm* (1896) that the first and second scenes of act III, which he counted as one, since the first is a monologue of only 8 lines, and scene v of act IV are two of the three "lose Nymphen." His argument in favor of the latter, that it reflects Goethe's own feelings at the time of his rupture with Frau von Stein, is convincing. If that scene is one of the three, then the other must be the scene just before it, for the monologue scene merely represents the reverberations in Tasso's emotional being of the discoveries made in the previous scene.

Scheidemantel's investigation, later, of Vogel's receipts upset his theory concerning act III, scene ii, and left him only two scenes to choose between for a substitute, viz., the last of act I and the first of act II. He is still inclined to reject the Antonio scene at the close of act I, on the ground that Goethe told Carl August he hoped to finish that scene before Easter, and there were still three unfinished scenes nearly five weeks after that announcement. It would seem more logical to assume that if there were three unfinished scenes on the 6th of April, and still three

on the 9th of May, they were the same three. Scheidemann's statement, that the opening scene of act II was "zweifellos von Vogel nach dem 5. April geschrieben," is correct, but on a previous page he has asserted the same thing of the whole of act I, for Vogel's manuscript is a fair copy of the original manuscript, which was destroyed. That argument, then, is no argument at all. My argument in favor of scene iv of act I is that, in addition to the evidence of the letter to Carl August, we should remember that it is the scene in which the Antonio plot is introduced, and that it is closely related to the last two scenes of act IV, as well as to the beginning of act II and the end of act III, which portions of manuscript "A" were certainly not copied till the three "lose Nymphen" yielded to the importunities of the poet. In view of Vogel's second receipt, and of the fact that the name of the minister of state did not have to be changed from Battista to Antonio in manuscript "A" of scenes iv and v of act IV, as well as of the further fact that the documents show Goethe to have begun at the beginning of act I and taken the scenes in regular order, after the date of Vogel's second receipt, we cannot well avoid the conclusion that scenes iv and v of act IV were two of the "lose Nymphen." If scene i of act II is to dispute the claim of scene iv of act I to the honor of being the third one, I cannot help thinking that said scene will have to assume the burden of proof, in view of the letter to Carl August. That is as near as we can get to a solution of the problem.

The rest of the story of the completion of the drama is fairly clear and I need not narrate it in detail. The first draft was completed in June, the final revision on the last day of July, 1789, nearly nine years after Goethe had penned the first line of the *Ur-Tasso*.

WILLIAM A. COOPER.

III.—LE ROMAN MILITAIRE EN FRANCE DE 1870 À 1914

Lorsque la guerre éclata, la France, militairement parlant, n'était pas prête. Malgré l'arrêt momentané des armées allemandes en Belgique, l'ennemi put arriver jusqu' aux portes de Paris.

D'autre part, moralement parlant, la France était prête en août 1914; absolument prête. Le monde entier, y compris l'Allemagne, a rendu hommage à l'esprit de calme et de résolution qui l'a animée dès les premiers jours des hostilités.

Depuis vingt ans les signes avant-coureurs se multipliaient; mais la France avait voulu espérer qu'une guerre n'éclaterait plus; et prêtant à d'autres ses sentiments humains et généreux, elle hésitait toujours à pousser aux armements. Toutefois, au fond de sa conscience une voix parlait: nous n'avons pas de garanties suffisantes vraiment de la part de nos voisins pour nous reposer entièrement sur la foi au triomphe des idées de paix; il faut veiller en tous cas dans nos cœurs. Et à mesure qu'on approchait de l'heure fatale, cette préparation morale à une grande épreuve apparaissait plus manifeste.

La littérature—fidèle miroir des préoccupations des peuples si on l'interprète avec prudence—reflète d'une manière singulièrement intéressante les phases de ce travail intérieur.

I

Pour bien en entendre la nature et la profondeur, il faut rappeler l'état des esprits qui prévalut aux années suivant immédiatement la guerre de 1870-71.

Ce fut une période de grande dépression morale, et que

caractérise fort bien le vers du poète Paul Bourget, jeune alors :

Je pense qu'aucun but ne vaut aucun effort.

Quand on souffre, on perd facilement le sens des réalités. On devient injuste. La France cherchait une excuse, ou au moins une cause, à la défaite. Napoléon III et ses conseillers étaient en exil, ou du moins écartés du pouvoir. On s'en prit à l'armée—qui était toujours là. Elle n'avait pas empêché la catastrophe; elle dut en endosser la responsabilité. La littérature, en se faisant l'écho de ces récriminations, confondit malheureusement dans une même malédiction, le militarisme, l'organisation militaire de la France, et le soldat. L'école naturaliste—et pessimiste—qui régnait alors, ajouta encore ses couleurs sombres à ces thèmes désespérants.

Un recueil de nouvelles, *Les Soirées de Médan* (1880), par Zola et un groupe de disciples, restera probablement l'exemple par excellence de ce genre de littérature. Tout ce qui est généreux et beau dans le soldat est ignoré; il n'est qu'un être aux sentiments égoïstes, qui marche parce qu'il doit marcher, lâche au fond, sensuel, grossier, mesquin.

Les histoires de guerre de Maupassant (qui avait servi en 1870-71) ne sont pas d'une beaucoup plus haute envolée. Elles sont moins pénibles un peu, car il n'est pas si complètement cynique; il décrit même avec sympathie les horreurs de la guerre,—sans compter qu'il donne assez constamment le rôle odieux aux ennemis de la France. Ces histoires furent écrites entre 1880 et 1886, et dispersées dans ses divers recueils de nouvelles. Il avait en 1893 écrit quelques chapitres d'un grand roman de guerre, *L'Angelus* (qu'il déclara à plusieurs reprises devoir être un jour sa meilleure œuvre), lorsque sa mort tragique vint tout interrompre.

Pierre Loti, lui-même officier de marine, ne trouva pour ses frères d'armes que des termes de mépris. Dans son *Roman d'un Spahi* (1881), par exemple, il ne nous fait guère voir dans les soldats des colonies que des hommes "s'enivrant, faisant tapage, se faisant rapporter la tête fendue, donnant la nuit des coups de sabre aux passants, usant de toutes les prostitutions."

Ces grands noms prouvent assez que ces dispositions hostiles pour l'armée étaient bien partagées par les classes intellectuellement supérieures, et non pas le fait seulement de quelques écrivains de second ordre. Citons encore en passant, comme ayant eu leur heure de célébrité, Bonnetain, *Autour de la Caserne* (1885), Abel Hermant, *Le Cavalier Miserey* (1887)—passable parmi tant de volumes déprimants; puis tels romans où on a passé de l'attaque de l'armée, à ce qui est bien pire, le mépris: la série du *Colonel Ramollot* (1883 et ss.) par Charles Leroy; *Le 40ème d'artillerie*, par Oscar Méténier. Et certains recueils de contes d'Alphonse Allais, *Le parapluie de l'escouade*, *Le colonel Lekelpudubec*, etc., qui sont d'après 1890, ceux de Courteline même, comme *Les gâtés de l'escadron* (1886), *Le train de 8h.*, 47 (1891) etc.; ceux encore de Pierre Mille, *Barnavaud* (1908, 1912), montrent la persistance de cette déplorable ironie.

Toute cette littérature aboutit, peut-on dire, et se résume en deux œuvres célèbres: le fameux *Sous-Offs* de Lucien Descaves, un "roman militaire" (1890); et *Les opinions de Jérôme Coignard*, d'Anatole France, un roman philosophique (1893), dont trois chapitres (x, xi, xii) sont consacrés à la guerre.

Le premier valut à son auteur d'être poursuivi et provoqua à la cour de retentissants débats. La page de dédicace porte ces mots: "A tous ceux dont la patrie prend le sang non pour le verser, mais pour le soumettre dans

l'obscurité paix des chais militaires aux tares du mouillage et de la sophistication, je dédie ces études de laboratoire." Puis Descaves passe à ses attaques contre les "casernes-bagnes," les "brutes galonnées," et le "joujou patriotique." On s' imagine assez la nature et les couleurs des épisodes "militaires" qui remplissent ce volume. En citerons-nous une page ayant pour but d'expliquer comment tout est disposé en sorte d'abrutir sûrement à la fois le corps et l'esprit?

Deux prostitutions se partageaient le soldat, régulièrement, sans relâche. La maison se couchait quand s'éveillait le quartier: l'alternance des services était combinée à souhait pour l'hygiène et la récréation des serviteurs de l'irréfragable patrie. Une édilité complaisante avait même encouragé le voisinage des deux collèges, les jugeant incomplets l'un sans l'autre, les rapprochant, rêvant une contiguïté d'édifices plus parfaite, comme si l'annexe et le corps principal n'étaient pas suffisamment reliés par un pont de corvées communes, de végétation fraternelle, d'imbécillité harmonique. Le même clairon chantait pour tous; seulement l'extinction des feux signifiait au 44, réveil; et la diane y marquait le crépuscule du trimage.

On ne sort de la caserne que disqualifié pour la vie. Descaves avait été finalement acquitté par le jury, et le livre fut mis en vente en 1892.

Dans le second—le roman philosophique d'Anatole France, on lit des phrases comme celles-ci:

Le métier de soldat "m'a toujours inspiré du dégoût et de l'effroi par le caractère de servitude, de fausse gloire et de cruauté qui y sont attachés, et qui se trouvent les plus contraires à mon naturel pacifique. . . . Et je ne vous cache pas, mon cher fils, que le service militaire me paraît la plus effroyable peste des nations civilisées"

Les motifs de guerre sont de "prendre ou conserver une proie, ou défendre le nid ou la tanière, ou jouir d'une compagne," et "nous avons seulement réussi à colorer ces raisons basses par les idées d'honneur que nous y répandons sans trop d'exactitude."

La guerre est "un mal héréditaire, un retour lascif à la vie sauvage, une puérile criminalité. . . . Il m'est douloureux de penser que nous ne verrons pas la fin de ces carnages concertés."

On sait l'autorité prodigieuse d'Anatole France à cette époque sur le public littéraire de son pays.

II

Nous n'avons pas à discuter ici la valeur de ces opinions sur l'organisation militaire de la France d'une part, sur la guerre en général d'autre part. Mais nous devons en apprécier au moins l'effet moral sur une nation qui les adopterait.

Supposé qu'elles fussent justes, ces opinions, était-il opportun de les annoncer et de les dénoncer ainsi *urbi et orbi*? Si quelque puissance voisine avait des visées hostiles vis à vis de la France, n'était-ce pas l'inviter à profiter, soit du mauvais état de l'armée, soit de cet idéal d'humanité qui suggérerait à la France de se laisser manger plutôt que consentir à la chose déshonorante entre toutes pour des civilisés, à la guerre avec sa sauvagerie et ses horreurs? Il pouvait être généreux de ne pas haïr les hommes des autres nations, mais fallait-il vraiment être généreux jusqu'au suicide national? Et même si l'on n'aurait pas jusqu'à des conclusions si folles, qu'arriverait-il si l'on avait tant prêché le mépris de l'armée? en cas de réel danger que deviendrait une nation qui n'aurait pas confiance en ses soldats? et si les soldats eux-mêmes ne croyaient plus en leur drapeau?

Et justement la France venait d'échapper à l'affreux péril du Boulangisme. Un brillant officier s'était coupablement prêté à des rêves d'empire, et en faisant vibrer la corde patriotique au cœur des masses populaires, avait manqué déchaîner contre l'Allemagne formidablement préparée, une guerre—la soi-disant revanche—qui aurait été ruineuse. Heureusement Boulanger était tombé, et un

autre Sedan avait été évité.¹ On ne pouvait point laisser mourir ainsi la France, et les écrivains qui répandaient ces idées démoralisantes sans les combattre ne se rendaient-ils pas de ce fait complices des ennemis de leur patrie? D'ailleurs si l'armée était en aussi piteux état qu'on le disait, avait-on fait quoi que ce soit pour l'encourager à se réformer? Au contraire, en la couvrant d'injures et de mépris, on avait justement incité en quelque sorte le Boulangisme à s'en emparer pour la faire servir à des rêves fous; en se détournant d'elle avec mépris, on la livrait aux mains des premiers venus.

Un des premiers qui se rendit compte de la responsabilité morale des écrivains et qui essaya de réagir, ce fut Emile Zola, dans *La Débâcle* (1892)—lui précisément qui y avait paru si indifférent jusque là, lui l'auteur de *La Terre* et de *Nana*. Il alla droit au cœur de la question: On avait déclaré l'armée responsable de la catastrophe de 1870, et on l'avait méprisée pour cela; or, était-elle coupable? Par un récit vibrant de sympathie pour les pauvres soldats conduits à la boucherie par des chefs incapables, Zola répond: Non, l'armée n'est pas coupable; elle est victime. Et puis, c'est la seconde idée de son livre: lui

¹ On peut juger sans doute le Boulangisme d'une autre point de vue; ainsi celui de M. Barrès: "Le Boulangisme, c'est une construction spontanée que la malveillance d'un parti a jeté bas, tandis que les échaffaudages empêchaient encore d'apercevoir l'idée d'ensemble. . . . On doit voir le Boulangisme comme une étape dans la série des efforts qu'une nation, dénaturée par les intrigues de l'étranger, tente pour retrouver sa véritable direction" (*Appel au Soldat*, p. ix). Qu'on n'ait pas le droit de réduire le Boulangisme tout entier à une affaire d'ambition personnelle ou politique est certain, puisque le plus fanatique du parti était Déroulède dont personne ne s'est jamais avisé de mettre en doute le patriotisme le plus désintéressé. Mais justement cette générosité aveugle est plus dangereuse même que les ambitions sans scrupules; elle entraîne les masses des simplement bons.

qui avait osé défendre l'armée, il osa encore ajouter, à une époque où tout paraissait sombre: Tout n'est pas perdu; la question est de savoir si nous voulons nous relever. Et il écrit cette magnifique dernière page de la *Débâcle*, si discrète à la fois, et d'un si généreux et vigoureux optimisme. Il a décrit les horreurs de la Commune: c'est le soir, au soleil couchant; Jean vient de fermer les yeux à son compagnon d'épreuve au cours des affreuses semaines, et il réfléchit:

C'était bien pourtant la fin de tout, un acharnement du destin, un amas de désastres tels que jamais nation n'en avait subi d'aussi grands: les continuelles défaites, les provinces perdues, les milliards à payer, la plus effroyable des guerres civiles noyée dans le sang, les décombres et des morts à pleins quartiers; plus d'honneur, plus d'argent, tout un monde à reconstruire! Lui-même y laissait son cœur déchiré, son heureuse vie de demain emportée dans l'orage. Et pourtant, par delà la fournaise hurlante encore, la vivace espérance renaissante, au fond du grand ciel calme, d'une limpidité souveraine. C'était le rajeunissement certain de l'éternelle humanité, le nouveau promis à qui espère et travaille, l'arbre qui jette une nouvelle tige puissante, quand on en a coupé la branche pourrie, dont la sève empoisonnée jaunissait les feuilles.

Dans un sanglot, Jean répéta: Adieu!

Henriette ne releva pas la tête, la face cachée entre ses deux mains jointes: Adieu!

Le champ ravagé était en friche, la maison brûlée était par terre; et Jean, le plus humble et le plus douloureux, s'en alla, marchant à l'avenir, à la grande et rude besogne de toute une France à refaire.

III

La Débâcle ne fut pas comprise; car Zola était en avance de plusieurs années sur la France. Par la simple force de l'habitude, beaucoup y avaient cherché—et trouvé—une attaque contre l'armée encore alors que c'était le contraire. Et on ignora le bel appel final.

Il fallait une autre crise que le Boulangisme pour secouer les derniers vestiges de l'état d'âme de la défaite, et

convertir, et ramener le peuple à la foi aux destinées de la France.

Ce fut "l'affaire Dreyfus." Le capitaine Dreyfus avait été condamné pour affaire d'espionnage en décembre 1894. La découverte du "bordereau Estherhazy," qui semblait l'innocenter, eut lieu en mai 1896. "L'affaire" allait durer des mois, et des années—puisque ce n'est que le 12 juillet 1906 que l'innocence fut légalement reconnue—mais cette fois l'effet fut prompt. Dès 1897 des signes précis annonçaient le commencement d'une ère nouvelle.

En 1897 le vicomte Bernier de Montmorand inaugure la série de ses articles de la *Revue Bleue* sur "La Société française contemporaine," Demolins fait paraître son appel à l'esprit d'entreprise et d'énergie de la France, *A quoi tient la Supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?*, Zola signe sa *Lettre à la Jeunesse*, qui fut entendue au moins d'une minorité honorable, témoin le livre d'Henry Bérenger, quelques mois après, *La Conscience nationale*.

En 1897 Rostand lance son prestigieux *Cyrano de Bergerac*, représentant de la bravoure française, gracieuse et irrésistible et qui remue jusqu'au fond l'âme nationale.

En 1897 Maurice Barrès conçoit l'idée de la série de volumes dont on connaît la destinée, et portant le titre caractéristique *Le Roman de l'Energie nationale*. *Les Déracinés* seront pour 1898.

Et en 1897 encore sort de presse le premier volume de *l'Epoque*, l'œuvre magistrale des deux frères Margueritte, les fils du général Margueritte, le héros de Froeschwiler. La première partie, celle de 1897, *Le Désastre*, est comme un pendant à *La Débâcle*. Même inspiration: le soldat de 1870, dans des circonstances désastreuses, a été héroïque, le digne successeur des soldats de la Grande Armée; il a été malheureux, et cela, loin de l'abaisser, l'élève au contraire; un peuple qui a produit des hommes

comme ceux de 1870 n'a pas à s'inquiéter de l'avenir; il ne peut mourir. La dernière page des *Margueritte* est un écho remarquable de la dernière page de Zola. C'est après Sedan; de la portière d'un train, trois officiers français voient 53 aigles de leur armée confisquées après la reddition et que les Allemands avaient plantées en terre comme pour narguer les vaincus:

Laune avalait ses larmes. Floppe grinça:—Ils sont plus forts que nous. Cette cruauté de mise en scène, ce raffinement d'injure. . . .

Dubreuil releva la tête.

Ces drapeaux, l'ennemi les avait-il conquis dans la bataille? Non! . . . Bazaine, pour les livrer, avait dû faire assaut de ruse. Et ceux qui avaient échappé, lacérés, brûlés, narguaient de leur absence l'humiliation des survivants! . . . Cette rangée d'aigles n'était que du matériel aveugle, insensible. . . . Qu'importait aux vaincus? . . . On pouvait de ces lambeaux profanés souffleter les généraux de l'exil; on pouvait, sur les routes boueuses, semer nos soldats jusqu'au fond de l'Allemagne. Tous les Français qui étaient là avaient le droit de contempler face à face, haut les yeux, ces signes éclatants de l'impérissable honneur national. Qu'importaient l'écroulement de l'empire, ces revers de Sedan, Metz, l'inconnu, les malheurs à venir! Un espoir redressait chacun: la fortune changerait, les pires catastrophes ont un lendemain! La vision affreuse disparut. . . . Sur cette nuit d'abîme se lèverait l'aube réparatrice. Si atroce qu'elle fût, la guerre avait dans bien des âmes réveillé l'énergie dormante. Elle avait enseigné l'endurance, la solidarité, l'héroïsme. Elle avait tué des hommes, elle en avait créé d'autres. L'exemple des morts fortifiait les vivants.

Dans ce creuset effroyable où le désastre avait entassé, avec les trophées de l'Empire, armes, sang, boue, les fortunes ruinées, les illusions détruites, tout le désespoir d'un peuple—l'avenir bouillonnait comme un métal en fusion. Une France nouvelle en jaillirait.

Cinq ans s'étaient écoulés depuis que Zola avait signé *La Débâcle*. On comprit *Le Désastre*.

IV

Maintenant le mouvement était lancé—et il continua, assez régulièrement, mais sans impétuosité d'abord.

En 1899 c'est Paul Adam qui, abandonnant le réalisme gras de *Chair molle*, et les quintessences perverses de *Thé chez Miranda*, ressuscitait l'épopée napoléonienne, dans une grande fresque dont *La Force* forma le premier panneau.

L'année suivante Rostand donnait *L'Aiglon*.

En 1900 nous avons encore le deuxième volume de la tétralogie des frères Margueritte, *Les Tronçons du glaive*, et le deuxième volume de la trilogie de Barrès, *L'Appel au soldat*, cette si pénétrante interprétation du Boulangisme comme un tâtonnement de l'esprit national cherchant à se ressaisir au milieu des égarements politiques de la troisième République.

En 1901, troisième partie d'*Une Epoque*, *Les Braves Gens*.

En 1902 le *Roman de l'énergie nationale* est clos par *Leurs figures*. Et comme contraste aux mesquineries de la politique parlementaire à la fin du XIX^e siècle dévoilées sans pitié par Barrès, Paul Adam donne coup sur coup trois volumes sur la triomphante épopée du commencement du siècle, *Enfant d'Austerlitz* (1902), *La Revue* et *Le soleil de Juillet* (1903).

En 1904 les frères Margueritte, à leur tour terminent leur grand œuvre avec *La Commune*.

Nous ne saurions clore cette énumération sans rappeler ici le nom de Péguy. Personne n'ignore plus la grande influence des *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* sur la génération actuelle. Ils furent fondés en 1900. C'est en 1905 que fut publié le fameux numéro intitulé *Notre Patrie*—en réponse au manifeste internationaliste du "traître" G. Hervé, *Leur Patrie*.

V

Si du reste les ouvrages d'un caractère spécifiquement militaire et patriotique furent espacés, un puissant mouvement intérieur se produisait et qui graduellement et parfois par détour, préparait la grande moisson.

Dès 1880 un homme d'une rare énergie avait consacré le meilleur de ses forces au développement colonial de la France, c'était Jules Ferry. Il rencontra des obstacles énormes, des oppositions en France même; il fut même victime d'une tentative d'assassinat; mais il assura le triomphe de la cause qui lui était chère. En 1893, un an après sa mort, la France décidait d'avoir dorénavant un ministère spécial des colonies.

La France devint la seconde puissance coloniale du monde. Ferry avait créé ce qu'on a si bien appelé "La Plus Grande France," et dont le général Lyautey a pu dire: "L'Afrique du Nord est pour notre race ce que le Far-West a été pour l'Amérique, le champ par excellence de l'énergie, du rajeunissement, et de la fécondité." ²

Hugues LeRoux fut un des premiers à comprendre la valeur morale, aussi bien que politique de cette "Plus Grande France"; et il publia en 1879—cette même année 1897 où Demolins publiait *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?*—son livre *Nos fils, Que feront-ils?* Réponse: Ils ne craindront pas de quitter la vieille France où les occasions de mettre en valeur l'esprit d'initiative,

² En 1870 le domaine colonial de la France, outre l'Algérie, comptait un certain nombre d'îles, quelques Etablissements, quelques Comptoirs, en tout une superficie d'un million de kilomètres carrés, et une population d'environ cinq millions. Au mois d'août 1914, les colonies françaises couvraient une superficie de 8,401,000 kilomètres carrés, avec 50 millions d'habitants (*Revue des Colonies et des questions coloniales* 1914, 3^{me} trimestre).

l'intelligence, sont limitées par l'encombrement des professions, et ils iront déployer leurs énergies aux colonies. Il avait lui-même goûté de la vie de colon (voir *Comment je devins colon*) ; son attention depuis fut dirigée ailleurs ; en 1905 cependant il publiait encore un roman *Prisonniers Marocains*.

Peu à peu le marché des livres fut inondé de littérature coloniale. Mais, malheureuse fragilité des choses, ces succès coloniaux furent la cause première de la tempête qui vient de s'abattre sur l'Europe. L'Allemagne s'inquiéta. Elle ne pouvait accepter l'idée que cette France qu'elle avait diminuée sur la carte de l'Europe retrouvât sur la carte du monde de si brillantes compensations. Il lui plut de manifester sa jalousie. Et elle le fit en s'engageant dans les chemins tortueux d'une politique de mesquines provocations. Mais déjà en 1897—toujours cette année 1897—elle avait eu la surprise de l'alliance Franco-Russe, qui existait depuis 1891, et qui fut alors proclamée ; en 1904 l'Entente Cordiale avec l'Angleterre n'était pas faite pour calmer ses mécontentements. Il est inutile de rappeler ici les complications qui aboutirent à la Conférence d'Algéciras en 1906, et au coup d'Agadir en 1911.

Ce qui nous intéresse ici c'est que la littérature coloniale sous l'effet de ces événements changea complètement de nature. Elle avait d'abord surtout mis en relief le colon dans l'Afrique du nord ; en quelques années le soldat et l'officier français au Maroc y eurent à peu près supplanté le colon. A côté de volumes comme Habel, *Mettons en valeur l'Afrique du nord*, Terrier et Charrière, *Pour réussir au Maroc*, Randau, *Les Algérianisés*, on avait maintenant des études politiques comme Albin, *Le coup d'Agadi*, Tardieu, *Le Mystère d'Agadir*, ou surtout militaires comme *A la conquête du Maroc*, par le capitaine Cornet, *Leçons de l'expérience sur l'emploi de la cavalerie au*

Maroc, par le colonel Riffault, ou les très répandues *Epopées Africaines* du colonel Baratier; ou encore *La ville inconnue* du romancier Paul Adam.

VI

Indirectement le soldat des colonies allait faire rentrer dans la littérature le soldat de France. Nous voulons dire le soldat de l'heure présente, non seulement le soldat du souvenir de 1870, ou le soldat de la Grande Armée—qui déjà étaient rentrés. Il avait été, ce soldat de l'heure présente, abandonné en quelque sorte depuis Descaves, France et Zola. On ne le méprisait plus et on ne le moquait plus, mais aussi on ne le célébrait pas. Il semblait même régner une certaine appréhension: un examen sérieux n'allait-il pas forcer un écrivain qui s'y hasarderait, à faire un autre *Sous-Offs*?³ Mais la situation politique ramenait forcément l'attention vers l'armée; et les succès des officiers et soldats des colonies constituaient un sérieux encouragement; ce fut en 1909 qu'un jeune écrivain osa rouvrir devant le grand public le vif débat dont Descaves avait été le protagoniste, vingt années auparavant. Le ton si mesuré du livre fut considéré comme une garantie de sa sincérité et de sa vérité.

³ On nous objectera sans doute, l'admirable *Pingot et moi*, d'Art Roë (pseudonyme du lieutenant Patrice Mahon) qui parut en 1893, presque en même temps que *La Débâcle*, et qui est l'ancêtre commun de tous les "carnets" d'officiers qui ont paru en si grand nombre aux années précédant immédiatement la guerre et depuis la guerre. Mais nous avons voulu limiter autant que possible cette étude aux romans—lesquels atteignent le grand public. *La Débâcle*, si elle fut mal comprise, fut lue cependant par tous; mais *Pingot* pendant de longues années n'intéressa qu'un public restreint, celui des officiers. C'est un livre qui parut avant son heure, et auquel nous sommes obligés de refuser dans cette courte revue, la place auquel son grand mérite intrinsèque lui donnerait incontestablement droit.

Le *Soldat Bernard*, de Paul Acker—qui mourut comme l'on sait à la guerre en suite d'un accident d'automobile—parut dans la *Revue Hebdomadaire*. Il ne provoqua pas de discussion bruyante, mais il agit, et de façon très saine : Le jeune intellectuel Bernard se rend à la caserne tout imbu d'idées pacifistes et humanitaires, “ du rêve d'une fraternité européenne,” et décidé à faire de la propagande pour “ la noblesse du travail libre, la beauté de la paix, l'horreur et la duperie des triomphes militaires qui ne fondent rien de solide ” ; Bernard est certain aussi que “ la caserne est une école de pourriture morale et physique.” Il ne manque sans doute pas de choses pour l'entretenir dans l'opinion qu'il s'était faite en fréquentant les universitaires ; et il trouve d'abord tout mauvais. Cependant il est intelligent et sincère ; s'il ne devient pas militariste déclaré, il est ébranlé jusqu'au fond de l'âme. Il remarque en effet que toutes les choses laides de la vie, langage grossier, brutalité, sensualité, il les a connues ailleurs qu'à la caserne : pourquoi donc en rendre l'armée responsable ? Des gens que les circonstances ont élevés hiérarchiquement au-dessus des autres et qui profitent cyniquement de leur position, cela se voit partout dans la vie. Un jour Bernard a eu un mouvement de révolte ouverte contre la “ honte servile de l'uniforme ” ; mais l'officier, répugnant à le punir, lui parle d'homme à homme ; à cette occasion le soldat Bernard, qui avait déjà compris que les choses grossières et basses ne sont pas nécessairement d'ordre militaire, comprend encore que les sentiments nobles ne sont pas *a priori* exclus de la caserne : l'officier Hébert, un homme bon, droit, humain, est un soldat. Et qui plus est, les hommes du peuple, ses camarades, simples soldats, cachent sous leurs rudesses et leurs gaucheries des cœurs souvent plus accessibles aux bons sentiments que par exemple ce sophiste écœurant, le prince aux manières dis-

tinguées, qui base sa conduite à la caserne sur cette morale :
 “ Célébrer le peuple, il faut bien puisqu’on se sert de lui.”

Soldat Bernard finit sur un épisode désolant. Une grève a éclaté, et Bernard et ses compagnons doivent marcher pour étouffer dans le sang de leurs frères français, cette révolte contre l’ordre public. Il y a des morts, entre autres le lieutenant Hébert devenu entre temps l’ami de Bernard. Voici l’énigmatique conclusion :

Un soldat obscur qui dort dans l’éternel repos, et un officier dans une chambre voisine, qui finit de mourir, tous les deux tués sans gloire et par des Français, et c’est toute la douloureuse grandeur de l’armée qui éblouit Bernard, toute sa noblesse, toute sa nécessité puisqu’elle seule cultive encore ce qu’il y a de plus généreux dans l’homme, le mépris de l’intérêt privé, le mépris des injures, et le mépris de la mort, le naturel accomplissement du devoir et le don spontané de soi-même au peuple.

Et lentement, durement, cruellement l’image de Pauline et l’image de Menguy [sa fiancée et son maître] s’effacent de son cœur. Il va à d’autres destinées.

Ces “ destinées ” sont aussi vaguement indiquées que possible ; et on voit qu’en tous cas Bernard n’y va point avec trop d’enthousiasme. Acker avait-il des idées plus arrêtées et craignit-il de trahir sa propre cause en employant un langage qui paraîtrait encore par trop paradoxal en 1902 ? ou n’était-il pas convaincu entièrement lui-même ? Que d’autres décident. Son roman est une œuvre de transition entre les romans d’un antimilitarisme féroce ou ironique que nous avons signalés, et les romans d’un militarisme enthousiaste dont nous avons encore à parler.

VII

Les événements politiques cependant continuaient à semer la jalousie et la haine, l’indignation et la révolte. Les habitants de l’Alsace-Lorraine en sentaient particulièrement les contre-coups. Les épisodes fâcheux succé-

daient aux épisodes fâcheux. En 1901 *Les Oberlé* de René Bazin avaient intéressé . . . autant que pouvait intéresser un roman alsacien à l'époque où les idées pacifistes étaient généralement en honneur, et alors que les voix de Rostand, Margueritte, Barrès, Adam, commençaient seulement à se faire entendre. Si c'était une prophétie, on ne saurait dire que le public la releva. Mais en 1905, l'année suivant la proclamation de l'Entente Cordiale, paraissait le douloureux livre de Barrès, *Au service de l'Allemagne*; en décrivant les souffrances morales d'un Lorrain, Français par toutes les fibres de son âme, et qui doit, pour ne pas désertir le patrimoine de ses pères, accepter les humiliations de la caserne allemande, il rappelle qu'une œuvre de tyrannie choquante suit son cours dans l'Europe civilisée; la France, qui s'est laissée battre en 1870, en porte la plus grande responsabilité après l'Allemagne. Et puis, en 1909, l'année du *Soldat Bernard*, parut *Colette Baudouche*, où Barrès encore ré-affirmait que le manque d'affinité mentale entre le conquérant et l'annexé était aussi irréductible qu'au premier jour. *Le drapeau de la foi*, de Paul Aderer (1909), *Les frontières du cœur*, de V. Margueritte (1912), et *La reprise*, de Lair (1913), abordent dans un esprit tout pareil des conflits de sentiments entre les droits du cœur et les droits de la patrie. Nous ne devons pas passer sous silence non plus *Juste Lobel, l'Alsacien*, d'André Lichtenberger (1911), et, à la veille de la guerre, *Les exilés*, de Paul Acker; eux ne sentent plus que de loin la nécessité de rattacher à du romanesque amoureux, la discussion si passionnante en elle-même du patriotisme alsacien-lorrain et français. Enfin les deux romans de Marcel Prévost, *Monsieur et Madame Moloch* (1906), une attaque du militarisme prussien, et *Les anges gardiens* (1912), cette révélation sensationnelle—et qu'on avait crue si exagérée—de l'espionnage allemand en France.

VIII

Ici une parenthèse.

Le théâtre est spécialement propre à sonder et à former l'opinion publique. Parmi les pièces écloses dans l'atmosphère rapidement surchauffée des dernières années, trois—comme s'il y avait eu dans l'air un pressentiment—mettent à la scène de la façon la plus poignante la question de l'espionnage: *La Flambée*, de Kistemaeker (1911), *Cœur de Française*, de Bernard et Bruant (1913), et *Servir*, de Lavedan (1913). Nous craindrions de nous laisser entraîner trop loin en les discutant. Cependant nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de citer un fragment de scène de *Servir* pour montrer combien quelques esprits en France avaient su parler, dès avant la guerre, le langage qui a paru si naturel depuis. Le colonel Eulin discute avec Madame Eulin la carrière militaire de leurs trois fils dont l'un vient de mourir aux colonies:

Eulin:—Le soldat est un homme à part, je te l'ai dit souvent. L'accident est sa chance et la catastrophe sa gloire. Tout danger qui le menace est un privilège, toute épreuve en l'atteignant le grandit. Aussi pour s'élever au niveau de ces marques d'honneur, nos sentiments à nous-mêmes doivent toujours se hausser, se grader. Puisque nous avons des fils au-dessus du commun, soyons des parents dignes d'eux.

Madame E:—Comme tu fais bon marché du sort de tes enfants.

Eulin:—Non. Mais, que veux-tu? La mort d'un des miens, quand je l'envisage, ne me fait jamais l'effet d'un malheur si j'ai la certitude qu'elle sera belle.

Madame E:—Il n'y a pas de belle mort d'enfants! surtout pour des parents.

Eulin:—De splendides! Et il en faut!

Madame E:—Pourquoi?

Eulin:—Pour empêcher les laides—ou les racheter. Sois donc plus fière et porte droit ton deuil. . . . L'important n'est pas de mourir, c'est que ce soit bien fait! . . . Si je meurs de maladie, je te permets de pleurer. Mais si c'est d'une balle au front, je te le défends.

IX

C'est le roman militaire colonial qui décidément éleva le soldat sur le pavois.

Il devait en être ainsi. Le roman militaire *en France* ne pouvait montrer le soldat qu'à la caserne et aux manœuvres, c. à. d. quand il n'est pas réellement soldat, mais se prépare seulement à l'être; ou alors (comme dans *Soldat Bernard*) quand il sert à réprimer des troubles sociaux, c. à. d. quand il est sous son aspect le plus regrettable et quand on le fera détester plutôt qu'aimer. Seul le roman colonial pouvait le montrer comme soldat, c. à. d. combattant et glorieux. Et si on pense que les victoires sur des tribus du désert africain, ou sur les Malgaches, ou les Annamites ne sont pas des victoires qui comptent beaucoup comme actions militaires, on différera d'opinion avec ceux qui sont en mesure de parler en connaissance de cause. Il est certain en tout cas que, même si toutes les conditions requises ne sont pas présentes, là l'officier et le soldat français se formeront à l'art de la guerre mieux que dans les manœuvres les plus habilement disposées. N'est-ce pas du reste en Afrique que les Faidherbe, les Lyautey, les Galliéni, les Joffre, les Marchand, les Gouraud, les Roques ont appris à vaincre? "J'estime, a dit Galliéni, que les colonies ont été pour nous la grande école, parce qu'elles ont été l'école du commandement."

Il va de soi que ces livres ne pouvaient guère être écrits avec autorité que par des soldats. Et c'est un beau témoignage à l'intellectualité de l'officier français qu'il s'en soit trouvé tant qui aient été en même temps hommes de plume et d'épée.

Nous ne sommes pas en mesure de dire si tel est le cas de Jean Variot, l'auteur des *Hasards de la guerre* (1913), et l'un des trois écrivains que nous choisirons comme types

de trois nuances de pensée militaire—si nous pouvons ainsi nous exprimer—; mais c'est le cas très notamment pour les deux autres, le capitaine Détanger (en littérature E. Nolly), et le lieutenant Psichari.

Variot combine le roman de province annexée, et le roman militaire colonial. Andréas Hermann Ulrich, Alsacien, déprimé par son milieu où l'on ne peut se résoudre à oublier, convaincu du reste lui-même de l'inutilité de tout effort, échouant enfin à Paris, s'était résigné à l'inactivité pacifiste. Un jour cependant, en voyage d'ennui à Insprück, il découvre le livre qui, lui faisant oublier son spleen, ses velléités de suicide et de couvent, va donner une direction nouvelle à son existence. C'est le livre célèbre du général prussien Clausewitz, sur la *Théorie de la grande guerre*; la science et le génie des grands capitaines, surtout de Napoléon, analysés et expliqués à l'usage des stratégestes modernes, fascinent cet homme qui jusque là n'avait jamais soupçonné—tant les préjugés de son temps avaient pénétré tout son être—qu'on pût penser à la guerre comme à quelque chose qui n'était pas tout sombre horreur, malédiction et bassesse; ou lorsqu'il se rappelait un oncle soldat qu'il avait connu étant enfant, une bizarre folie.

Variot trahit dans son roman un état d'esprit curieux, mais qu'il explique par les circonstances de milieu et de temps où vit son héros. D'une part il essaye de nous donner l'impression d'un homme arrivé à la parfaite impassibilité d'un sophi, même vis-à-vis de sa patrie alsacienne et de la France; d'autre part, il ne semble pas vouloir tout à fait qu'on le croie. Lorsque, par désœuvrement et par dégoût dit-il, il s'est engagé dans la Légion étrangère—où il trouve la mort—il ne laisse pas de s'abandonner en contrebande à des émotions patriotiques:

Nous marchons pour la vieille France, nous qui regardons la gloire comme une dernière chimère; nous marchons pour les beaux ciels et

pour les champs à perte de vue; pour les fleuves calmes qui reflètent des châteaux à tours rondes et à toits aigus; et pour les vignes qui chauffent sur les coteaux; pour les tombeaux de marbre dans les cathédrales, où dorment les grandes gens d'autrefois; pour les airs populaires qui chantent l'âme du vieux peuple—*le Roy Loys est sur son pont*—pour toute la splendeur et l'ordre du passé; pour les héros; aussi pour les martyrs; pour tout ce qui a formé LA GRANDE NATION; nous marchons tout droit devant nous.

Et avant de mourir, il écrit à son ami: "Plusieurs disent que je n'avais pas de cœur; ne les croyez pas."

Ulrich meurt avec la conscience d'une vie manquée. Mais plus que cela, il a conscience des causes. En asservissant l'Alsace, l'Allemagne a tué ce qui donne un sens à la vie; lorsqu'un peuple est forcé de mettre ses facultés et son énergie au service d'étrangers, l'action et la lutte, bref, la vie, ne l'intéresse pas. Ulrich se mit à l'étude de Clausewitz en disant: "Cherchons toujours les raisons qui font que l'adversaire nous a vaincus"; il trouve la réponse en ceci, que "la France a été battue quand la science militaire de son plus grand général fut bien appliquée par ses ennemis." Et logiquement, il conclut: A notre tour, inspirons nous de Napoléon pour rendre à notre peuple sa liberté d'action. Il meurt en disant: "J'aurais pu réussir moi aussi. . . . Malgré tout c'est beau la guerre. . . . Mourir dans son lit, quelle bêtise!"

Lorsqu'Ulrich discute alors la guerre,—cet homme qui a tant souffert de la passivité, réaction très bien observée—il la discute essentiellement, et en oubliant en somme facilement le problème social d'Alsace-Lorraine, de ce point de vue qu'elle stimule de façon extraordinaire les énergies physiques et intellectuelles de l'homme. Ayant secoué l'envoûtement qui avait assombri sa misérable existence, et détournant d'ailleurs résolûment son attention des problèmes discutés par Descaves et Acker comme ne rentrant point dans le débat, il reprend à son compte la formule

d'Anatole France: "J'ai observé que le métier le plus naturel à l'homme est celui de soldat; c'est celui auquel il est porté le plus facilement par ses instincts et ses goûts . . . l'homme peut être défini un animal à mousquet." Seulement—et voici ce qui est bien révélateur—tandis qu'Anatole France et 1893 donnait cette formule comme infâmante, Variot, vingt ans plus tard la donne comme une formule qui honore l'homme. Quel admirable parti "l'animal à mousquet" n'a-t-il pas tiré de ses facultés, car dans quel art se montre-t-il supérieur que dans l'art militaire d'un Napoléon? "Régler les mouvements de chacun, faire que des forces se concentrent sans se heurter, tenir compte des possibilités physiques des hommes, envisager le rôle de l'adversaire: sciences mathématiques et psychologiques, la tactique et la stratégie nous apprennent la valeur de l'effort humain."

Et ailleurs: "Je ressentais chaque jour un mépris plus grand à l'égard des sophistes qui avaient trompé ma jeunesse, à l'égard des songe-creux de la pensée libre et du désordre." A ces sophistes, "l'idéal" qu'il oppose, c'est celui de l'action humaine manifestée de la façon la plus intégrale dans "des alignements impeccables, des figures géométriques formées à perte de vue par des foules d'hommes disciplinés qui s'avancent en masses compactes, s'arrêtent net sur un cri, repartent comme des forteresses mouvantes; qui, sous les shrapnels, continuent d'avancer parce que c'est l'ordre, sans souci des brèches immenses creusées dans les rangs; qui sont, pour ainsi dire, le symbole de cette force et de cette volonté que rien ne peut réduire." On pense au mot de Bossuet dans *l'Oraison funèbre du Prince de Condé*: "Ce qu'il y a de plus fatal à la vie humaine, c'est à dire l'art militaire, est en même temps ce qu'elle a de plus ingénieux et de plus habile."

X

Le point de vue d'Emile Nolly, (pseudonyme du Capitaine Détanger) est déjà sensiblement différent.

Il apprécie l'art de la guerre en soi, certainement, mais le considérer comme de l'art pour l'art, comme un sport incomparable, ne lui suffit point; il est trop humain à la fois, et trop français pour cela.

D'abord en ce qui concerne le soldat, il refuse de ne voir en lui, selon la formule imposée par la Prusse à l'Europe —et qui avait séduit Variot aussi—qu'une " chose " dans la main du chef, *perinde ac cadaver*. Le véritable soldat est un être humain, et cela dans le rang et à la corvée, non seulement au repos et en dehors du service; un être pensant, sentant et voulant non pas *par* un chef, mais *avec* lui. Il n'y a aucune incompatibilité avec la discipline de lui abandonner quelque initiative; de fait, il est évident qu'un être comprenant le but d'une manœuvre pourra contribuer à sa réussite mieux que celui qui est obligé d'exécuter des mouvements n'ayant aucune espèce de sens pour lui. La France est admirablement favorisée sur ce point, car ses hommes remplissent toutes les conditions du soldat non-automate. Quand il est traité de la bonne manière, il est l'instrument de guerre le plus remarquable:

J'ai noté ceci: ce qu'il faut à nos hommes pour déployer dans toute leur ampleur leurs facultés de dévouement, c'est une part d'initiative et de responsabilité. Ils détestent qu'on les mène par la lisière et qu'on ait l'air de les traiter en tout petits garçons, qu'on leur trace avec force détails et recommandations leur tâche. S'il leur semble n'être que des manœuvres, ils travaillent en rechignant et sans goût. Mais qu'on affecte de confier à leur adresse et à leur tact le soin d'accomplir quelque œuvre délicate, les voici tressaillant d'aise et d'orgueil, et qui, loin de boudier à la besogne, y mordent à pleines dents et à plein cœur. En somme que vaut cet instrument de guerre, en soi-même et par comparaison avec les instruments qui lui seraient

opposés? . . . En mon âme et conscience, je dis de lui, d'accord avec les gens de bonne foi qui l'ont jugé froidement: *Il est incomparable*. Il ne saurait être question en pareille matière de fanfarronnade, d'outrance et de *bluff* inspirés par un faux esprit de patriotisme et par un chauvinisme inopportun. Je dis ce qui est parce que cela est ainsi et pas autrement. . . . A ceux qui ne savent pas ce que vaut l'épée de la France parce qu'ils ne l'ont jamais vue frapper de la pointe et du tranchant, à ceux qui doutent, nous disons, nous qui avons vu, nous qui sommes *sûrs*: Ayez confiance. L'arme que vous nous avez remise, nous l'avons éprouvée; nous nous portons garants de sa précellence. Un jour elle fera merveille, pour que demeure éternelle, la patrie du beau et du bien. . . . Haut les cœurs!

Ce passage est emprunté aux *Gens de guerre du Maroc* (1913), un volume d'esquisses de la vie coloniale, et le plus connu des livres de l'auteur. Nolly avait écrit deux romans *Hien le Maboul*, et *La barque annamite* avant de mettre sa plume au service de la même cause que son épée. Et quand on ne sait pas, on est surpris d'apprendre que l'auteur de ces volumes tout imprégnés de bonté, d'indulgence, soit un soldat, un représentant de la froide discipline et de la consigne inflexible. Mais dans les œuvres militaires cette note persiste, et justement il est très beau de voir cette pitié pour les déshérités de la fortune, les humbles, ceux que la vie a forcés à tromper et voler pour qu'ils puissent continuer leur triste existence, reportée sur le soldat quand celui-ci est écrasé de fatigue, quand il meurt de soif sous le soleil brûlant du désert, quand d'une façon ou d'une autre, résultat de la générale faiblesse humaine, il forfait à la discipline, et—quand il soupire là-bas en Afrique pour la douce France lointaine. Et ceci nous amène à notre second point.

Nolly ne se contente pas d'un soldat admirable comme instrument intelligent de guerre; il réclame pour lui le droit d'avoir des émotions qui donnent un sens à son activité de soldat. Nolly méprise les désabusés, ou les découragés, ou ceux qui prétendent l'être. Et avant tout il

croit aux destinées de son pays, et veut que le sentiment patriotique anime le soldat. Son amour pour la France est exprimé de façon très émouvante dans *Gens de Guerre du Maroc*; et il l'est en rapport spécialement avec les événements politiques d'Europe dans le roman publié tôt après, *Le chemin de la victoire*. C'est l'histoire d'un officier qui prend à la légère d'abord sa profession de soldat, mais que les conseils d'un ami et les expériences de sa carrière élèvent peu à peu à une grande hauteur morale. On a reproché à Nolly de s'être trop abandonné dans ce volume à la "prédication" du patriotisme. Soit! Tenons-nous-en à l'intention. Du reste, la France pour lui n'est pas tout à fait une patrie comme les autres; tirant l'épée aux colonies pour assurer la propagation de la civilisation, elle doit s'armer en Europe pour assurer la paix parmi les nations qui jouissent doré et déjà des fruits de la civilisation. En passant devant la statue de la République, à Paris, Chambert dit à Jarrier:

"Regarde l'olivier de paix que brandit notre France. Pour qu'elle reste telle éternellement, pour qu'elle ne cesse jamais de présenter son emblème fraternel, il faut que nous la fassions puissante et intangible. Il faut que nous, nos fils, nous soyons sans cesse préoccupés de la sauver des Barbares,⁴ il faut que nous soyons les vainqueurs de demain." Nolly a été un de ceux qui ont prévu: "Vois-tu, dit encore Chambert, je suis allé en Allemagne. J'ai vu les Allemands se préparer en silence, et la guerre s'armer, s'exercer; j'ai lu tous les articles des journalistes gallophobes qui dénoncent notre faiblesse et notre impéritie, et convainquent la nation allemande de la nécessité de nous écraser. Alors, je voudrais que notre pays aperçoive le danger, et qu'il s'arme lui aussi. Je voudrais que chacun travaille à faire notre France plus forte, s'instruise pour mettre de notre côté toutes les chances de succès. . . . Ah! si tels pacifistes que je connais pouvaient vivre seulement trois mois parmi les bourgeois et les artisans prussiens!"

⁴Le mot de "barbare," avant la guerre est intéressant. On le retrouve chez Paul Acker, dans les *Exilés*, parlant aussi des Allemands.

Le capitaine Détanger (né à Lyon, 1881) avait servi comme officier au Tonkin, à Madagascar, et surtout au Maroc. Il avait été rappelé à Paris en 1914. Lorsque la guerre éclata, il partit immédiatement, fut blessé le 10 août légèrement, guérit, fut blessé de nouveau le 31, mortellement, et mourut le 3 septembre.⁵

XI

Si Variot s'exalte à la pensée de la profession de soldat parce qu'elle met en œuvre les facultés les plus puissantes et les plus géniales de l'homme; et si E. Nolly s'enthousiasme pour la mission du soldat *de France*—création de la Plus Grande France au dehors, et sauvegarde d'une civilisation humanitaire en Europe—Ernest Psichari, lui, va plus loin encore et écrit un roman *L'Appel des armes* (1913) dont la thèse tient en ces quatre mots: "La guerre est divine."

Il est le plus jeune de ces écrivains officiers (né en 1884); et il n'est pas arrivé graduellement à ses idées (comme Nolly); il a donc exprimé avec une ardeur de néophyte sa dévotion pour la carrière des armes. Il a d'ailleurs profité d'une circonstance accidentelle; Psichari est le petit-fils de Renan, et la curiosité de voir ce descendant du grand désabusé et du grand sceptique défendre avec fanatisme la foi patriotique se fondant dans une ardente foi religieuse, a fortement souligné le succès de *L'Appel des armes*.

Le roman comme intrigue est banal; et la critique a

⁵ La *Revue de Paris* a publié aux premiers mois de 1915 un roman posthume de Nolly, *Le Conquérant, journal d'un indésirable au Maroc*. On y retrouve la croyance de l'auteur que la vie de soldat dans les colonies, et la légion étrangère, sont de merveilleuses écoles d'énergie, réussissant à refaire une existence là où tous les autres moyens humains ont échoué.

été assez d'accord pour le déclarer inférieur en valeur littéraire à celui de Variot, et à ceux surtout de Nolly. D'autre part, il se trouvait que l'esprit du livre correspondait exactement aux dispositions et aux désirs de la France au moment où il parut c. à. d. presque à la veille de la guerre, et cette circonstance a fait reculer à l'arrière-plan toute autre considération chez ce public qui décerne le succès.

Maurice Vincent grandit en province en subissant deux influences en sens contraire : d'une part, son père, maître d'école, tout entier acquis aux idées de pacifisme, et plein de discours ; d'autre part, le capitaine Nangès, ayant suivi aveuglément *l'appel des armes*, ne parlant guère, mais agissant de façon éloquente. L'enfant est fasciné, et dès qu'il le peut, il s'engage, puis après quelques mois, part, secouant famille, amour et tout, pour faire campagne en Afrique.

Le ton vraiment mystique qui règne tout au travers de ces pages est extraordinaire et par moments déconcertant. Maurice met une ferveur religieuse à s'acquitter de son service et des plus infimes corvées ; ses pensées, ses sentiments, ses actions sont d'un homme qui se prépare à une mission sacrée, comme le chevalier du moyen-âge se préparant à défendre la veuve et l'orphelin contre les entreprises de ceux qui sont forts sans bonté. On remarquera aussi que, tandis que Nolly relevait avec tant d'insistance le rôle du soldat *français*, Psichari lui, semble presque oublier l'idée de nationalité ou, disons plutôt, cherchait à la dépasser. Comme Roland et les preux de Charlemagne, Nangès et Maurice mettent leur épée moins au service d'une patrie que de la chrétienté. Sans doute, dans un chapitre important, où le capitaine Nangès a dans le désert d'Afrique un long entretien avec le lieutenant Timoléon d'Arc, (l'ami d'Alfred de Vigny dans la *Veillée de*

Vincennes) qui lui apparaît un soir de bataille; Psichari fait une allusion directe à l'Alsace-Lorraine, mais c'est plutôt à titre de symbole d'une cause de justice divine qui a été violée. " Vous avez dans le cœur une haine, et c'est ce qui nous manquait "; pour Psichari, tuer l'ennemi, c'est tuer l'ennemi de la justice divine, et par conséquent c'est une bonne action. Si on se met dans l'état d'esprit du livre, on comprendra la prière extraordinaire à première lecture de Maurice Vincent dans l'église de Cherbourg; c'est bien la page qui résume le mieux et entièrement cette jeune mystique guerrière:

Ô mon dieu, donnez-moi le courage et la vaillance, et donnez-moi la grâce et l'élégance aisée de mon capitaine lorsqu'il paraît à cheval dans la cour de notre quartier. Donnez-moi la vigueur du corps et la patience de l'âme, faites que je trouve beau ce qui paraît mesquin aux autres hommes, et faites que j'aie la foi des soldats, Dieu des armées! Ah! si vraiment vous êtes là, dans cette ostie, daignez voir que je ne suis pas mauvais et que, moi aussi, je suis digne de mourir pour une idée. Envoyez-moi dans les pays lointains des infidèles, sur les champs de bataille ensoleillés, et donnez-moi la bravoure tranquille des vieux soldats. Faites que je sois fort et que je tue beaucoup d'ennemis. . . . Si vous le voulez, Seigneur Dieu, donnez-moi la grâce de mourir dans une grande victoire, et faites que je voie alors au ciel votre splendeur.

Nous parlions tout à l'heure des preux du moyen-âge: cette prière ne rappelle-t-elle pas le discours de l'Archevêque Turpin, à Roncevaux, quand il se trouvait avec les pairs de France devant les mêmes infidèles dont parle ici Psichari:

L'archevêque Turpin pique son cheval et monte sur une colline. Puis s'adresse aux Français et leur fait ce sermon: Seigneurs barons, Charles nous a laissés ici. C'est notre roi; notre devoir est de mourir pour lui. Chrétienté est en péril, maintenez-la. Il est certain que vous aurez bataille, car sous vos yeux voici les Sarrasins. Or donc battez votre coulpe et demandez à Dieu merci. Pour guérir vos âmes je vais vous absoudre. Si vous mourez, vous serez tous martyrs. Dans le grand paradis vos places sont toutes prêtes. Pour votre pénitence, vous tuerez les païens!

Est-ce bien là le même peuple français qui, vingt ans auparavant, s'assimilait Descaves, Hermant et A. France, et qui maintenant non seulement accepte, mais acclame Psichari ? La formule *la guerre est divine* marque bien le point extrême de l'oscillation du pendule qui était parti de la formule *La guerre est un retour lascif à la vie sauvage*.

La fin de ce roman, si plein de jeune enthousiasme pour une cause divine est déconcertante. Vincent n'est pas tué dans une grande victoire ; il est blessé dans une poursuite de bandits au désert ; et le voilà mutilé pour la vie. Il rentre à Paris, refuse l'amour de celle qui aurait été heureuse de se dévouer pour lui, et végète en rond de cuir dans quelque bureau de ministère. L'explication de cette conclusion inattendue n'est pas peut-être si difficile. L'origine en est probablement dans l'abîme que Vincent croit voir entre ses rêves de soldat, et un état d'esprit en France qui ne permettait aucune perspective de réalisation. On semblait autour de lui se détourner des grandes causes sacrées, inspiratrices de vertus profondes et guerrières ; on préférerait à des luttes héroïques, une paix ratifiant de flagrantes injustices : " l'irréremédiable déclin de l'idée de revanche " avait dit Anatole France. Oui, répond Psichari ; et le *vrai* soldat ne va en Afrique que pour chercher *l'illusion* d'une noble lutte : " vous connaissez, vous autres (soldats) des grandeurs nouvelles. . . Depuis quarante ans que vous avez goûté l'affreux poison de la défaite, quoique vous fassiez, il reste au fond de vous-mêmes la rage impuissante, l'amère tristesse—soif inassouvie." Mais " vous vous trompez vous-mêmes en venant ici (au désert) ; vous cherchez ici une saveur qui vous trompe." Alors que reste-t-il à celui qui est bien conscient de l'état des choses ? rien qu'à se résigner à cette vie de honteux philistinisme.*

* Nous passons ici sur les discussions auxquelles ont donné lieu les

Nolly avait été plus perspicace que Psichari. Celui-ci n'avait pensé qu'à la France pacifiste; celui-là avait vu que l'Allemagne agressive forcerait les vengeurs de la justice à se lever. Et en effet la politique tortueuse et brutale des conseillers du Kaiser allait réveiller même les plus assoupis.

Animé de sentiments comme ceux que trahit son livre, on devine avec quelle ardeur sacrée Psichari répondit lui-même à l'appel des armes, tout comme Nolly, lorsque retentit le grand cri au mois d'août 1914! Il appartenait bien par l'esprit à cette phalange d'officiers qui avaient voulu entrer dans la fournaise de la bataille en tenue de gala:

Ils mettaient leurs gants blancs devant la canonnade
Et ils tendaient leurs mains de flancs joyeux.
A la vierge d'airain qui leur broyait les yeux,
Jusqu'à ce que le jour sombrât sous leurs paupières.

Il tomba le 22 août, quelques jours avant Nolly, en défendant sa batterie. Et il fut chanté par Rostand:

Ta France a du sang grec, ton nom contient une aile!
Petit-fils de Renan tué sur un canon,
Psyché, qui reconnaît son aile dans ton nom,
Pose en pleurant sa lampe au sommet de la stèle!

Mais, poète par qui la Prière immortelle
Revint de l'Acropole au Calvaire breton,
Toi que jusqu'à Pascal reconduisit Platon,
L'Ombre de ton aïeul, comment t'accueille-t-elle?

opinions religieuses de Psichari, et qui ont été suggérées en partie en rapport avec le pessimisme de la fin de son livre. Les uns ont annoncé que, abandonnant la vie militaire pour la vie mystique, Psichari se préparait à entrer au couvent; d'autres au contraire que de l'exaltation sacrée de *l'appel aux armes* il était retombé dans un état de doute et revenait à grands pas vers l'intellectualisme bafoué d'abord par lui. Le roman posthume, *La Veillée du Centurion*—ne nous paraît pas aussi décisif qu'à quelques uns pour établir la première théorie.

Ah! le vieil Enchanteur, sur sa tombe d'Armor,
Aime, jeune guerrier, que ton austère mort
Agite le rameau qui des roses délivre!

Tous ces faux héritiers dont il a dû souffrir
Ne murmureront plus qu'il souriait pour vivre
Quand son vrai descendant a souri pour mourir!

ALBERT SCHINZ.

IV.—CHARLES CHURCHILL'S TREATMENT OF THE COUPLET

The middle of the eighteenth century was a period of transition, and Charles Churchill, its greatest satirist, was typical of his age. The men whose influence appears most strongly in his works belonged to the classical and the pseudo-classical schools; those whom he influenced were the exponents of some phase of romanticism. In him we find the spirit of revolt against authority that appears in the early romanticists, but we do not find the lofty ideals, the introspective analysis, the spiritual interpretation of nature, that characterized the later poets. The very fact that he was a satirist links him indissolubly with the classicists. In his exaltation of reason as the "Lord Chief-Justice in the court of man,"¹ in his general mode of thought and expression, he is conservative—in revolt, to be sure, against the school of Pope, yet an imitator of it at every turn.

It is almost inevitable that the first signs of revolt in the eighteenth century against a moribund pseudo-classicism should have been an effort to return to Dryden, whom Churchill admired because in him genius and judgment were joined.² Those who led the revolt against Pope were far too much under the domination of reason to throw away the old system entirely. They made an effort to restore poetry to its place as an imitation of nature rather than to continue it as an imitation of other imitations. Their successors, however, found that new wine could not be placed in old bottles. The revival of Dryden was but

¹ *The Apology*, l. 413.

² *Ibid.*, l. 386.

temporary; the spirit of revolt which it indicated was far too strong to be held within bounds. Churchill, then, was a precursor of the romantic school only in the fact that he tried to break away from outworn pseudo-classicism. His mode of escape was a return to the classical ideals of Dryden: that of the romanticists was introspective analysis in the solitudes of spiritualized nature.

In this paper, however, we are concerned primarily, not with Churchill's revolutionary ideas, but with the revolutionary form of his verse. He had but little patience with the insipid correctness of the poetry and the drama of his day. His criticism of Pope, which Byron stresses as one of the early attempts to depreciate the author of *The Dunciad*, is based upon the fact that unvarying excellence wearies by its very perfection.

Churchill recognizes that his verse is rough; he speaks of himself as one

Who boast[s] no merit but mere knack of rhyme,
Short gleams of sense, and satire out of time.³

In *Gotham*, in the midst of his poetical career, he attacked the artificiality of most verse of the period; he praised those who, steering a middle course, could write poetry in which sense and grace united to make it great. For himself, however, he could say only that he had not the time to waste in reducing to perfection everything he wrote:

Nothing of books, and little known of men,
When the mad fit comes on, I seize the pen,
Rough as they run, the rapid thoughts set down,
Rough as they run, discharge them on the town.⁴

In *The Author*, the satirist rails against the taste that cramps wild genius; in the second book of *The Ghost* he

³ *The Prophecy of Famine*, ll. 81-2.

⁴ *Gotham*, Bk. II, ll. 171-174.

inquires why one should court an antiquated Muse. The evidence shows that he was interested chiefly in the substance of his satire, and not in the form. Life was too precious for him to waste it in unnecessary correction of manuscript. It mattered very little to him that a line was faulty in rhyme or in metre, provided that it would serve to crush his enemy or to exalt his friend. He knew that the more vigorous his verse, the more his readers would enjoy it; he would not blunt the edge of his satire by recasting the lines.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this theory fitted in admirably with Churchill's habits of life; it would perhaps not be too much to suggest that his love of conviviality may have influenced him in his dislike of Popean perfection. However that may be, one must admit that his mode of living militated against all restraint. His career in the church was embittered by the knowledge that he had been forced into it, that he had but little opportunity for advancement, that he was fitted for other and more profitable pursuits. In David Garrick, he found a man who was succeeding in a struggle against the shackles of stage-tradition. It was almost inevitable that his admiration for Garrick and the principles of natural acting should lead him to apply the same principles, first to the other actors, and then to literature. He was led the more easily to a revolt against Pope, because to have followed him would have been to continue in bondage, to have freed himself from the bonds of the church only to assume those of taste. He would much rather sit in the tavern with his boon companions than spend hours in polishing satires that, unpolished, sold far better than did any of the smoother poems of Whitehead or Mason.

All the verse that Churchill wrote was in couplet form, either heroic or octosyllabic. In all the poems except *The*

Ghost and *The Duellist* there is considerable resemblance in form to the work of Dryden and Pope. In general, Churchill belonged to the school of Pope, and consequently followed in the beaten track. He imitated Pope's epigrammatic couplet with its delicately pointed shafts of wit and its rapier-like satire, but he employed far more than did his master the series of closely-knit lines in which the pauses between the couplets are marked only by commas. Pope rarely used the run-on couplet; Churchill used it so frequently that his satire has a comet-like brilliance that could not be attained by the use of the closed couplet alone. His style was argumentative; he aimed to win his point by reason as well as by abuse.

It is scarcely too much to say that everyone who wrote at all in heroic couplets in the half-century following Pope's death was either directly or indirectly influenced by him. Churchill, as far as he imitated Pope, was merely following along the blazed trail of his century. We are interested primarily, however, not in his adherence to established rules, but in his deviations from them, in his revolt against the tyranny of end-stopped lines and the closed couplet.

W. E. Mead points out ⁵ that in *Absalom and Achitophel* 18.63% of the lines are unstopped, and in Pope's *Epistle to Arbuthnot* only 3.818%. If we read aloud the attacks on Achitophel and on Atticus, we cannot help noticing the greater rhetorical effect produced by even the few unstopped lines in the former. In Pope, we have time to pause to admire the poet's wit; in Dryden we are carried along by the smoothly connected flow of the verse. It is better fitted for the narrative and forensic style than for

⁵ *The Versification of Pope in its Relation to the Seventeenth Century*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 32-33.

the satire which crushes by epithet. In Churchill we find both types of couplet, and also a third in which he departs from the usage of his century. The pointed antithetical couplet occurs, for instance, in the description of Miss Pope, an actress,

Not without art, but yet to Nature true,
She charms the town with humour just, yet new.*

It appears similarly in *The Apology*, where Churchill characterizes the reviewers who had attacked him:

Fools that we are, like Israel's fools of yore,
The calf ourselves have fashion'd we adore.'

In a poem entitled *Night*, the satirist contrasts with his own habits, those of a certain Rupert:

Wound up at twelve at noon, his clock goes right,
Mine better goes, wound up at twelve at night.*

Not to multiply examples, we find in Churchill's poetry frequent instances of Pope's turns of phrase, of closed epigrammatic couplets. But as we proceed through his poems we can see influences at work that tend to make the couplet less rigid. Pope occasionally wrote couplets so closely joined that they need only a comma to connect them; Churchill uses this form much more often than he does the epigrammatic. One example will suffice to show what we mean:

What but rank folly, for thy curse decreed,
Could into Satire's barren path mislead,
When, open to the view, before thee lay
Soul-soothing Panegyric's flowery way?*

Dryden employs this form frequently in *The Hind and the*

* *The Rosciad*, ll. 698-700.

' *The Apology*, ll. 104-105.

* *Night*, ll. 83-84.

* *Epistle to William Hogarth*, ll. 99-102.

Panther, especially in the expository or argumentative passages. An example occurs in the lines:

As long as words a different sense will bear,
And each may be his own interpreter,
Our airy faith will no foundation find:
The word's a weathercock for every wind.*

Everywhere in Dryden we find unstopped lines, but ordinarily only within the couplet.

Churchill, on the other hand, although always using the couplet, departs frequently from the form which his great predecessors had established. Especially in his greatest passages of invective he runs line into line and couplet into couplet with great variation of pause.

The effect of this linking of couplets, of the variation in the position of the cæsure, and of an occasional line without a pause, is to give to the style a largeness and magnificence of tone unattainable in a series of rigid couplets. Churchill wrote with such freedom that he was continually censured by the reviewers for his roughness of style. Yet even in censuring him they praised the power of his verse. One of the chief sources of his excellence, and also of his deviation from the established form of the unstopped couplet, was his imitation of Shakespeare.

Before he wrote *The Rosciad*, his great satire directed against the actors in the theatres of London, he had watched the acting in some of Shakespeare's most famous plays. As he listened to the blank verse of *Hamlet* or *Macbeth* it was almost inevitable that he should introduce in his own impassioned speeches a trace of the great master's style. I do not refer primarily to the many phrases that Churchill borrowed from Shakespeare, but rather to his almost unconscious imitation of the rhythm

* *The Hind and the Panther*, ll. 462-465.

and cadences of blank verse. In *The Epistle to William Hogarth*, Candour says,

Might this be true, had we so far fill'd up
The measure of our crimes, and from the cup
Of guilt so deeply drank [sic] as not to find,
Thirsting for sin, one drop, one dreg behind,
Quick ruin must involve this flaming ball,
And Providence in justice crush us all.¹¹

If we were in doubt as to the source of this apparent influence we should need only to turn to Churchill's account of the ages of man to get definite proof. It appears most plainly in the first lines:

Infancy, straining backward from the breast,
Tetchy and wayward, what he loveth best
Refusing in his fits, whilst all the while
The mother eyes the wrangler with a smile.¹²

Nor is the debt to Shakespeare less evident in lines like the following:

A patriot king—why, 'tis a name which bears
The more immediate stamp of Heaven: which wears
The nearest, best, resemblance we can shew
Of God above, through all his works below.¹³

We can see the importance of this influence not so much in these almost plagiarized lines as in those which, perhaps, suggest Shakespeare, but chiefly in their resemblance to his blank verse. In *The Times*, the poet advises that mothers should pray for daughters rather than for sons:

They shall reward your love, nor make ye grey
Before your time with sorrow: they shall give
Ages of peace, and comfort; whilst ye live
Make life most truly worth your care, and save
In spite of death, your memories from the grave.¹⁴

¹¹ *Epistle to William Hogarth*, ll. 263-268.

¹² *Gotham*, Book I, ll. 165-168.

¹³ *Gotham*, Book III, ll. 63-66.

¹⁴ *The Times*, ll. 592-596.

In *Independence*, amidst a number of passages that illustrate our point, we find,

Whether we will or no,
Through reason's court doth it unquestion'd go
E'en on the mention, and of course transmit
Notions of something excellent, of wit
Pleasing, though keen¹⁵

One of the most remarkable instances of the influence of Shakespeare's verse upon Churchill's use of the couplet occurs in *The Journey*. The poet is describing the conscience-stricken nights of the second-rate writer, John Armstrong:

. when the night
Suspends this mortal coil, when memory wakes,
When for our past misdoings, conscience takes
A deep revenge, when, by reflection led,
She draws his curtains, and looks comfort dead,
Let every muse be gone; in vain he turns,
And tries to pray for sleep; an Ætna burns
A more than Ætna, in his coward breast,
And guilt, with vengeance arm'd, forbids him rest.¹⁶

When we consider these lines and compare with them the even longer passage in the *Dedication of his Sermons to Bishop Warburton*, beginning,

Doctor! Dean! Bishop! Glo'ster! and my Lord,¹⁷

it becomes evident that where Churchill departs most radically from Pope's use of the couplet, he is following not merely Dryden, but the author of *Henry IV*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *Hamlet*. We would not overestimate this influence: much of Churchill's verse belongs only to the school of Dryden and Pope at its worst. Much of his most noteworthy work follows these writers at their best. It is

¹⁵ *Independence*, ll. 31-35.

¹⁶ *The Journey*, ll. 150-158.

¹⁷ *The Dedication to Dr. W. Warburton*, l. 163.

interesting, however, to note that in the work of this early rebel against the authority of Pope there is a definite tendency toward the use of blank verse.

Churchill's treatment of the octosyllabic couplet in *The Duellist* and *The Ghost* shows to a less degree the same influences. One must recall that the octosyllabic couplet as developed by Butler and Swift was more fluid than was the heroic couplet. Yet in Churchill's hands it tended to become still more free:

Thou perjur'd wretch! whom falsehood clothes
E'en like a garment, who with oaths
Dost trifle, as with brokers, meant
To serve thy every vile intent . . .¹⁸

In this passage with its enjambement and its varied pauses we have precisely the same phenomenon as in the heroic couplet—an unconscious imitation of blank verse. Again, describing the subterranean cell of Fraud, the poet says,

One dull, dim taper through the cell
Glimmering, to make more horrible
The face of darkness.¹⁹

In *The Ghost* we find fewer run-on couplets, yet even here Churchill occasionally finds them admirably adapted to his rambling discourse:

With nothing done and little said,
By wild excursive Fancy led
Into a second Book thus far,
Like some unwary traveller . . .²⁰

He says that Avaro, the miser, shall be forced, as his punishment after death, to revisit nightly the former resting-place of his gold:

¹⁸ *The Duellist*, Book I, ll. 59-62.

¹⁹ *The Duellist*, Bk. III, ll. 25-27.

²⁰ *The Ghost*, Bk. II, ll. 105-108.

Compell'd, the tall, thin, half-starved sprite
Shall earth re-visit, and survey
The place where once his treasure lay.²¹

Again in Book IV, he remarks that a certain knight
whipped his son,

Because the boy, presumptuous, bold
To madness, likely to become
A very Swiss, had beat a drum.²²

From these examples, we can see in what direction Churchill turned when he varied from the closed octosyllabic couplet. Unstopped couplets are comparatively rare in his use of this metre, yet especially in *The Duellist* he seems to be influenced by the same force that urged him toward blank verse in the heroic couplet.

The tradition of writing sustained satire in rhymed couplets was too strong to be cast aside entirely. Yet occasionally, when Churchill was especially moved, he leaped his bounds, and then, in those audacious passages that at once shocked and amazed his critics, he poured out all his emotion in powerful couplets which were almost blank verse. For the inspirer of these passages we must turn, not to Dryden and Butler and Pope, but to Shakespeare as revived by David Garrick.

JOSEPH M. BEATTY, JR.

²¹ *The Ghost*, Bk. II, ll. 472-474.

²² *The Ghost*, Bk. IV, ll. 448-450.

V.—THE INFLUENCE OF CONSERVATISM ON THE ART OF PEREDA

For purposes of discussion it is convenient to divide the literary productions of Pereda¹ into two classes; from 1859 until about 1876 he was occupied chiefly with short sketches known as *cuadros de costumbres*; from 1877 until the virtual close of his career as an author in 1895 his attention was centered upon novels.² Long sketches that approach the dignity of novels appeared before 1877, and Pereda never ceased entirely the composition of short pieces. The distinction just made, however, is roughly true.

Pereda first became known to the reading public as a *costumbrista*, or describer of manners and customs. His background was the district known familiarly to its inhabitants as the *Montaña*, comprising the seacoast, the city of Santander, neighboring villages and rural districts, and the Cantabrian mountains.

The best of the *cuadros de costumbres*³ are undoubt-

¹ The leading facts in the life of José María de Pereda may be summarized as follows: Born in Polanco in 1833, he received his early education in the neighboring city of Santander; he spent two years in Madrid (1852-1854) in order to study for the artillery branch of the army; giving up his idea of a military career, he returned to Santander to devote himself to literature; he was elected deputy to the *Cortes* in 1871, but, disappointed in politics, he returned to his home in 1872 and built a house in Polanco, where the remainder of his life was spent; an easy competence enabled him to write how and when he pleased; in 1897 he was elected a member of the Spanish Academy; his death occurred in 1906.

² The word *novel* is used in a general sense; many of Pereda's masterpieces do not conform to a strict definition of the term.

³ The *cuadros de costumbres* are published in four collections:

edly the earlier ones, written between 1859 and 1864. Here are found examples of a genuinely objective treatment of the various inhabitants of Santander and its vicinity. Some of these sketches have made a profound impression upon competent critics. *La Leva*, *La Robla*, *A las Indias*, *Suum cuique*, and others, have been received as veritable masterpieces. In them Pereda shows the rare ability to suggest by a few telling strokes the whole life of an individual and, in the individual, the life of a community. El Tuerto and Tremontorio in *La Leva* conjure up before the reader's eyes the struggles of the fishing folk of Santander. After reading *A las Indias* we can understand the temptation among the young to emigrate to America, the sacrifices of their parents to enable them to do this, and the tragic uselessness of the whole procedure; the experiences of one family suffice for all. In other sketches we find now a curious character of the Santander of Pereda's youth, now a peculiar custom, now a playful gibe at those who consider country life either a bore or an idyll. The most objective pieces are the best. We might divine from them what Pereda tells us elsewhere—that he is striving to set down for contemporary and future readers the surroundings of his boyhood, the picturesque characteristics fast yielding to the march of civilization. No one could have composed these scenes without feeling love for them. They required not only the eye of a skilled and patient observer, but a heart that beat in sympathy with the events and personages described.

The severely realistic manner of the early *cuadros de costumbres* produced in certain quarters the idea that

Escenas montañosas, *Tipos y paisajes*, *Esbozos y rasguños*, and *Tipos trashumantes*; the last mentioned volume contains also the *Bocetos al temple*, which are rather long sketches or stories.

Pereda was too harsh in his descriptions.⁴ In short, he was accused of doing injury to the *Montaña*. No accusation could have been more cruel, for no man ever loved his native province more devotedly than did Pereda. His answers to such criticisms are illuminating. On one occasion he writes: "Being a portrait painter, although an unworthy one, and a slave to the truth, when I painted the customs of the *Montaña* I copied them exactly; and as they are not perfect, their imperfections appeared in the copy."⁵ Again: "I painted it [the *Montaña*] yielding to a temptation stronger than my will; the same one that obliges the poet to sing to nature, and the musician to snatch her scattered harmonies. An irresistible, invincible impulse, perhaps greater than that which drove some of you to the other side of the Atlantic in search of fancied torrents of minted gold pieces."⁶

The *cuadros de costumbres* written after 1864 do not seem quite so spontaneous as their predecessors. The author injects into them more of his own personality. Again and again he launches into a biting satire upon the strangers who visit Santander;⁷ he attacks the innovations for which modernism is responsible. The reader is more deeply impressed by the purely objective method of the earlier sketches, which fortunately does not entirely disappear in the later ones. We learn a great deal about

⁴ For instance, in the preface to the first edition of the *Escenas montaÑesas* Antonio de Trueba had praised Pereda highly, but had suggested that he was perhaps unduly pessimistic in delineation of character and in choice of scene. These remarks are omitted from later editions of the *Escenas montaÑesas*, because several changes were made in the grouping of the sketches which removed the applicability of some of Trueba's observations.

⁵ From the preface to *Tipos y paisajes*.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Especially, of course, in *Tipos trashumantes*.

Pereda's beliefs and prejudices from his political writings, but we gain a higher appreciation of his art and a more convincing demonstration of his love for the *Montaña* from such pieces as *El Fin de una raza*, in which the death of Trementorio (of *La Leva*) is described.⁸

Several circumstantial narratives, or short novels, such as *Blasones y talegas*, *Los Hombres de pro*, *La Mujer del César*, and *Oros son triunfos*, are preparatory to Pereda's longer works. They contain numerous strictures on modern, and particularly on urban, society, on new methods, on corrupt politics, etc. The criticism is sometimes softened by good-humored comment and by the recognition of imperfections in the objects of Pereda's admiration.⁹

Three books represent Pereda's first attempts at long novels: *El Buey suelto*, *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera*, and *De tal palo, tal astilla*.

El Buey suelto (1877) is an answer to Balzac's *Petites misères de la vie conjugale* and *Physiologie du mariage*. In the introduction it is called by the author a poor effort at *fisiología celibataria*. He there states: "I was not guided by the purpose of solving any problem, but of giving free play to fancy on a fixed theme." The book is, as he calls it, a series of pictures that present in a ridiculous light the adventures of a bachelor, narrow, selfish, and commonplace, and yet not depraved. Although most of the scenes are comic, Pereda allows himself to be serious long enough to leave no possible doubt as to his conviction of the advantages of the married state. There is about as much real argument as in the *Petites misères* of Balzac. So far, then, the work may be called a satisfactory rejoinder to the French book.

⁸ Written in 1880.

⁹ This is particularly true of the masterly character sketch *Blasones y talegas*.

Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera (1878) serves a double purpose; it indicates, on the one hand, the attractiveness of patriarchal customs and, on the other, the evil effects produced upon an ignorant rustic community by political disturbance, by agitation for universal education, and the like.

De tal palo, tal astilla (1879) is an answer to the *Doña Perfecta* and the *Gloria* of Pérez Galdós. It is a defense of the Catholic religion and an exposition of the evils of freethinking and atheism. Fortunately for the art of the book the two freethinkers, father and son, are personally admirable. The point is made that they have no spiritual consolation in misfortune. Earthly disappointment means to them despair or suicide.

In the decade from 1880 to 1890 Pereda produced probably his best and his poorest work. The most characteristic novels of the period are the three that deal exclusively with the *Montaña*.¹⁰ *El Sabor de la tierruca* (1881) is an idyllic description of village life, objective for the most part and full of healthy realism. Except for the slight but consistent plot that runs through the book, it is a series of *cuadros de costumbres*. *Sotileza* (1884), commonly considered the author's best work, is a prose epic of the seafaring people of Santander as they were in Pereda's youth. The closing words of the novel describe the author's attitude toward it. He calls it "the gigantic endeavor to sing, in the midst of these disbelieving and colorless generations, the noble virtues, the miserable existence, the great weaknesses, the incorruptible faith, and the epic labors of the courageous and picturesque mariner of Santander." *La Puchera* (1888) contains more plot than most of Pereda's works, but it is still a picture of manners and

¹⁰ *El Sabor de la tierruca*, *Sotileza*, and *La Puchera*.

customs—in this instance, among the inhabitants of a small village near the coast.

Pedro Sánchez (1883) is Pereda's most successful venture into the world outside his province. It was written in response to critics who had charged him with provincialism.¹¹ The flattering reception accorded to the work surprised both the author and Menéndez y Pelayo.¹² It is possible that the reading public and critics preferred familiar scenes to the remote settings of the *Montaña*. Notwithstanding the political and social corruption portrayed in *Pedro Sánchez*, Pereda shows in this book more fairness than elsewhere toward Madrid. He assumes also an unusually impartial attitude toward revolutionary disturbance.

The three novels that have added least to Pereda's reputation are *La Montálvez* (1887), *Nubes de estío* (1890), and *Al primer vuelo* (1890). *La Montálvez* is a protest against the immorality of aristocratic society in Madrid. *Nubes de estío* is simply a framework to contain its author's invectives against modernism and unequal marriages. Chapters are inserted apparently only to point out abuses and vices. *Al primer vuelo* possesses little in common with other works of Pereda except satire of gossips. It has a slight love theme spun out to perhaps unreasonable length.

After 1890 Pereda wrote very little besides *Peñas arriba* (1894), the culminating work of his life. This is a description of a small village situated near the top of the

¹¹ Cf. Emilia Pardo Bazán, *La Ouestión palpitante*, p. 268.

¹² Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *José María de Pereda* in *Estudios de crítica literaria*, vol. v, pp. 414-417; this study is also prefixed to the first volume of Pereda's *Obras completas*. As a fellow townsman and friend of Pereda, Menéndez y Pelayo was peculiarly interested in the success of his works. He was well acquainted with *Pedro Sánchez* and other books before their publication.

Cantabrian mountains. Scene after scene of calm beauty, of storm, of heroism, of patriarchal customs, all traced with prodigious skill, bring before us at one sweep the whole ideal system of Pereda. It must be granted, however, that he is not always satisfied to let the reader draw his own conclusions. Direct arguments against modernism are found here and there throughout the book.

A few short sketches, with *Pachín González*, a powerful and realistic description of the havoc wrought by an explosion on a vessel in Santander harbor, are the only other products of the last fifteen years of Pereda's life.

Critics of an earlier generation attempted to connect Pereda with certain schools of fiction popular shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century. He was considered an adherent of realism or naturalism—a follower of Flaubert, Zola, and others. Little attention was paid to the fact that much of his work antedated certain novels from which he was supposed to have derived inspiration. He himself and Menéndez y Pelayo, the critic who knew him best, have pointed out absurdities in efforts to classify his literary productions. In the preface to *De tal palo, tal astilla* he protests against attempts to affiliate him with certain schools, and he speaks of his *peculiarísima compleción literaria*.

Menéndez y Pelayo has ably discussed the real literary background of his lifelong friend.¹³ After disposing summarily of the fancied debt to French realists and naturalists he takes up the question of Pereda's *peculiarísima compleción literaria*. He likes to think of Pereda primarily as a painter of customs and therefore as the successor of Cervantes, of the picaresque novelists, and of

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 382 ff.

all who wrote *cuadros de costumbres*. He declares that Pereda derived much inspiration, both in thought and in style, from the writers of the Golden Age.

Among the more immediate predecessors of Pereda in the portrayal of manners were Larra, Flores, Mesonero Romanos, Fernán Caballero, and Antonio de Trueba. Not only does Menéndez y Pelayo mention these names, but Pereda himself takes occasion to acknowledge his gratitude to Mesonero Romanos¹⁴ and to Trueba.¹⁵ Particularly interesting are the discussions of Spanish letters contained in *Pedro Sánchez*, the scene of which is the Madrid of 1854. Pereda speaks here of the wretched scrawls that passed under the name of "novels of Spanish customs." Then he proceeds to praise highly the endeavors of Fernán Caballero and others to introduce a sane realistic method in place of the wild romanticism and the imitation of foreign authors that had formed the stock in trade of popular novelists.

Pereda always objected to being called a realist, because he feared that the term identified him with a school and, what is more, with a foreign school. On the other hand, he was proud to be considered a chronicler of his fellow-countrymen. He must have enjoyed the tributes paid to him by such authorities as Pérez Galdós, Menéndez y Pelayo, and Emilia Pardo Bazán when they called him virtually the interpreter to the outside world of his native province.

Pereda's literary creed is contained in his speech on the occasion of his admission to the Spanish Academy on February 21st, 1897.¹⁶ At that time he had reached the age

¹⁴ See preface to *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera*.

¹⁵ Preface to *Escenas montañosas*.

¹⁶ Menéndez y Pelayo—Pereda—Pérez Galdós, *Discursos leídos ante*

of sixty-three years, and his active career was virtually at an end. His speech is a defense of what he calls the *novela regional*, or the novel that deals with the district familiar to an author through constant association with it from childhood. He defines the *novela regional*, in general, as one "whose substance is developed in a district or place that has special and distinctive life, characters, and colors, that enter the work as a principal part of it." Then he maintains that such a novel could not deal with any city that conforms with modern ideas or with modern cultivation; that it is especially appropriate in Spain; that it does not interfere with love of country by a substitution of love of a province; that it is healthy, lofty, and patriotic; that the love of a *región* can be understood only by one who has lived in it; that the inhabitants of a city can satisfy themselves with other cities, while a resident of a small district will never be contented in any other place; that the so-called *alta novela* with its politics, philosophy, problems, and conflicts is really indicative only of what is ephemeral, while the *novela regional* takes account of the eternal truths of nature and humanity; that particularly in Spain the conventional novel is an intruder; that genuine Spanish realism, dealing with the people, can trace its history back to *Don Quijote*, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, and other glorious products of the Golden Age; that it is therefore the purest Spanish product.

It has often been demonstrated that a novel or series of novels dealing with the life of a small or distant region may contain exceedingly broad conceptions. The characters may be provincial in external traits, yet general or eternal in fundamental meaning. The existence of this

la Real Academia Española en las recepciones públicas del 7 y 21 de febrero de 1897.

double treatment and significance in the writings of Pereda is pointed out in the speech delivered before the Spanish Academy by Pérez Galdós in answer to Pereda.¹⁷

Conservatism was the keynote of Pereda's political and social creed. Natural inclination turned him to literature as a form of expression. It was inevitable, therefore, that his writings should be influenced and even dominated by his most deep-rooted beliefs. When an author has strong convictions he may express them in two ways: by censure of what is distasteful to him, and by praise of what is dear. Thus it is with Pereda. He glorifies his beloved *Montaña*, and he protests against innovations. There is little tendency toward compromise in the man's nature. So sacred and so vital are his ideals that he cannot contemplate with patience anything at variance with them. He is unwilling to abate a jot of his lifelong convictions.

Thus, the artistic productions of Pereda are an index to his unswerving beliefs. He uses every weapon at his disposal to attack ideas and persons repellent to him. Good-natured fun gives way to irony and bitterness, and these in turn make place for straightforward abuse and argument. Irony is prominent in the *Tipos trashumantes*, *Los Hombres de pro*, *El Buey suelto*, and *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera*. In these works Pereda caricatures his chosen enemies; he exposes them mercilessly to the most brilliant light, where all the ridiculous details of their unfortunate characters are readily perceived. Savage satire condemns the summer visitor in Santander, the pushing political adventurer, the selfish bachelor, the hypocritical man of importance, the ignorant *parvenu*, the purveyor of revolutionary ideas. Yet irony and satire are legitimate arms for a novelist. Pereda employs them with

¹⁷ Speech of Pérez Galdós, *op. cit.*, pp. 166 ff.

deadly skill. Although occasionally good-humored in his strictures, he often goes to extreme lengths to pillory the objects of his detestation. So far does he proceed that the reader recognizes at last lack of balance and bigotry.

There is a great difference between artistic (even if excessive) use of irony and employment of direct argument. The controversial tendency was probably always present in Pereda's mind. It is to be observed in some of his earliest *cuadros de costumbres*.¹⁸ But a short sketch may justifiably be polemical and nothing else. It is a more serious matter when irrelevant abuse is inserted into novels that more clearly aim to be works of art. Some might detect too much personal animus and unnecessary vituperation in *De tal palo, tal astilla* and in *Pedro Sánchez*. In the former work, however, the theme is frankly contentious, and nothing seems out of place or dictated by mere prejudice, if the main purpose of the author is understood; neither is the half-ironical, half-abusive style of *Pedro Sánchez* displeasing unless one is annoyed by a strong and consistent presentation of the conservative point of view, which amounts to a lost cause as far as many modern readers are concerned. Other books might well be accused of exhibiting traces of narrowness. In fact, minute search would bring to light something of a polemical nature in all of Pereda's works, except a few of the *cuadros de costumbres*.

In *La Montálvez*, however, there is no softening of the polemical attitude. It is possible to admire this book and yet to find in it page after page marked by the greatest unfairness. If we were to judge by it alone, we should be forced to regard the high society of Madrid as entirely

¹⁸ Cf. the first of the *Escenas montañesas: Santander antaño y hoy* (1859).

corrupt and vicious. It is virtually a savage attack upon a world with which Pereda was not too well acquainted and against which he was moved by the most bitter prejudices. If the result is even passably good, the credit is due to the genius of Pereda and not to his judgment or sense of fairness. The book is dictated by an irreconcilable hatred of the social system of the capital as conceived by Pereda, who was prepossessed by uncompromising esteem for quiet country life and modest virtues.

Judged by the severely artistic standard, the blemishes of *Nubes de estío* are fatal. In one chapter, unconnected with the plot, three capital charges are brought against the literary people of Madrid: that they pay no attention to provincial writers, that they received *La Montálvez* unfairly, and that they deny that a province can supply themes worthy of treatment in a novel.¹⁹ Other intemperate attacks upon objects of the author's disdain are scattered through the book.

Even *Peñas arriba* is not exempt from the intrusion of the writer's opinions in a manner not justified by the plot. It is true that the lofty tone, the intense seriousness, and the exalted fervor of this masterpiece make us forget minor blemishes in admiration for the whole. It remains undeniable that conservative propaganda finds its place in several conversations wherein the artificial life of the cities is placed at a disadvantage. Perhaps Pereda could scarcely have refrained from speaking out; he was over sixty years old when he finished *Peñas arriba*, and his feelings had doubtless been growing constantly stronger as his age increased.

Nervous susceptibility accompanied the controversial

¹⁹ Cf. Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Los Resquemores de Pereda* in her *Obras completas*, vol. VI, *Polémicas y estudios literarios*.

spirit in Pereda's nature. The testimony of Pérez Galdós makes it clear that Pereda's nerves were always excited when he was waiting to see how a book would be received by public and critics. It appears that he dreaded hostile comments, and that he could not rest easy until he learned that the products of his toil had made a favorable impression.²⁰ Perhaps the most striking example of Pereda's irritable sensitiveness is manifest in the polemic between him and the Countess Emilia Pardo Bazán.²¹ Señora Pardo Bazán wrote a criticism of *Nubes de estío*, or rather of the chapter therein that contains Pereda's attacks upon the literary circles of Madrid. This article deeply wounded Pereda. The critic had used an unfortunate title for her comment,²² and had not hesitated to tax Pereda with his prejudices; but she had admitted his genius and acknowledged her admiration for him. Pereda replied in an effusion called *Las Comezones de la Señora Pardo Bazán*. This reply is little more than an outburst of wounded pride and spite by no means creditable to its composer and an indication of his unwillingness to be censured and of the immovable nature of his ideas.

Further development of this theme would be of doubtful advantage and manifestly unjust to Pereda. We have considered only one application of his conservative beliefs, and that the destructive one. Examination of the constructive side of his work produces results more pleasing and more valuable.

There is a temptation felt in common by many cultivated men to set forth the excellent qualities of past ages.

²⁰ Speech of Pérez Galdós, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-187. Galdós describes Pereda by a sentence imitated from Quevedo: *Érase un hombre pegado a un sistema nervioso*.

²¹ E. Pardo Bazán, *Obras completas*, vol. VI, pp. 25-65.

²² *Los Resquemores de Pereda*, already mentioned.

As the average man cannot be cognizant of the evolutionary steps that have led to his time, it devolves upon a chosen few to reveal to contemporary generations the tradition of the past. The geologist, the historian, and the scholar transplant themselves into distant eras and strive to reproduce those eras. What is this but the instinct of conservatism mellowed, at last, and ennobled by meditation until it becomes a sacred duty to preserve the past and to supply standards that may guide present and future generations? Behind the impulse to investigate Greek and Roman activity, for example, is recognition of the greatness of Greek and Roman achievement.

Worship of former ages and interest in them have long since invaded the field of art. The epic poem, the historical novel, and the historical drama are among the important results. A work of literature that does not contain some reference or some more or less intimate indebtedness to the past is almost inconceivable.

Artistic works that deal with distant ages labor under a serious disadvantage. Faithfulness to human nature and minute observation of conditions that influence human nature are essential to any writer who aspires to excellence in this field. Many an author of unquestioned ability has tried his hand at the historical novel. However careful the work may be, however marvelous the conceptions and profound the research, there is always something lacking. Numerous petty but essential details of the period described are unknown, and must be forever unknown. The point of view of the normal citizen of a remote epoch cannot be restored in all its fulness. Investigation may work wonders, the sympathetic imagination and the creative power may accomplish miracles, but the record still falls short of the vital truth. The historical novel must

lay stress upon detached facts that have come down through the ages, and must overlook equally important facts that simply cannot be known.

Granting an equality in ability and care, the novelist who deals with a well-known epoch has an advantage over one who describes an environment but vaguely reconstructed. He who chooses the immediate past has a comprehension of the details of his subject matter that cannot be attained by the describer of the remote, who must rely upon an unusual theme to awaken interest, so that realism inevitably suffers. Only the artist who writes of the present or of a past that he has witnessed can be truly realistic.

In Pereda is combined the desire to describe the past with the minute information necessary to the realist. He looks back to the province of Santander as it was in his youth. In his opinion it had been totally changed by modern progress. Feeling bound to his early environment by the most sacred ties, he assumed the task of preserving his remembrances in the form of works of art. His best works are indubitably those in which he strives with the most single purpose to paint the life of the *Montaña* that he had known. What he most coveted was the approval of his contemporaries of Santander who had witnessed the scenes depicted by him. They could appreciate as no others could the fidelity to truth in his compositions. The closer the portrait was to the original, the more likely it was to please such critics. For this reason Menéndez y Pelayo was more genuinely delighted by *La Leva* than by any other of his friend's works. Those who have not been inhabitants of the *Montaña* can perhaps better appreciate the longer books.

Pereda's chief claim to fame as a novelist should rest

upon *El Sabor de la tierruca*, *Sotileza*, *La Puchera*, and *Peñas arriba*. These are detailed studies of the world to which their author was passionately attached. They are, in the main, unmarred by prejudiced abuse of another world.²³ Many of their excellent and peculiar qualities are encountered in other books—notably in *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera* and in *De tal palo, tal astilla*. We shall speak, therefore, principally of the four productions first named, because they are most typical, but we do not mean that the characteristics therein displayed are necessarily excluded from the other works.

Pereda introduces his readers to the *Montaña* simply by reproducing it. Plots are secondary to description of life. We term his productions novels, because that is the most convenient classification of them. They might almost equally well be called epics in prose. The reader is taught to know the environment *in toto*. He sees immense pictures of life, swarming in detail, where every nook and cranny is probed to bring forth the truth within it. The immutable affection of the author for the persons, the customs, the virtues, and even the hardships that he describes cannot but command the respect of the reader, whether or not he agrees. For the panorama displayed there is a deep religious background, a faith as changeless and as rugged as the sea and the mountains themselves. This faith is a natural and inseparable part of the picture, and as such nobody could even think of questioning it. Almost as essential is the prevalence of patriarchal customs, according to which a noble gentleman feels personal solicitude for the welfare of all the humble people who surround him, while they, in turn, look up to him, visit him in the evenings, and

²³ Tendencies toward unnecessary argument in *Peñas arriba* have been mentioned.

question and consult him on every difficulty. Next, marriage has its natural and inevitable place. The husband assumes his post as head of the family, the wife loves, helps, and obeys him, and the children revere him—all without the slightest hesitation or question.

The simple life is everywhere extolled through the effective process of mere description. Pereda's heroes and heroines take things as they come, without complaint. If sacrifice is required, it is performed ungrudgingly. If a crisis necessitates heroism, the need is always met effectively and unobtrusively. Life is hard for the humble, but they accept it, and they are easily pleased. Since the complex diversions and needs of a city are unknown, they are not missed. Many of Pereda's characters illustrate the contentment with their surroundings that he admired. His peasants and his fishermen appear to be literally transplanted from life into books. Their language is reproduced and their faithfulness and mental limitations are delineated with the most amazing exactness. They are impressive because they are so unbelievably human. Whoever has read Pereda comprehends the strength and the weakness of the humble toilers of the province of Santander. The priests who are pictured in these novels are sublime figures. Sincerity and simplicity carry them unquestioningly through all their duties. They are unreservedly at the service of their flocks in all matters spiritual or material, and they proceed to the most difficult tasks as a matter of course, with that patient resignation and serenity which inspire so many of Pereda's characters.

Gentlemen of exalted sentiments and unflinching determination to fill their place in the community are found in all of Pereda's novels. Except in *Peñas arriba*, however, they do not awaken so much interest and do not ring quite

so true as their lowly neighbors. Either they are slightly idealized or their appeal is of inferior strength through a comparative lack of picturesqueness.

As critics have remarked,²⁴ Pereda's women are somewhat shadowy figures. Admirable they are in many cases, but they never play parts of the highest importance. At their best they are lovable, patient, and affectionate, following their allotted path in life with the same calm devotion that marks Pereda's male types.

All this and much more is the bountiful offering from the spring of Pereda's love for the *Montaña* of his youth. His devotion bears fruit in the form of a vast description of his province. The picture is probably as realistic as any work of art could be; but just because it is a work of art it is permeated by idealism. Such enthusiasm as Pereda felt could not confine itself to photographic reproduction, but must intone a solemn hymn of praise to his beloved Santander. Nor is it to be supposed that the picture is altogether one-sided. We see the evil side of existence as well as the good. Hard living, vice, pettiness, jealousy, fondness for dispute, and downright villainy are represented. The picture is thereby more perfect.

Pereda is a product of Santander, of Old Castile, and of Spain. We can easily imagine him as one of his own heroes, devoted to the soil, interested in the welfare of dependents, and intensely conscious and proud of his position. If his conservative tendencies made him unfair to modernism, they yet imparted to his artistic impulse the material for his life work, and brought within possibility of realization through his own writings the wish expressed

²⁴ Cf. R. E. Bassett, Introduction to edition of *Pedro Sánchez*, pp. xxxv-xl.

with regard to the *novela regional* in general in the final portion of the speech before the Spanish Academy—that a record of the picturesque customs of bygone days might serve as a relaxation and consolation to the unfortunate victim of the leveling processes of civilization.

JOHN VAN HORNE.

VI.—HERBERT SPENCER AND THE RHETORICIANS

Whenever Herbert Spencer mentioned the origin of his works, he always insisted upon the freedom of his thought from the influence of others. This claim, though attacked in the case of several of his writings, has remained unquestioned as regards *The Philosophy of Style*. Indeed, so unusual has this essay appeared to all readers that, with the recognition that it possesses much originality, has gone, apparently, the conviction that it was made by Spencer from whole cloth. Thus much Spencer himself did not claim; yet perhaps even Spencer—always a little blind to the influences upon his work—would not have recognized the extent of his indebtedness.

The Philosophy of Style was published for the first time in *Westminster Review*, for October, 1852, as a review of *Elements of Rhetoric* by Richard Whately, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* by Hugh Blair, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* by George Campbell, and *Elements of Criticism* by Lord Kaimes. From these, and from *The English Language* by Robert Gordon Latham, Spencer quoted infrequently; but he undertook no summary, criticism, or general estimate of them, or of any similar treatises, beyond complaining of the empirical and fragmentary character of "the maxims contained in works on composition and rhetoric."¹

Spencer's curt dismissal of past thinkers and the seeming novelty of his theory are no warrant that his borrowings of principles and precepts were inconsiderable. He may have been indebted to the works above mentioned to a

¹ Paragraph 2.

greater extent than his quotations and allusions would indicate. He may even have employed other sources, of which he gave no hint. Still, inasmuch as Spencer's education and habits of reading would not have made him familiar with works upon grammar and rhetoric, it is highly probable that in writing *The Philosophy of Style* he made use of only such books as he looked up for the occasion. If such was the case, the works quoted and mentioned by him would be those most likely for him to employ, for they were well known and he would not have gone far afield.

A comparison of the five works mentioned with *The Philosophy of Style* will show to what extent Spencer borrowed from those sources. In the present study, the comparison will omit the second part of Spencer's essay, consisting of the last eight paragraphs, as that section was probably inspired less by rhetorical speculations than by psychological.² The first part of the essay, naturally falling into six sections,³ will be compared in detail with the works mentioned,⁴ though, on account of lack of space, many minor points, which might be examined, must be ignored.

²The psychological sources of Spencer's essay are the subject of another study by the writer.

³The section heads appeared for the first time when the essay was republished in *Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative*, 1858. New paragraphs were interpolated, and some changes in the division of paragraphs were made. The paragraph numbering used here corresponds to the paragraphing in *Westminster Review*.

⁴The references are to the following editions: Kaimes's *Elements of Criticism*, edited by Abraham Mills (New York, Mason Brothers, 1858); Campbell's *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, Archbald Constable & Co. and John Fairbairn; London, T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1816); Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 3 vols., 12th edition (London, T. Cadell and W. Davies; Edinburgh, W. Creech, 1812); Whately's *Elements of Rhetoric* (New York, Sheldon & Co.).

I

THE PRINCIPLE OF ECONOMY

The first section of *The Philosophy of Style*, consisting of three paragraphs, introduced the problem dealt with in the essay and stated the general principle of its solution.

Of this section paragraph 3 alone needs close examination. The first paragraph was merely introductory. The second, carefully considered, stated clearly enough the limits of Spencer's claim to originality for his essay. He intended to invent no new rules—not even, necessarily, to give new examples of old rules—but to comprehend all that other thinkers had discovered under one general principle. The statement with which the paragraph opened—"No general theory of expression seems yet to have been enunciated"—and Spencer's criticism of the rhetoricians for not deducing their precepts from a general principle might have been suggested by a passage in Whately. The latter wrote that there is little to be recorded of the history of rhetoric, for most that has been done was accomplished by Aristotle. Cicero was excluded from the number of those who have contributed to the systematic study of rhetoric: "His precepts, though of great weight as being the result of experience, are not often traced up by him to first principles; and we are frequently left to guess, not only on what basis his rules are grounded, but in what cases they are applicable."⁵ Spencer expressed the same difficulty, not with Cicero or with Aristotle, whom he probably never read, but with all the rhetorics that came under his notice.

Paragraph 3 was chiefly concerned with setting forth

⁵ Introduction, Sec. 2, pp. 23-24.

the single general principle of organization which Spencer, in paragraph 2, found that the rhetoricians had failed to discover. This principle he called "economizing the reader's or hearer's attention." Obviously, then, if Spencer has any claim to discovery, it ought to lie in part at least in this principle and its explication; and if there exist any considerable analogies of thought and expression in the rhetorics, Spencer's claim to originality suffers materially at the most vital point.

In a discussion of Obscurity, Campbell wrote a paragraph⁶ in answer to the question—What matters a little ambiguity in a sentence provided "the least reflection in the reader will quickly remove the obscurity"? For comparison, this passage from Campbell is placed in parallel columns with paragraph 3 of *The Philosophy of Style*. Both passages are in part paraphrased and somewhat abridged, and the passage from Campbell is rearranged to correspond with the order of Spencer's paragraph.

The Philosophy of Style

1. The aim of the "current maxims" is "to so present ideas that they may be apprehended with the least possible mental effort."

2. With language, "as in a mechanical apparatus, the more simple and the better arranged its parts, the greater will be the effect produced. In either case, whatever force is absorbed by the machine is deducted from the result."

The Philosophy of Rhetoric

2. Perspicuity is like transparency in physical media; "if there be any flaw in the medium, if we see through it but dimly, if the object be imperfectly represented, or if we know it to be misrepresented, our attention is immediately taken off the object, to the medium."

"It ought to be remembered,

⁶ Bk. II, ch. vi, sec. i, pt. ii, vol. II, pp. 34-36.

3. "The more time and attention it takes to receive and understand each sentence, the less time and attention can be given to the contained idea; and the less vividly will that idea be conceived."

4. The force of gestures and interjections demonstrates the analogy between language and the physical machine, and the advantage of simplicity in expression.

5. "In composition the chief if not the sole thing to be done, is, to reduce this friction and inertia to the smallest possible amount."

that whatever application we must give to the words, is, in fact, so much deducted from what we owe to the sentiments."

3. "... why is there any obscurity to be removed? Or why does the writer require more attention from the reader, or the speaker from the hearer, than is absolutely necessary? . . . the effort that is exerted in a very close attention to the language, always weakens the effect which the thoughts were intended to produce in the mind."

"... the least obscurity, ambiguity, or confusion in the style, instantly removes the attention from the sentiment to the expression, and the hearer endeavours, by the aid of reflection, to correct the imperfections of the speaker's language."

5. "A discourse . . . excels in perspicuity, when the subject engrosses the attention of the hearer, and the diction is so little minded by him, that he can scarcely be said to be conscious that it is through this medium he sees into the speaker's thoughts."

There are several points of likeness—the general principle of saving the mental effort of the reader or hearer, the use of physical analogies to language, the idea that the effectiveness of an expression is a remainder left after "deducting" the effort necessary to apprehend the words,

and the emphasis on "attention" as the mental process involved.

These similarities, though they show that, in all probability, Spencer received the suggestion for his central principle from Campbell, do not, however, completely nullify his claim to originality. There are several points of difference between his position and that of Campbell. Spencer applied the word "economy" to this principle; he gave the principle a wider meaning⁷ than did Campbell; and he made it the basic principle of his whole work.

II

ECONOMY IN THE USE OF WORDS

The second section of Spencer's essay, consisting of paragraphs 4 through 8, dealt with the principle of economy applied to the choice of words.

The first three paragraphs were concerned with the "superiority" of Saxon English. Although the five works mentioned by Spencer threw little light upon most of his notions about Saxon and Latin English, Whately did suggest "that to those who wish to be understood by the lower orders of the English, one of the best principles of selection is to prefer terms of *Saxon* origin, which will generally be more familiar to them, than those derived from the Latin."⁸ Spencer, also, argued (but for all classes of people) that Saxon English is better understood because more familiar.

⁷ For a discussion of the widest significance of Spencer's principle, see the Introduction of *'The Philosophy of Style' together with 'An Essay on Style,'* by T. H. Wright, edited by Fred N. Scott (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1892).

⁸ Pt. III, ch. i, sec. 2, pp. 303-304.

Paragraph 5 dealt with the second superiority of Saxon English—brevity. His argument may be dealt with under three heads:

(1) In assuming the general principle that brevity is desirable, Spencer was supported by all the rhetoricians except, possibly, Kaimes. "The fewer the words are," wrote Campbell, "provided neither propriety nor perspicuity be violated, the expression is always the more vivid. . . . Whatever kind the sentiment be, . . . the more briefly it is expressed, the energy is the greater, or the sentiment is the more enlivened, and the particular quality for which it is eminent the more displayed."⁹ Again, "It is an invariable maxim, that words which add nothing to the sense or to the clearness, must diminish the force of expression."¹⁰

(2) Length, Spencer argued, is a matter of syllables. Campbell, likewise, in qualifying his claim for the superior brevity of Latin, argued that "when, in the declensions and conjugations, the inflection, as is frequently the case, is attended with an increase of the number of syllables, the expression on the whole cannot always be denominated briefer, even when it consists of fewer words."¹¹

(3) Spencer's claim that Saxon English possesses the quality of brevity more than does Latin English was hardly supported by the rhetorics. Campbell, however, wrote, "With us . . . the nouns and the verbs, which are the most significant words, are mostly monosyllables."¹²

Paragraph 6 took up the third and last superiority of

⁹ Bk. III, ch. ii, sec. i, vol. II, p. 256.

¹⁰ Bk. III, ch. ii, sec. ii, pt. i, vol. II, p. 267.

¹¹ Bk. III, ch. iv, sec. iii, vol. II, p. 391.

¹² Bk. III, ch. iv, sec. i, vol. II, p. 360.

Saxon English—imitative character. Three points may be noticed:

(1) In ascribing the imitative character to Saxon English, Spencer might have drawn from a foot note by Blair: "Dr. Wallis, in his *Grammar of the English Language*, . . . represented it as a peculiar excellency of our Tongue, that, beyond all others, it expressed the nature of the objects which it named, by employing sounds sharper, softer, weaker, stronger, more obscure, or more stridulous, according as the idea which is to be suggested requires."¹³

(2) The classification of imitative words—as "those directly imitative" and "those analogically imitative"—employed by Spencer was most nearly paralleled in Whately. The latter wrote: "It seems not to require any excessive exercise of fancy to perceive, if not, properly speaking, an *Imitation*, by words, of other things besides sound and motion, at least, an *Analogical aptitude*."¹⁴

(3) Spencer's explanation of the effectiveness of imitative words was that such words, "by presenting to the perceptions symbols having direct resemblance to the things to be imagined, or some kinship to them, save part of the effort needed to call up the intended ideas, and leave more attention for the ideas themselves." The argument in the case of directly imitative words is obvious;¹⁵ Blair was a little clearer than Spencer in regard to those analogically imitative: "If the arrangement of syllables, by their sound alone, recall one set of ideas more readily than another, and dispose the mind for entering into that affection which the poet means to raise, such arrangement may,

¹³ Lect. vi, vol. i, p. 119.

¹⁴ Pt. III, ch. ii, sec. 5, p. 339.

¹⁵ See Blair, Lect. vi, vol. i, p. 117.

justly enough, be said to resemble the sense, or be similar and correspond to it.”¹⁶

Paragraphs 7 and 8 dealt with the superiority of specific words over generic, or of concrete over abstract. The principle was quoted from Campbell: “The more general the terms are, the picture is the fainter; the more special they are, the brighter.”¹⁷

The explanation given by Spencer in paragraph 8 was that generic terms can be represented in the mind only by specific images and that these specific images are more readily called up by specific terms. The explanation is a direct application of the sensationalism of Berkeley, Hume, and other British psychologists. Discussing the same point, Campbell wrote: “What was explained above, in regard to abstraction, and the particularity of our ideas, properly so-called, may serve in a great measure to account for the effect which speciality hath upon the imagination.”¹⁸ A foot note referred the reader to a passage¹⁹ explaining at length Berkeley’s and Hume’s views upon abstraction and abstract terms.

III

THE PRINCIPLE OF ECONOMY APPLIED TO SENTENCES

The third section, comprising paragraphs 9 through 26, was concerned with economy as regards the collocation of words.

In paragraphs 10 and 11 Spencer dealt with the first problem of collocation—that of adjective and substantive.

¹⁶ Lect. xiii, vol. I, p. 314; see also Kaimes, ch. xviii, sec. 3, p. 283.

¹⁷ Bk. III, ch. i, sec. 1, vol. II, p. 165.

¹⁸ Bk. III, ch. ii, sec. 1, vol. II, p. 168.

¹⁹ Bk. II, ch. vii, sec. 1, vol. II, pp. 105-124.

"Is it better to place the adjective before the substantive, or the substantive before the adjective?" wrote Spencer. "Ought we to say with the French—*un cheval noir*; or to say as we do—a black horse?" Campbell wrote: "We in Britain think it most suitable to nature to place the adjective before the substantive; the French and most other Europeans think the contrary."²⁰

Spencer's explanation of the superiority of the English idiom in this case is only one aspect of a general theory which he employed throughout the discussion of collocation. Four matters may be distinguished in his treatment: (1) There are certain precepts in regard to arrangement indicating the superiority, not only of placing the adjective before the noun, but of placing the predicate before the subject, the subordinate element before the main, the dependent clause before the independent, etc. (2) A psychological explanation is advanced. The adjective, the complement, the predicate, the dependent clause, are all attributive elements, qualifying some other element which, if presented before its qualification, would be misunderstood; and, therefore, the qualifiers should precede. (3) According as styles do or do not conform to the order mentioned, they are (*a*) inverted, or direct, or they are (*b*) indirect, or approximative. (4) The general principle of arrangement is modified in certain cases. When the subject-matter is extremely difficult, or when the mind addressed is not vigorous, the indirect method is preferable.

(1) All the applications of the principle of arrangement given by Spencer were suggested by Campbell.

In paragraphs 13 and 14 Spencer treated of subject and predicate. "In the arrangement of predicate and

²⁰ Bk. III, ch. iii, sec. 2, vol. II, p. 300.

subject, for example, we are at once shown that as the predicate determines the aspect under which the subject is to be conceived, it should be placed first; and the striking effect produced by so placing it becomes comprehensible. Take the often-quoted contrast between—Great is Diana of the Ephesians, and—Diana of the Ephesians is great. Campbell likewise wrote: "No law of the English tongue relating to the disposition of words in a sentence, holds more generally than this, that the nominative has the first place, the verb the second, and the accusative, if it be an active verb that is employed, has the third; if it be a substantive verb, the participle, adjective, or predicate of whatever denomination it be, occupies the third place. Yet this order, to the great advantage of the expression, is often inverted. Thus in the general uproar at Ephesus, on occasion of Paul's preaching among them against idolatry, we are informed, that the people exclaimed for some time without intermission, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians.' Alter the arrangement, restore the grammatical order, and say, 'Diana of the Ephesians is great,' and you destroy at once the signature of impetuosity and ardour resulting, if you please to call it so, from the disarrangement of the words."²¹

In paragraphs 14 through 17 Spencer discussed the arrangements where the predicate is a participle²² or is a verb,²³ and where subject or predicate has a complement.²⁴ In so doing, Spencer took the matters up in the same general order and arrived at the same general results as did Campbell. In paragraph 18 Spencer asserted

²¹ Bk. III, ch. iii, sec. 2, vol. II, pp. 299-300.

²² Bk. III, ch. iii, sec. 2, vol. II, p. 305.

²³ Bk. III, ch. iii, sec. 2, vol. II, p. 308.

²⁴ Bk. III, ch. iii, sec. 2, vol. II, p. 312.

economy dictates that "the subordinate proposition shall precede the principal." Campbell made the same assertion.²⁵

(2) Spencer's theory of arrangement rested on three propositions: (a) Abstract language elements do not call to mind immediately a definite image, whereas concrete elements call up an immediate image. (b) Adjectives, adverbs, particles, predicates, complements, and dependent clauses are abstract elements. (c) The arrangement should be such as to prevent even a tendency to form wrong images in the mind. From these propositions arises the conclusion that the abstract elements mentioned should precede the concrete or specific elements which they qualify.

In all cases discussed by Spencer and by the rhetoricians, this order indicated as the most forceful, except in the case of the adjective, adverb, and preposition, calls for a transposition or change from the normal or grammatical order. The rhetoricians, as well as Spencer, recognized that the cases were largely transpositions, but they did not adopt Spencer's principle of explanation *in toto*.

Kaimes gave a somewhat half-hearted support to the theory that "suspension" of the principal thought until after the subordinate elements were presented was desirable. "When force and liveliness of expression are demanded, the rule is, to suspend the thought as long as possible, and to bring it out full and entire at the close: which cannot be done but by inverting the natural arrangement. By introducing a word or member before its time, curiosity is raised about what is to follow; and it is agreeable to have our curiosity gratified at the close of the period: the pleasure we feel resembles that of seeing a

²⁵ Bk. III, ch. iii, sec. 3, vol. II, p. 350.

stroke exerted upon a body by the whole collected force of the agent.”²⁶

However close or removed from Spencer's theory this of Kaimes's might have been, at least it did not cover the case of substantive and adjective, for the arrangement in that case approved by Spencer is not an inversion. At another place Kaimes wrote: “When a substantive occupies the first place, the idea it suggests must subsist in the mind at least for a moment, independent of the relative words afterwards introduced; . . . these cannot be conceived without a subject.”²⁷ Although Kaimes did not declare one order better than the other, his remark contains the basis of Spencer's reasoning in the case of substantive and adjective, and was easily susceptible of being carried over to the other elements of the sentence.

Except in the case of the larger divisions of the sentence, Campbell's theory of arrangement²⁸ was opposed to rather than accordant with Spencer's. However, in the matter of clauses, he gave this reason for placing the dependent before the principal: “By doing thus, we shall never be in danger of thinking that the member is complete till it actually be so, just as by the structure of the period we are prevented from thinking the sentence finished before the end.”²⁹ The principle involved, Spencer might well have deduced from the following passage of Campbell's on the relation between dependent and main clauses: “The words ‘unless ye repent,’ enunciate nothing, and therefore convey to the hearer no information of judgment, purpose or desire. They give indeed the expectation of such infor-

²⁶ Ch. xviii, sec. 2, p. 279. See also p. 281.

²⁷ Ch. xviii, sec. 2, p. 269.

²⁸ Bk. III, ch. iii, sec. 1, vol. II, p. 294; *ibid.*, sec. 2, vol. II, pp. 303-304.

²⁹ Bk. III, ch. iii, sec. 3, pt. ii, vol. II, p. 350.

mation, and thereby keep up the attention, till we hear what follows. No sooner are the words 'ye shall perish' added, than we have the explicit declaration of a certain judgment or sentiment of the speaker."⁸⁰

(3) Paragraph 22 classified styles according as they are or are not inverted. Sentences in which qualifying elements precede those qualified give rise to an "inverted" style. But, as the term "inverted" is frequently applied where the order is "simply unusual," the terms *direct* and *indirect* are more appropriate.

Kaimes gave some attention to defining the inverted style. "A circumstance may be placed before the word with which it is connected by a preposition; and may be interjected even between a relative word and that to which it relates. When such liberties are frequently taken, the style becomes inverted or transposed."⁸¹

(4) Paragraphs 23 through 26 presented qualifications which Spencer found it necessary to apply to his general principle of arrangement. The indirect style, or method of approximations, Spencer thought, is sometimes preferable to the direct—that is, when the idea is complex and difficult, or the intellect addressed is not vigorous.

Of the rhetoricians, Kaimes and Whately touched upon this qualification. Whately declared: "If a sentence be so constructed that the meaning of each part can be taken in as we proceed, (though it be evident that the sense is not brought to a close,) its length will be little or no impediment to perspicuity; but if the former part of the sentence convey no distinct meaning till we arrive nearly at the end, (however plain it may then appear,) it will be, on the whole, deficient in perspicuity; for it will need to be read

⁸⁰ Bk. III, ch. v, sec. 2, vol. II, p. 400-401.

⁸¹ Ch. xviii, sec. 2, p. 268.

over, or *thought over*, a second time, in order to be fully comprehended; which is what few readers or hearers are willing to be burdened with.”⁸² The sentence Whately had in mind in the first case is, of course, in Spencer’s terminology, an indirect one; the sentence in the second case is a direct one.

Kaimes had Spencer’s qualification in mind in his discussion of inversion when he wrote: “None of the rules for the composition of periods are more liable to be abused, than those last mentioned; witness many Latin writers, among the moderns especially, whose style, by inversions too violent, is rendered harsh and obscure. Suspension of the thought till the close of the period ought never to be preferred before perspicuity. Neither ought such suspension to be attempted in a long period; because in that case the mind is bewildered amidst a profusion of words: a traveller, while he is puzzled about the road, relishes not the finest prospect.”⁸³

Two passages in the third section of Spencer’s essay showed strong verbal resemblances to passages in the rhetorics.

The first part of paragraph 25 ran thus: “That the indirect method—the method of conveying the meaning by a series of approximations—is best fitted for the uncultivated, may indeed be inferred from their habitual use of it. The form of expression adopted by the savage as in—‘Water—give me,’ is the simplest type of the approximative arrangement.”

Blair wrote: “In order to conceive distinctly the nature of that alteration of which I now speak, let us go back, as we did formerly, to the most early period of Language.

⁸² Pt. III, ch. I, sec. 3, p. 306.

⁸³ Ch. xviii, sec. 2, p. 280.

Let us figure to ourselves a Savage, who beholds some object, such as fruit, which raises his desire, and who requests another to give it to him. Supposing our Savage to be unacquainted with words, he would, in that case, labour to make himself be understood, by pointing earnestly at the object which he desired, and uttering, at the same time, a passionate cry. Supposing him to have acquired words, the first word which he uttered would, of course, be the name of that object. He would not express himself, according to our English order of construction, 'Give me fruit'; but, according to the Latin order, 'Fruit give me'; 'Fructum da mihi'; For this plain reason, that his attention was wholly directed towards fruit, the desired object. This was the exciting idea; the object which moved him to speak; and of course, would be the first named. Such an arrangement is precisely putting into words the gesture which nature taught the Savage to make, before he was acquainted with words; and therefore it may be depended upon as certain that he would fall most readily into this arrangement."³⁴

It will be observed that, whereas Blair correctly called this form an inversion, Spencer gave it as an example of the indirect method, in spite of the fact that it is more nearly direct than the normal English arrangement "Give me water."

Paragraph 25 continued thus: "In pleonasms, which are comparatively prevalent among the uneducated, the same essential structure is seen; as, for instance in—'The men, they were there.' Again, the old possessive case—'The king, his crown,' conforms to the like order of thought." Latham gave a list³⁵ of pleonasms, four in all.

³⁴ Lect. vii, vol. i, pp. 135-136.

³⁵ Pt. v, ch. iv, sec. 499.

The last two of this list are the examples given, and appear in the grammar in the same order as in the essay.

IV

THE PRINCIPLE OF ECONOMY APPLIED TO FIGURES

The fourth section, comprising paragraphs 27 through 40, was concerned with the application of the principle of economy to figures of speech.

In paragraph 27 Spencer stated the general purpose of figures of speech—"To bring the mind more easily to the desired conception, is in many cases solely, and in all cases mainly, their object."

Blair gave as his fourth reason for the beauty of figures: "Figures are attended with this farther advantage, of giving us frequently a much clearer and more striking view of the principal object, than we could have if it were expressed in simple terms, and divested of its accessory idea. This is, indeed, their principal advantage, in virtue of which, they are very properly said to illustrate a subject, or to throw light upon it. For they exhibit the object, on which they are employed in a picturesque form; they can render an abstract conception, in some degree, an object of sense; they surround it with such circumstances as enable the mind to lay hold of it steadily, and to contemplate it fully."⁸⁶

Paragraph 28 was remarkable in that none of its content was original with Spencer. The paragraph began thus: "Let us begin with the figure called Synecdoche. The advantage sometimes gained by putting a part for the whole is due to the more convenient, or more accurate, presentation of the idea thus secured. If, instead of

⁸⁶ Lect. xiv, vol. i, pp. 333-334.

saying 'a fleet of ten ships,' we say 'a fleet of ten *sail*,' the picture of a group of vessels at sea is more readily suggested; and is so because the sails constitute the most conspicuous parts of vessels so circumstanced: whereas the word *ships* would very likely remind us of vessels in dock. Again, to say 'All *hands* to the pumps' is better than to say, 'All *men* to the pumps'; as it suggests the men in the special attitude intended, and so saves effort."

The following was written by Campbell: "For an illustration of this in the synecdoche, let it be observed, that by this trope, the word *hand* is sometimes used for man, especially one employed in manual labour. Now in such expressions as the following,

All *hands* employ'd, the royal work grows warm;

it is obvious, from the principles above explained, that the trope contributes to vivacity, and could not be with equal advantage supplied by a proper term. But in such phrases as these, 'One of the hands fell over-board': 'All our hands were asleep,' it is ridiculous, as what is affirmed hath no particular relation to the part specified. . . I shall give another example. A *sail* with us frequently denotes a *ship*. Now to say, 'We descried a *sail* at a distance,' hath more vivacity than to say, 'We descried a *ship*,' because in fact the sail is that part which is first discovered by the eye; but to say 'our sails ploughed the main,' instead of 'our ships ploughed the main,' would justly be accounted nonsensical, because what is metaphorically termed *ploughing the main* is the immediate action of the keel, a very different part of the vessel."³⁷

Spencer's example in regard to ships was more particularly formed upon the following from Blair: "It is very

³⁷ Bk. III, ch. i, sec. 2, pt. ii, vol. II, pp. 195-196.

common, for instance, to describe a whole object by some remarkable part of it: as, when we say, 'a fleet of so many sail,' in the place of 'ships'; . . ."³⁸

Spencer's paragraph concluded: "Bringing '*grey hairs* with sorrow to the grave,' is another expression, the effect of which has the same cause." Blair furnished this illustration: ". . . when grey hairs are put for old age, as, 'to bring one's grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. . . .'"³⁹

Paragraphs 30 and 31 treated of the force of similes and the explanation. "The Simile, though in many cases employed chiefly with a view to ornament," wrote Spencer, "yet whenever it increases the *force* of a passage, does so by being an economy." Spencer proceeded in paragraph 31 to show why the simile is economical—*i. e.*, chiefly because it makes for brevity. Campbell discussed figures under the head of brevity: "It is indeed true, that a great degree of conciseness is scarcely attainable, unless the style be figurative; but it is also true, that the vivacity of the expression is not to be attributed solely to the figure, but partly to the brevity occasioned by the figure."⁴⁰

Paragraphs 35 through 37 dealt with the superiority of metaphor over simile. The order in which Spencer developed this discussion was identical with that used by Whately.⁴¹ Both first stated the superiority of the metaphor and gave a reason, though a different one; both then qualified the dictum, saying that in cases where the metaphor would be obscure, the simile is preferable; and both suggested the use of a mixed type, in which the application of the figure is indicated at the outset and the reader is left to continue the parallel.

³⁸ Lect. xiv, vol. I, p. 340.

³⁹ Lect. xv, vol. I, p. 344.

⁴⁰ Bk. III, ch. ii, sec. 1, vol. II, p. 263; see also p. 258.

⁴¹ Pt. III, ch. ii, sec. 3, pp. 325-327.

Paragraph 39 presented a prose passage representing all the applications of the principle of economy thus far set forth by Spencer. The passage was taken from "Ossian." Now, considering the fact that Spencer was not widely read and that his interests in English literature were greatly restricted, the reader might well be surprised at his choice. The difficulty is removed when the reader learns that both Kaimes⁴² and Blair⁴³ quoted the same passage as Spencer. Blair apparently was Spencer's source, for in some minor variations of text Spencer agreed with Blair rather than with Kaimes.

V

SUGGESTION AS A MEANS OF ECONOMY

The fifth section, comprising paragraphs 41 and 42, applied economy to style as a whole in the selection of details. Spencer called the process "suggestion." All of the rhetorics treated more or less of this virtue of style, but Whately probably furnished Spencer with the idea: "The author who is studious of Energetic brevity, should aim at what may be called a *Suggestive* style; such, that is, as, without making a distinct, though brief, mention of a multitude of particulars, shall put the hearer's mind into the same *train of thought* as the speaker's, and suggest to him more than is actually expressed."⁴⁴

VI

THE EFFECT OF POETRY EXPLAINED

The sixth section, comprising paragraphs 43 through 49, presented Spencer's application of economy to poetry.

⁴² Ch. iv, p. 120.

⁴³ Lect. iv, vol. i, p. 74.

⁴⁴ Pt. III, ch. ii, sec. 9, p. 356.

Paragraph 43 endeavored to show that the language of passion tends naturally to conform to the laws of economy. Spencer noted three respects: (1) transposition, (2) use of figures, (3) brevity, especially in the use of interjections. Blair showed that primitive language abounds in inversions,⁴⁵ and figures⁴⁶ and that the first words were interjections.⁴⁷ This is true, he argued, because the emotions call forth the earliest efforts at speech.⁴⁸

In paragraph 45 Spencer examined the language of poetry and found it to have characteristics similar to the language of passion. Blair likewise asserted: "Two particulars would early distinguish this language of song, from that in which they conversed on the common occurrences of life; namely, an unusual arrangement of words, and the employment of bold figures of speech."⁴⁹

Spencer wrote in this paragraph: "We characterize as 'poetical' the prose which repeats these appliances of language with any frequency; and condemn it as 'over florid' or 'affected' long before they occur with the profusion allowed in verse." Whately wrote: "Though it is possible for a poetical style to be affectedly and offensively ornamented, yet the same degree and kind of decoration which is not only allowed but required, in Verse, would in Prose be disgusting . . ."⁵⁰

Paragraphs 47 and 48 attempted to apply economy to meter. In paragraph 47 Spencer showed that emotional language is rhythmical. Blair in his discussion of the rise of language indicated that, as primitive language was largely emotional, it must have been rhythmical: "It was more upon a crying or singing tone."⁵¹

⁴⁵ Lect. vii, vol. I, p. 135 ff.

⁴⁶ Lect. vi, vol. I, p. 122.

⁴⁷ Lect. xxxviii, vol. III, p. 82.

⁴⁸ Lect. vi, vol. I, p. 123.

⁴⁹ Lect. vi, vol. I, pp. 128-132.

⁵⁰ Lect. vi, vol. I, p. 130.

⁵¹ Pt. III, ch. iii, sec. 4, p. 388.

Paragraph 48 proposed the theory that meter is an economy because the "mode of so combining words as to present a regular recurrence of certain traits which the mind can anticipate, will diminish that strain upon the attention required by the total irregularity of prose."

None of the rhetorics presented a similar theory in regard to poetry, but there is evidence that Spencer received a hint from Whately's treatment of sentence arrangement. Spencer wrote: "That we *do* take advantage of metrical language to adjust our perceptive faculties to the force of the expected articulations, is clear from the fact that we are balked by halting versification. Much as at the bottom of a flight of stairs, a step more or less than we counted upon gives us a shock, so, too, does a misplaced accent or a supernumerary syllable." Whately wrote in regard to the disadvantage of loose sentences: "An unexpected continuation of a sentence which the reader had supposed to be concluded, especially if in reading aloud, he had, under that supposition, dropped his voice, is apt to produce a sensation in the mind of being disagreeably balked: analogous to the unpleasant jar which is felt, when in ascending or descending stairs, we meet with a step more than we expected: and if this be often repeated, as in a *very* loose sentence, a kind of weary impatience results from the uncertainty when the sentence is to close."⁵²

From the foregoing pages it must be abundantly evident that, while Spencer is entitled to high credit for developing the principle of economy into a theory capable of explaining so large a part of rhetoric and style, his essay is very far from being the result of his having gone, as he would say, "direct to Nature."⁵³ In every part of the essay

⁵² Pt. II, ch. ii, sec. 12, p. 366.

⁵³ David Duncan, *Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer* (New York,

and in every phase of it, Spencer owed something to the rhetorics. He borrowed the precepts of the rhetorics; he borrowed their examples; he borrowed their phrasing; and he borrowed even much of the principle for which the essay has been especially distinguished.

GEORGE B. DENTON.

Appleton, 1908, 2 vols.), p. 147. An extract from a letter by Spencer, disclaiming, in general, the influence of others upon his work.

VII.—THE *REVELATIONS* OF METHODIUS: CORRECTIONS

I should like to make the following corrections in the text of the *Revelations* of Methodius printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxxiii, pp. 156 ff. The errors are due in some instances to oversight in the proof-reading, in others to original misreading of the ms. For their detection I am indebted to J. P. Gilson, Esq., Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, to whom I wish here to express my sincere thanks.

V. 23, for *Lythe* read *Sythe*.

V. 27, for *hade* read *made*.

V. 47, for *leyne* read *leyue*.

V. 63, for *denoran* read *deworan*.

V. 140, for *Xuball* read *Ruball*, similarly in v. 151.

V. 216, for *Iaerthe* read *Iarethe*.

V. 288, for *hus* read *hys*.

V. 321, for *alydde* read *alyyde*.

V. 334, for *curted* read *curtes*.

V. 340, for *sprekyd* read *sperkyd* or *sparkyd*. Mr. Gilson queries *spersyd*; the N. E. D. gives the word *sparkled* = scattered, dispersed.

V. 353, for *planets* read *planetys*; similarly for the plurals in vv. 675, 680, 682, read *ys* for *s*.

V. 365, for *wyle* read *wylde*.

V. 442, for *camys* read *caymys*.

V. 463, for *[p]yrd* read *[p]ryd*; similarly in the footnote read *Iryd*.

V. 573, for *nanerne* read *nauerne*.

V. 603, for *yeke* read *speke*.

V. 644, for *pretyn* read *partyn*.

V. 689, for *sorry* read *sory*.

V. 726, for *godds* read *goddys*.

V. 727, for *offsprynge* read *off[sp]rynge*: the ms. has *offerynge*.

V. 859, for *pu* read *pou*; similarly in v. 863.

CHARLOTTE D'EVELYN.

VIII.—A NEW VERSION OF THE *PEREGRINUS*

The more recent discussions¹ of the dramatic manifestations within the liturgy of Easter-tide have given fair consideration to a type of play,—*Peregrinus*,²—centering in a dramatization of the appearance of Christ to the two disciples at Emmaus, as recounted in the Gospel of Luke.³ Although the importance of this post-Resurrection play has been sufficiently evident, the limited number of the extant texts has suggested that it was closely restricted in its distribution and development. Recent researches, however, have given promise of substantial future additions to this branch of knowledge. Since the date of the last comprehensive surveys of the subject,⁴ one complete new text⁵ has been discovered, together with a mutilated fragment of another text.⁶ The purpose of the present article is the communication of an additional version, considerably more

¹ See W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 131-138; E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, vol. II, Oxford, 1903, pp. 36-39. See also W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, vol. I, Halle, 1911, p. 52; and the bibliography given by H. Omont in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. LXXIV (1913), pp. 257-258.

² The validity of this designation of the play is explained below, p. 124.

³ Luke xxiv, 13-32. See Mark xvi, 12.

⁴ I refer especially to the accounts of Meyer and Chambers mentioned above.

⁵ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 289 (C. 153), Troparium—Prosarium Siciliense (?) saec. xii, fol. 117r-118v, published by the present writer in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XXIV (1909), pp. 329-331.

⁶ Vich, Museum, ms. cxi, Troparium-Prosarium Ripollense saec. xii, fol. 60r-61v, published by the present writer in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. XXIV (1909), pp. 306-308.

extended in dramatic content than any of the versions published hitherto.⁶

The more significant aspects of the new text may be more readily elucidated after a brief review of the content of the six complete texts previously printed.⁷

I. The simplest version is that from Saintes,⁸ the two simple scenes of which both appear to be set at Emmaus:

(1) *Discipuli duo et Christus.*

Christ joins the two disciples on their journey, accompanies them to Emmaus, breaks bread with them, and suddenly disappears.

⁶ This version is found in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. C. 132, Graduale-Prosarium Siciliense(?) saec. xii, vol. 105v-108r. This manuscript was first brought to my attention by my friend Dom G. M. Beyssac, O. S. B., who placed at my disposal the complete photographic reproduction of it at Quarr Abbey. He subsequently collated my text of the *Peregrinus* with the photographs, and he has made invaluable suggestions in regard to the present article. It is clear, then, that whatever merit my paper may possess is due to Dom Beyssac, from whose generous instruction and collaboration I have been profiting for more than ten years. Had it been possible, in the present instance, to publish the music that accompanies the text of the *Peregrinus* in the manuscript under consideration, Dom Beyssac's name would have preceded, or supplanted, mine at the end of this article. I am glad to announce that, in an appropriate place, he will eventually publish the complete musical text.

⁷ I omit from consideration the two following fragmentary texts: (1) Vich, ms. cxi, fol. 60r-61v, mentioned above; and (2) Tours, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 927, Miscellanea saec. xii-xiii, fol. 1r-8r, published by E. de Coussemaker, *Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Age*, Rennes, 1860, pp. 21-48, and by A. de Montaiglon, *Le Drame paschal de la Résurrection*, Tours, 1895. It is by no means certain that the text in Tours ms. 927 is to be considered as a *Peregrinus*.

⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. latin 16309, Breviarium Santonense saec. xiv, fol. 604r-605r, edited anonymously in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. xxxiv (1873), pp. 314-315.

(2) *Discipuli duo et Christus.*

Christ reappears to the two disciples⁹ and displays evidences of his return to the flesh.

II. Except for minor textual characteristics the version in Madrid manuscript No. 289,¹⁰—probably from Sicily,—resembles that from Saintes.

III. The version from the Cathedral of Rouen¹¹ presents a simple version of the appearance of Christ at Emmaus, along with a scene between the two disciples and Mary Magdalene:

⁹ The text does not indicate the presence of other disciples; that is to say, there is no indication that this scene represents the later appearance of Christ to the eleven disciples (See Luke xxiv, 36; Mark xvi, 14; John xx, 19).

¹⁰ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 289 (C. 153), *Troparium-Pro-sarium Siciliense* (?) saec. xii, fol. 117r-118v, published by the present writer, as indicated above.

¹¹ The Rouen version is found in several manuscripts: (1) Rouen, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 384 (Y. 110), *Ordinarium Rothomagense* saec. xiv, fol. 86r-86v, published by A. Gasté, *Les Drames Liturgiques de la Cathédrale de Rouen*, Evreux, 1893, pp. 65-68. Upon E. Du Méril's text (*Origines Latines du Théâtre Moderne*, Paris, 1897, pp. 117-120), purporting to come from this manuscript, Gasté (pp. 2-3) has cast substantial doubt. (2) Rouen, *ibid.*, ms. 382 (Y. 108), *Ordinarium Rothomagense* saec. xv, fol. 73r-73v, published only in the form of incomplete variants to Gasté's text from Rouen ms. 384 (Y. 110). In assuming that ms. 382 (Y. 108) is a copy of ms. 384 (Y. 110) Gasté (p. 2) may be right; in which case the copyist departed, at times, rather widely from his original. See *Modern Philology*, vol. vi, p. 224. (3) Rouen, *ibid.*, ms. 222 (A. 551), *Processionale Rothomagense* saec. xiii, fol. 43r-45r, published by the present writer in *Modern Philology*, vol. vi, pp. 212-214. (4) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. latin 1213, *Ordinarium Rothomagense* saec. xv, pp. 90-91, published by the present writer in *Modern Philology*, vol. vi, pp. 222-223. The texts from these four manuscripts are substantially identical in content. Concerning the Rouen manuscripts mentioned above see a bibliographical note, by the present writer, in *Modern Philology*, vol. vi, pp. 224-227.

(1) *Discipuli duo et Christus.*

Christ joins the two disciples on their journey, accompanies them to Emmaus, breaks bread with them, is recognized, and suddenly disappears, not to return.

(2) *Discipuli duo et Maria Magdalena.*

The two disciples and Mary engage in a dialogue based textually upon the latter part of the Easter sequence *Victimæ paschali*.

It will be observed that in this version Christ makes only one appearance, that to the two disciples at Emmaus.

IV. The version from Benedictbeuern ¹² contains some four divisions, representing at least three separate appearances of Christ:

(1) *Discipuli duo et Christus.*

Christ joins the two disciples on their journey, accompanies them to Emmaus, breaks bread with them, is recognized, and suddenly disappears.

(2) *Discipuli et Christus.*

In the absence of Thomas, Christ appears to the eleven disciples,¹³ displays evidences of his return to the flesh, and disappears.

(3) *Discipuli, Thomas, et Christus.*

As Thomas is expressing his doubt to his fellow disciples, Christ appears in their midst and convinces Thomas of his return to the flesh.¹⁴

¹² Munich, Hofbibliothek, *Fragmenta Burana saec. xiii*, published in photograph and transcription by W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 136-137, and Plates 12 and 13.

¹³ Luke xxiv, 36-39; John xx, 19-24.

¹⁴ John xx, 25-29.

(4) *Angeli duo, Mariæ tres, et Dominus.*

Neither the state of the manuscript nor the content of this passage is entirely intelligible. It is not clear that this scene is an integral part of the *Peregrinus*.¹⁵

V. The version from the Cathedral of Beauvais¹⁶ falls into three parts, representing three separate appearances of Christ:

(1) *Discipuli duo et Christus.*

Christ joins the two disciples on their journey, accompanies them to Emmaus, breaks bread with them, and suddenly disappears.

(2) *Discipuli et Christus.*

Christ appears to the two disciples,¹⁷ displays evidences of his resurrection, and withdraws.

(3) *Discipuli, Thomas, et Christus.*

As Thomas is expressing his doubt to his fellow disciples,¹⁸ Christ appears in their midst, and convinces Thomas of his resurrection.

VI. Similar to the Beauvais play in dramatic sequence,

¹⁵ See Meyer, p. 138.

¹⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions, ms. latin 1064, *Hymnarium Bellovacense* saec. xii, fol. 8r-11v, published definitively, in photograph and transcription, by H. Omont in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. LXXIV (1913), pp. 257-266. The edition of Monsieur Omont completely supersedes that of G. Desjardins, *Histoire de la Cathédrale de Beauvais*, Beauvais, 1865, pp. 269-275.

¹⁷ The text gives no evidence of the presence of more than two disciples.

¹⁸ The actual presence in this scene of a considerable number of the disciples seems to be implied in the rubric *dicant ei* [i. e. Thomæ] *duo pro aliis*. See Omont, p. 266.

though different from it in textual detail, is the version from the monastery of St. Benoit-sur-Loire at Fleury: ¹⁹

(1) *Discipuli duo et Christus.*

Christ joins the two disciples on their journey, accompanies them to Emmaus, breaks bread with with them, and suddenly disappears.

(2) *Discipuli et Christus.*

Christ reappears to the disciples,²⁰ gives them evidences of his resurrection, invokes the Holy Spirit upon them, and withdraws.

(3) *Discipuli, Thomas, et Christus.*

As Thomas is expressing his doubt to his fellow disciples, Christ appears in their midst, and convinces Thomas of his resurrection.

Now that we have surveyed the dramatic content of each of the six published texts of the *Peregrinus*, we are prepared to examine the new version, the text of which is here printed for the first time: ²¹

¹⁹ Orleans, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 201 (*olim* 178), *Miscellanea Floriacensia* saec. xii, pp. 225-230, published by E. de Coussemaker, *Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Age*, Rennes, 1860, pp. 195-209. The earlier and less accurate editions of Monmerqué, Thomas Wright, and DuMéril are mentioned by Coussemaker, p. 327.

²⁰ The text does not explicitly mention the presence of more than two disciples.

²¹ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. C. 132, *Graduale-Prosarium Siciliense*(?) saec. xii, fol. 105v-108r. Certain aspects of the manuscript are described by L. Delisle, *Un Livre de Chœur Normano-Sicilien conservé en Espagne*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1908, pp. 42-49. Delisle holds that the manuscript represents an adaptation of the liturgy of Normandy to the use of Sicily, and that it was written between the years 1130 and 1139. Delisle does not mention the *Peregrinus* now before us, nor the *Visitatio Sepulchri* (fol. 102v). My indebtedness to Dom G. M. Beyssac, in connection with this manuscript, I have already acknowledged above. I may mention here also

VERSUS AD FACIENDUM PEREGRINUM

DICAT UNUS EX DISCIPULIS SOLUS:

Ego, sodes, dum recordor,
Dum ad mentem redit odor,
Qualis erat noster doctor,
Ad momentum uix respiro.

DICAT ALIUS:

Ecce quidam peregrinus
Appropinquat huc festinus;
Illum ergo prestolemur,
Et cum illo gradiamur.

PE[RE]GRINUS:

Qui sunt hii sermones?

DE PEREGRINO QUI VULT IN DIE PASCHE FACIAT. SI NON DIE PASCHÆ,
FIAT IN FERIA IIA. AD VESPERAS ITA. PRIUS VESPERE²² DICANTUR USQUE
AD HEC dies et Alleluia. POSTEA SIC EXEANT DE CHORO ILLI QUI HEC
AGERE DEBEANT.

CORUS INCIPT: ²³

Ihesu nostra redemptio,
[Amor et desiderium,
Deus creator omnium,
Homo in fine temporum.]
Quae²⁴ te ui[cit] clementia
Ut ferres nostra crimina,
Crudelem mortem patiens
Ut nos a morte tolleres?]

[DISCIPULI]: ²⁵

Tertia dies est quod hec²⁶ facta sunt.

we indebtedness to the Librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, who courteously arranged for the collation of a short passage in the manuscript that is defectively reproduced in the photograph at Quarr Abbey.

²² MS. uesperas.

²³ In the MS. the words *Corus incipit* immediately precede the words *Tertia dies . . . sunt* below.

²⁴ MS. Qui.

²⁵ See the text from Madrid MS. 289, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. XXIV, p. 330.

²⁶ quod hec] MS. quod e hec.

PEREGRINUS:

Qui sunt hi sermones quos confertis ad inuicem ambulantes,
et estis tristes, alleluia, alleluia?

DISCIPULI:

Tu solus peregrinus es in Iherusalem, et non cognouisti que
facta sunt in illa his diebus, alleluia?

PEREGRINUS:

Que?

DISCIPULI:

De Ihesu nazareno, qui fuit uir propheta potens in opere et
sermone [fol. 106r] coram Deo et omni populo, alleluia, alleluia.
Et quomodo tradiderunt eum summi sacerdotes in dampnati-
one[m] mortis, alleluia.

PEREGRINUS:

O stulti et tardi corde ad credendum, in omnibus his que locuti
sunt prophete, alleluia! Nonne sic oportuit pati Xpistum et ita
intrare in gloriam suam, alleluia?

CHORUS:

Cum autem appropinquaret castello quo ibant, ipse se finxit
longius ire, et coegerunt illum ut remaneret cum eis.

DISCIPULI:

Mane nobiscum, quoniam aduesperascit, et inclinata est iam
dies, alleluia.

IHESUO FINGAT SE LONGIUS IRE et PROCEEDAT,^{22a} ET DICAT:

Michi longum iter restat, alleluia.

**DISCIPULI TUNC DETENEANT EUM, et OSTENDANT EI HORAM ESSE
TARDAM:**

Sol uergens ad hoccasum suadet ut nostrum uelis hospitium;
placent enim nobis sermones tui quos refers de resurrectione
magistri nostri, alleluia.

CHORUS:

Et intrauit cum illis, et factum est [fol. 106v] dum recumberet
cum eis, accepit panem, benedixit, ac fregit, et porrigebat illis;
et cognouerunt illum in fractione panis; et ipse euauit ab
oculis eorum, alleluia.

ET ITA TENENDO IN MEDIO [EORUM PEREGRINUM, UENIANT]²² USQUE

^{22a} procedat] MS. precedat.

²² The passage in brackets is suggested by the text in Madrid MS.
289. See *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXIV, p. 331.

AD MENSAM, AC IBI SIT PANIS²⁸ *et* VINUM, *et* DISCUMBANT, *et* FRANGAT²⁹ PANEM, EISQUE³⁰ DET, AC POST AB OCULIS³¹ EORUM EUANEBAIT.

TUNC UERO DISCIPULI:

Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis de Ihesu, dum loqueretur nobis in uia, *et* aperiret nobis Scripturas? Heu, miseri! ubi erat sensus noster? quo intellectus abierat, alleluia?

TUNC UENIAT IHESUO ITERUM *et* HIS DUOBUS DISCIPULIS APPAREAT DICATQUE:

Pax uobis! Ego sum, nolite timere; uidete manus meas *et* pedes meos, quia ego ipse sum; palpate *et* uidete, quia spiritus carnem *et* ossa non habet, sicut me uidetis habere, alleluia, alleluia.

EX ALTERA AUTEM PARTE ERIT PARATUM SEPULCHRUM, IBIQUE ERIT IHESUO *et* II° ANGELI, UNUS AD CAPUT *et* UNUS³² AD PEDES; CUM AUTEM UENERIT MARIA MAGDALENA, DICENT EI ANGELI:

Mulier, quid ploras?

ET ILLA:

Quia tulerunt Dominum meum *et* nescio ubi posuerunt eum. HEC AUTEM CUM AUDIERIT, CONVERTAT SE RETRORSUM, UIDENSQUE IHESUM NON COGNOUIT EUM, quia IHESUO ESSET. Qui DICIT ILLI:

Mulier, quid ploras? Quem queris? [fol. 107r]

ILLA³³ PUTABAT EUM ESSE ORTULANUM, *et* DICIT ILLI:

Domine, si tu sustulisti eum, dicito michi, alleluia, *et* ego eum tollam, alleluia.

IHESUS DICIT ILLI:

Maria!

ET ILLA:

Rabboni!

ET IHESUO:

Noli me tangere! Nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum; sed uade, *et* dic fratribus meis ut eant in Galileam; ibi me uidebunt, alleluia, alleluia.

ITEM SUPRADICTI DUO DISCIPULI DICENT HOS UERSUS IN INVICEM:

Victime paschali laudes³⁴ immolant Xpistiani.

Agnus redemit oues; Xpistuc innocens Patri reconciliauit peccatores.

Mors *et* uita duella confluxere mirando: dux uite mortuus regnat uiuus.

²⁸ MS. panem.

²⁹ MS. fragat.

³⁰ MS. seems to read eiusque.

³¹ MS. oculi.

³² MS. unum.

³³ MS. ille.

³⁴ paschali laudes] MS. paschalis laude.

Surrexit Dominus **IIBus UIOIBus,**
sicut predixerat; ecce precedet uos in Galileam.

Dic nobis, Maria, quid uidisti in uia?

Sepulchrum Xpisti uiuentis,
et gloriam uidi resurgentis,
Angelicos testes,
sudarium [fol. 107v] et uestes.
Surrexit Xpistus, spes mea;
precedet suos in Galilea[m].

Credendum est magis soli Marie ueraci,
quam Iudeorum turbe fallaci.
Scimus quidem surrexisse ex mortuis uere.
Tu nobis, Xpiste rex, miserere.

Vidimus Dominum, TRIBUS VICIBUS.

Nisi uidero in manibus eius fixuram clauorum et mittam
digitum meum in locum clauorum, et mittam manum meam in
latus eius, non credam, alleluia.

**Data est michi omnis potestas in celo et in terra, alleluia,
alleluia.**

Pax vobis! O Thoma, infer digitum tuum huc, et uide manus meas et pedes meos, et affer manum tuam, et mitte in latus meum; et noli esse incredulus, sed fidelis, alleluia.

Misi digitum [fol. 108r] meum in fixuram clauorum, et
manum meam in latus eius *et* dixi: " Dominus meus, et Deus
meus, alleluia.

Quia uidisti me, Thomas, credidisti; beati qui non uiderunt, et crediderunt. alleluia.

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Tunc omnes DISCIPULI UERT[AN]T SE AD POPULUM INSIMUL [ET]
DICANT ALTA VOCE:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro,
qui pro nobis pependit in ligno,
alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

FINITUR HEC. INCIPIT CANTOR Responsorium, et UADUNT [AD]
FONTES:

Xpiscus resurgens.

It is obvious, in the first place, that the new text of the *Peregrinus*³⁶ provides alternative introductions. When the play is performed on Easter-day,³⁷—presumably at Vespers,³⁸—Christ's interrogation *Qui sunt hi sermones?*

³⁶ I adopt a designation supported by the Vulgate (Luke xxiv, 18) and by a fair proportion of the manuscripts. The new version before us is introduced by the rubric *Versus ad faciendum Peregrinum*. The Fleury play opens with the rubric *Ad faciendum similitudinem dominice apparitionis in specie peregrini*, and in subsequent rubrics Christ is referred to as *Peregrinus* or *Dominus*. (See Coussemaker, pp. 195-209). The version from Beauvais is headed *Ordo ad Peregrinum* (see Omont, p. 263). The play from Benedictbeuern is introduced by the words *Incipit exemplum apparicionis Domini . . . ubi illis apparuit in more peregrini* (see Meyer, p. 136). The play in Madrid MS. 289 begins *De Peregrino in die lune Pasche* (see *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. XXIV, p. 329). In the version from Saintes the disciples at Emmaus are called *Peregrini* and Christ is referred to as *Dominus* (see *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 314-315). In three of the Rouen manuscripts the play is designated *Officium Peregrinorum* (see Gasté, p. 65; *Modern Philology*, p. 223; Rouen MS. 382 (Y. 108), fol. 73r). In the fourth Rouen manuscript (MS. 222) the disciples are called *Peregrini* (see *Modern Philology*, vol. VI, p. 213). Clearly, then, *Peregrinus*, *Peregrini*, *Officium Peregrini* (see DuMéril, p. 118, note), and *Officium Peregrinorum* are all acceptable designations.

³⁷ Rubric: *De peregrino qui uult in die Pasche faciat*.

³⁸ All the positive evidence points to the liturgical association of the *Peregrinus* with Vespers. The Rouen and Beauvais plays were performed at Vespers on Easter-Monday (see Gasté, 68; Omont, p. 263), the Fleury play, at Vespers on the Tuesday after Easter (see Coussemaker, p. 195), and the play from Saintes, at Vespers on a

is preceded by two four-line stanzas (*Ego, sodes, dum recordor*) sung by the two disciples respectively. When the play is presented at Vespers on Easter-Monday,³⁹ the same interrogation of Christ is preceded by two stanzas from the Ascension hymn *Ihesu nostra redemptio*⁴⁰ and by the passage *Tertia dies est quod hec facta sunt*.⁴¹ The variation between the two introductions, however, has no effect upon the content of the play itself.

That the new text presents a more extended version of the *Peregrinus* than does any of the texts hitherto published appears from the following analysis of its content:

(1) *Discipuli duo et Christus.*

Christ joins the two disciples on their journey, accompanies them to Emmaus, breaks bread with them, and suddenly disappears.

(2) *Discipuli duo et Christus.*

Christ reappears to the two disciples,⁴² and displays evidences of his return to the flesh.

day not indicated (see *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 314-315). The play in Madrid ms. 289 was presented on Easter-Monday, at an undetermined point in the *oursus* (see *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xxiv, pp. 329-331). The manuscript of the play from Benedictbeuern gives no evidence as to the day or the hour of the performance (see Meyer, Plates 12 and 13).

³⁹ Rubric: *Si non die Pasce, fiat in Feria secunda ad Vesperas.*

⁴⁰ Sung, presumably, by the choir. Concerning this hymn see Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, No. 9582, and for a complete text of it see *Analecta Hymnica Medii Ævi*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1888, p. 49.

⁴¹ Sung, presumably, by the *Discipuli*. Cf. the version in Madrid ms. 289 (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xxiv, p. 330).

⁴² The rubric is specific: *et his duobus discipulis appareat.*

(3) *Maria Magdalena, angeli duo, et Christus.*

The scene changes to the *sepulchrum*,⁴³ where Mary Magdalene exchanges words first with the angels, and then with Christ.

(4) *Discipuli et Maria Magdalena.*

As Mary Magdalene departs from the *sepulchrum* she is engaged in dialogue by the two disciples⁴⁴ of Emmaus, the dialogue consisting in a successful adaptation of the complete sequence *Victimæ paschali*.

(5) *Discipuli, Thomas, et Christus.*

At a place in the middle of the choir,⁴⁵ Thomas joins ten other disciples,⁴⁶ and as he is expressing his incredulity, Christ appears, and convinces Thomas of his resurrection.

From this enumeration of scenes it is clear that the play represents a combination of two dramatic elements, distinct in origin but harmonious in their juxtaposition: (1) a standard form of the *Peregrinus* (Scenes 1, 2, and 5), and (2) a substantial part of a highly developed form of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* from Easter-day (Scenes 3 and 4). The nature of this combination will appear in a consideration of the sources of the several scenes.

The first scene,—Christ and the two disciples at Emmaus,—follows closely the Gospel narrative of Luke,⁴⁷ which must, of course, be considered the ultimate source.

⁴³ Rubric: *Ex altera autem parte erit paratum sepulchrum.*

⁴⁴ In any case, the rubrics mention no other disciples.

⁴⁵ Rubric: *in medio choro.*

⁴⁶ There is no indication that these ten disciples have been present in any of the earlier scenes.

⁴⁷ Luke xxiv, 13-32.

But since a considerable part of this narrative is found also in the choir-book of the Canonical Office, the *Liber Responsalis*, it is probable that a large part of Scene one is derived from the Vulgate through the intermediary of the choir-book.⁴⁸ A similar observation may be made upon the second and fifth scenes, sources for which are found both in the Vulgate⁴⁹ and in the *Liber Responsalis*.⁵⁰

For Scenes three and four the case is quite different, for these scenes appear to have been incorporated bodily from the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, the prolific liturgical play of Easter Matins.⁵¹ Scene three,—Mary Magdalene, two angels, and Christ at the sepulchre,—follows closely the order of events, and in general the text, of the Gospel narrative of John.⁵² The same scene, however, is found dramatically employed in a considerable number of texts of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, in manuscripts ranging in date from the twelfth century to the fifteenth⁵³; hence in the present case the *Peregrinus* is evidently indebted to the play of Easter Matins. A similar indebtedness is apparent in Scene four, the dialogue between the two disciples and Mary Magdalene. This dialogue is merely a dramatic adaptation of the complete text of the famous eleventh-

⁴⁸ See Meyer's comments (*Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 131-138) upon the versions from Fleury, Beauvais, and Rouen.

⁴⁹ For Scene two, Luke xxiv, 35-49; for Scene five, John xx, 26-29.

⁵⁰ See Meyer, pp. 135-136, 138.

⁵¹ An adequate exposition of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* is given by Chambers, vol. II, pp. 11-36, and an ample collection of texts is given by C. Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Munich, 1887. For additional texts see the references in Chambers, vol. II, p. 26, note 2, and in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. XXIX (1914), p. 3, note 8.

⁵² John xx, 12-17.

⁵³ See, for example, Lange, Nos. 206-223, pp. 136-165. Cf. Meyer, p. 81.

century sequence *Victimæ paschali*.⁵⁴ This sequence, in whole or in part, forms a dramatic element in numerous versions of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*,⁵⁵ and in a fair number of texts of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, Scenes three and four of the *Peregrinus* before us are already found in combination.⁵⁶ The new *Peregrinus*, then, clearly represents an expansion of the play of Easter-Monday through the adoption of scenes from the *Visitatio Sepulchri* of Easter-day.

Although the text is generous in dramatic content, it provides only meagre information in regard to dramatic performance. As to costume the rubrics are silent. The action prescribed, however, clearly implies impersonation. The rubric describing the detention of Jesus at Emmaus, for example, clearly imposes a mimetic effort (*Ihesus fingat se longius ire et procedat . . . Discipuli tunc deteneant eum et ostendant ei horam esse tardam*). The same may be said of the rubric in regard to the supper at Emmaus (*Et ita tenendo in medio [eorum Peregrinum, ueniant] usque ad mensam, ac ibi sit panis et uinum; et discumbant, et frangat panem, eisque det, ac post ab oculis eorum euanebat*).

This last rubric assures us also that the play has a suitable *mise en scène*. The house at Emmaus is represented at least by appropriate furnishings. Likewise for the scene in which Mary Magdalene converses with the angels and Jesus at the tomb a structural *sepulchrum* is provided (*Ex altera autem parte erit paratum sepulchrum*).

⁵⁴ Concerning the *Victimæ paschali* see Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, No. 21505. The definitive text of the sequence, together with important annotations, is found in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Ævi*, vol. 54, Leipzig, 1915, pp. 12-14.

⁵⁵ See Lange, pp. 59 ff., and Chambers, vol. II, pp. 29-30.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Lange, Nos. 207-209, 211-215, 222, pp. 136-154, 157-160.

In details of literary composition the new text is not especially noteworthy. The introduction provided for the performance on Easter-day consists of two four-line stanzas (*Ego, sodes, dum recordor*) not found elsewhere. Otherwise the play is noticeably lacking in metrical passages. Except for two stanzas of the Ascension hymn *Ihesu nostra redemptio* and for parts of the sequence *Victimæ paschali*, the text is composed of prose passages adapted either from the *Liber Responsalis* or from the Vulgate.⁵⁷ In its lack of metrical attempts the new version resembles the plays from Rouen, Saintes, and Benedictbeuern,⁵⁸ and differentiates itself from the metrically wrought productions of Beauvais and Fleury.

KARL YOUNG.

⁵⁷ Possibly the concluding *versus*,

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro,
qui pro nobis pependit in ligno,

is to be regarded as metrical. In any case this composition is the product not of the dramatist, but of the remote authors of the Gregorian *Liber Responsalis*. See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. LXXVIII, col. 776.

⁵⁸ One may mention here also the play, of uncertain provenience, from Madrid ms. 289. See above, p. 116.

IX.—THE NARCISSA EPISODE IN YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS

In what purports to be a definitive life of the poet Young, H. C. Shelley remarks that the question of the identity of Philander, Lucia, and Narcissa, raised by the peculiar chronology of their deaths, as recorded in the *Night Thoughts*, forms "the most puzzling problem of Young's biography." Part of the problem had already been solved by M. Walter Thomas,¹ to whom Sir Leslie Stephen refers at the close of his article on Young in the D. N. B., an article referred to by Mr. Shelley himself. M. Thomas shows pretty conclusively that Philander was no other than Thomas Tickell, the lifelong intimate friend of Young, whose death occurred suddenly at Bath on April 23, 1740.² Lucia was the poet's wife, the "poor Lady Betty Lee" of Mrs. Pendarves's letter, who was left "with three children to maintain and not a farthing to support her."³ The identity of Narcissa, however (which Mr. Shelley makes no attempt to solve), offers greater difficulty. Professor Thomas suggests that she may have been an illegitimate daughter "reconnue par le père, acceptée par sa femme, mais désavouée par le moraliste. Peut-être," he continues, "encore l'enfant est-elle née trop tôt, Young ayant anticipé en quelque sort sur les droits du mariage."⁴

Before examining this theory and the evidence upon which it is based, it may be well to review briefly what preceding writers have had to say about the matter. With

¹ *Le Poète Edward Young*, Paris, 1901.

² *Op. cit.*, chap. vi, pp. 147-9.

³ *Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Delaney*, vol. i, p. 253.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, chap. vi, p. 169.

only one exception (noted by Professor Thomas) the earliest editors and biographers of Young fix on Mrs. Henry Temple, the favorite step-daughter of the poet, as the original of Narcissa. Croft, for example, states that while some passages relating to Philander suit neither Mr. Temple nor any other person known to be connected with Young, "all the circumstances relating to Narcissa have been constantly applicable to Young's daughter-in-law"⁵ (i. e., step-daughter), and in this view Dodsley, R. Anderson, Chalmers, the Rev. John Mitford, and Dr. Doran, as well as Continental critics like Le Tourneur, Ebert, and Villemain all concur.⁶ The single exception noted occurs in the *Biographia Britannica* for 1765, where the anonymous writer refers to Narcissa simply as the poet's daughter.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century this theory received a severe blow. A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* (May 31, 1851) indignantly writes as follows:

A pamphlet was recently published at Lyons and Paris, by a Monsieur de Terrebasse, intending to prove that the daughter-in-law of Dr. Young, so pathetically lamented by him in the *Night Thoughts* under the poetical name of "Narcissa" was not clandestinely buried at Montpellier; that Dr. Young did not steal a grave for her from the Roman Catholics of that city; and that consequently the celebrated and touching episode in Night III is purely imaginary. This opinion of M. Terrebasse, first given to the world by him in 1832, and now repeated, has been controverted by the writer of an article in the *Gazette Médicale* of Montpellier. The tomb, it is said, of Elizabeth Lee, Dr. Young's daughter-in-law, was discovered a few years since at Lyons; and M. de Terrebasse endeavors to prove from that circumstance and from a comparison of facts and dates, that this Elizabeth Lee was the "Narcissa" of the poet. Not having seen M. de Terrebasse's pamphlet, and being indebted to the *Journal des Savants* for

⁵ Croft's *Life of Young*, in Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*.

⁶ *Le Poète Edward Young*, chap. vi, p. 150.

this brief account of it, it seems difficult to discover from it how M. de Terrebasse can pretend so summarily to invalidate the solemn assertions of the poet, which assuredly are anything but flights of fancy. . . .

A little later another writer attempts to reassure the above-cited correspondent with a summary of a letter written from Montpellier in 1789 by a Mr. Walter Taylor.⁷

It shows [viz., the letter referred to] that Mr. Taylor and others conversed with the gardener of the "King's Garden"; and from him (son of the former gardener) heard that about forty-five years before (namely, in 1744) Dr. Young had bribed the then under-gardener to allow him to bury "Narcissa"; and would thus prove that the tradition existed at that time at Montpellier.

There is also in a retired part of the Botanic Garden (established by Henry IV) a stone bearing an inscription to Narcissa as mentioned in Murray's *Handbook*, placed there probably in consequence of that tradition. Moreover, it is believed in the family of a gentleman of Montpellier, that his maternal grandfather saw Dr. Young and his step-daughter at Montpellier about the year 1741; that the lady died there, and was buried, as is stated, in the garden; that, however, it was not Mrs. Temple, but a younger sister of hers.

It appears from the records in this country that Lady Elizabeth Lee, by her first marriage, had one son and two daughters. The son was buried at St. Marys-le-Strand in 1743; the elder daughter married Henry Temple, son of Viscount Palmerston, and it appears died in France (perhaps at Lyons) in 1836; the younger, Caroline, married Captain, afterwards General Haviland, and died without issue. The General died at Penn, in Buckinghamshire, in 1784; but no record relating to his first wife, Miss Caroline Lee, is to be found there.

Such record, if found in any parish in England, would greatly tend to decide the question. Possibly some correspondent may be in a position to ascertain whether such record exists.

Lady Elizabeth had by her marriage with Dr. Young, a son only; it could not, therefore, be a daughter of Young's that died at Montpellier.

And there, at least so far as the readers of *Notes and Queries* were concerned, the matter rested until 1871. In

⁷ N. & Q., vol. v, p. 252 (March 13, 1852).

December of that year another writer communicates some new facts, the fruit of a sojourn in Montpellier in 1860:

Whilst looking through the shelves of the Bibliothèque Fabre [he says], I lighted on a thin quarto volume, half-bound in blue morocco, with the title *Tombeau de Narcissa*, which the librarian kindly allowed me to carry to my hotel. It contained seven pieces . . . [here follows a detailed description of them dated in the neighborhood of 1850; all have since been very carefully examined by M. Thomas].

Most of the writers of these brochures [continues the N. & Q. correspondent] declare the story of the burial of Narcissa to be a fiction. A young English girl, they state, having died at Montpellier in the eighteenth century, was buried in the Jardin des Plantes, where the monument now bearing the name of Narcissa has been placed. A writer in the *Journal des Arts*, under the signature "A," becoming acquainted with these facts, jumped to the conclusion that they referred to Young's step-daughter; the truth being that she died at Lyons on Oct. 8, 1736, and was interred in the Swiss cemetery there, where her monument can still be seen, and that Young had only one child by his marriage with Lady Elizabeth Lee, his son Frederick, who survived him.

M. Pierrequin de Gembloux, on the other hand, contends that the narrative of M. Artaud [author of the two brochures mentioned above] is true; that the poet's step-daughter, Mrs. Temple, who died at Lyons, was not Narcissa, but that he had two children by Lady Elizabeth—Narcissa, born in 1732, and Frederick, in 1733; that Narcissa died at Montpellier in 1749 and was buried first in a field belonging to M. Arribert, whence the body was removed and interred secretly in the Jardin des Plantes; which circumstances are publicly recorded in the *Statistiques du département de l'Hérault*, par M. H. de Lesser.

To this it was replied that the *Night Thoughts* were published in 1742-45 and could not refer to events in 1749, and that Young's biographers made no mention of his own daughter.

The narrative of Artaud is very circumstantial. He states that he obtained his information from Barral, the head gardener of the Jardin des Plantes, who had learned them from Mercier, an old gardener under him, who had assisted at the interment; M. Balanvilliers being then superintendent of the garden. At a subsequent period Lord and Lady Camelford caused the spot to be exhumed. The bones found were recognized by M. Vigaroux, of the school of anatomy, as those of a very young person. They were re-interred,

and the monument erected with the inscription: 'Placandis Narcissæ manibus.' M. Artaud had previously scratched on the adjoining wall: 'Inter flores Narcissa relucet.'

This account tallies with the statement 'written by Mr. Walter Taylor from Montpellier in 1789,' and there can be no reasonable ground for believing that both are substantially not true.

The writer then goes on to say that the sole evidence that Lady Elizabeth had only one child by Young is a statement by Croft "who wrote in 1780, and is by no means accurate in all his statements." He then assumes that in all probability Young did not go abroad until 1741, "a few months after his wife's death," and that the events connected with Narcissa's death at Montpellier took place then. "Narcissa must, therefore, be either Mrs. Haviland [Young's step-daughter, Caroline] or his own daughter, born in 1732." He dismisses the former alternative in favor of the latter, principally because there is no mention of General Haviland in the poem, and also because "the circumstances of the burial accord with that of a child of ten or eleven years."

The writer of the foregoing letter, it will be noted, eagerly adopts the view of M. Artaud, that Young had another child, a daughter, who was born in 1732. Unfortunately for this assumption, as Professor Thomas points out, the parish records of Welwyn show that the date of Frederick's birth falls in 1732,⁸ and not, as M. Artaud believed, in 1733, which is the date incorrectly given by Herbert Croft.

Up to this point, those French critics who dismiss the Montpellier tradition as a fabrication, and charge Young with insincerity or worse, have decidedly the better of the case. They entrench themselves behind the official records, which prove that Mrs. Temple—the Narcissa of

⁸ *Op. cit.*, chap. vi, p. 168.

practically all of Young's biographers—was buried in a regular and public manner. They were actuated no doubt by patriotic motives; they wished to vindicate the French nation from the charge of hard-heartedness and religious bigotry. The view set forth by Joseph Texte⁹ may be accepted as theirs. After remarking that if the charges were true they would be enough to "cover the French nation with confusion," he dismisses them as follows:

The gruesome story of the father burying his daughter in secret went the round of Europe; and a lugubrious engraving representing Young interring Narcissa by the light of a lantern was introduced as a frontispiece to the second volume of Le Tourneur's translation of the *Night Thoughts*. Such intolerance on the part of the French seemed monstrous. Young, the victim of fate, appeared also to be the victim of fanaticism, and for many a long year English visitors made pilgrimages to the melancholy grotto where this drama had been enacted. Unfortunately for the poet's sincerity, the story is of his own invention. The death of Young's step-daughter did actually occur in France, but at Lyons, as a learned inhabitant of that town has shown, and not at Montpellier; she was buried at the former place, not in a nameless grave, but in the enclosure formerly reserved for Protestants, and not by stealth, but with befitting ceremony. At most it appears that the cost of interment was expensive, and it was this trifling grievance that was dramatically treated by Young.

Here is a Roland for an Oliver. The imputation of insincerity from which the poet's admirers sought to rescue his fame is barbed with the additional charge of stinginess. Young's reputation, however, was not left to suffer long under this double stigma; but in 1901 Professor Thomas propounded a theory scarcely more creditable to the poet: namely, that the daughter was perhaps his illegitimate child.

The principal evidence for this interesting theory is as follows: The early existence of the Montpellerine tradi-

⁹ *Jean Jacques Rousseau, etc.*, pp. 305-6. Quoted by H. C. Shelley.

tion, with its circumstantial exactitude of detail;¹⁰ the fact that an early biographer speaks of Narcissa as the poet's daughter;¹¹ an apparently deliberate attempt by Young to deceive Vincenz von Tschärner, a correspondent and friend of his;¹² a suspicious tinkering with his biography on the part of certain titled relatives;¹³ the absence of fifteen parchment pages cut from the Welwyn birth-register and recopied, the recopied pages falling, for the most part, between the years 1730-1740.¹⁴ Taken together, these items wear for M. Thomas a suspicious aspect; they suggest some mystery in the life of the moralizing poet, some scandalous episode that Young would fain keep locked up in the closest of oblivion.

Closely examined, however, this evidence loses much of its probative value. For example, it would have been egregiously silly in Young to make so evident an excision in the parish register as fifteen pages amount to. A single page would have been sufficient; an erasure with the substitution of a fictitious entry would have answered the purpose equally well. But since the register was presumably under the supervision of Young himself, why should he have made or have allowed to be made any entry whatever? Again, the assertion that Young's titled relatives caused certain alterations in his biography, the presumption being that facts discreditable to Young were toned down or omitted, rests upon extremely vague evidence. Interesting as are the reminiscences of Lætitia Hawkins, it must be borne in mind that she was writing of a period long past and that the "pleasantly garrulous old spinster," as De Quincey calls her, was apt to dress her recollections up a bit. Besides, even M. Thomas himself has discovered

¹⁰ *L. c.*, chap. vi, pp. 151-61.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, chap. vi, p. 150.

¹² *Ibid.*, chap. vi, pp. 164-7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, chap. vi, pp. 167.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. vi, pp. 167-8 and note.

inaccuracies in the early biography of Young,¹⁵ and therefore it need not be surprising if some of Young's influential relatives had sought to present facts in their true light. If there had been any incident in the career of Young such as that which M. Thomas conjectures, it would doubtless have been recorded by some of his early biographers, especially Croft, who had little liking for him. It is too much to suppose that a perfect conspiracy of silence on this point could have been entered into and maintained by all who had occasion to speak of the poet. That M. Thomas's painstaking researches have elicited nothing more definite on this point than the somewhat vague recollections of Miss Hawkins is pretty conclusive evidence that no such incident ever happened.

As for the fact that one of Young's earliest biographers refers to Narcissa as the poet's daughter, one has only to remember the loose usage of the eighteenth century in order to hold that statement suspect. Even as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, Mrs. Temple, whose relationship to the poet was clearly known, was spoken of as Young's daughter-in-law.¹⁶

The early existence of the Montpellerine tradition and the peculiar evasiveness of the poet when questioned directly by Von Tschärner¹⁷ furnish somewhat greater difficulties, but even these are susceptible of a plausible explanation apart from the theory of an illegitimate daughter.

Before examining these points, however, it may be well to quote here an extract from Farquhar's *Sir Harry Wildair*, Act I, Sc. i:

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, chap. I, pp. 6-7, 34, 40.

¹⁶ See *Notes and Queries*, vol. III, 1st Series, p. 422, and vol. IV, pp. 22 and 110, quoted above.

¹⁷ See Thomas, *op. cit.*, chap. VI, pp. 147-8.

Par. And were not you very sorry for the loss of your mistress, Sir Harry's Lady? They say she was a very good woman.

Dicky. Oh! the sweetest woman that ever the sun shined upon. I could almost weep when I think of her.

Par. How did she die, pray? I could never hear how 'twas.

Dicky. Give me a buss then, and I'll tell ye.

Par. You shall have your wages when your work's done.

Dicky. Well then—courage!—now for a doleful tale.—You know that my master took a freak to go to see that foolish Jubilee that made such a noise among us here; and no sooner said than done; away he went, he took his fine French servants to wait on him; and left me, the poor English puppy, to wait upon his lady at home here. Well, so far, so good.—But scarce was my master's back turned, when my lady turned to sighing, and pouting, and whining, and crying; in short fell sick upon't.

Par. Well, well; I know all this already; and that she plucked up her spirits at last, and went to follow him.

✧ *Dicky.* Very well. Follow him we did, far and far, and farther, than I can tell, till we came to a place called Montpellier, in France; a goodly place, truly.—But Sir Harry was gone to Rome; there was our labor lost.—But, to be short, my poor lady, with the tiresomeness of travelling, fell sick—and died. (*Cries.*)

Par. Poor woman!

Dicky. Ay, but that was not all: here comes the worst of the story. Those cursed barbarous devils, the French, would not let us bury her.

Par. Not bury her!

Dicky. No, she was a heretic woman, and they would not let her corpse be put in their holy ground.—Oh, damn their holy ground for me!

Par. (*aside*) Now had not I better be an honest Pagan, as I am than such a Christian as one of these?—(*Aloud*) But how did you dispose of the body?

Dicky. Why, there was a charitable gentlewoman that used to visit my Lady in her sickness: she contrived the matter so that she had her buried in her own private chapel. This lady and myself carried her out upon our own shoulders through a back-door at the hour of midnight and laid her in a grave that I dug for her with my own hands; without benefit of the clergy.

With this episode now compare the Narcissa episode in *Night III*. In essentials the similarity is strikingly close. Both involve the death of a beautiful young Englishwoman

in a foreign land; both lay stress on the refusal of interment because of religious bigotry; in both a clandestine burial takes place at the hour of midnight; and finally in both the narrator performs the sad rite with his own hand. Such a close parallelism can hardly be a mere accident. There are differences, to be sure, but not in essentials; they are such as would grow naturally out of the manner and method of the poet. His own experience with his step-daughter, Mrs. Temple, whose death from consumption occurred, as we have seen, at Lyons in 1736, doubtless supplied him with some details and furnished the emotional energy necessary to a proper fusing of fiction and fact. The discreet generalizing of the *locale* of the incident as it stands in the poem would be in accordance with this view.

But is there any evidence that Young was familiar with *Sir Harry Wildair*? There is a strong probability, not only that he knew the play, but also that it was recalled to his mind during the composition of the first part of *Night Thoughts*. *Sir Harry Wildair*, the sequel to *The Constant Couple*, from the hero of which it derives its name, was produced in 1701. "Dear Bob" Wilks, to whose care Farquhar left his two daughters, created the role of Sir Harry with such distinction that it became a disputed question with the audience whether the success of the play was not due as much to the actor as to the humor and ingenuity of the author.¹⁸ This same Wilks took part in the first presentation of Young's *Busiris* at Drury Lane in 1719,¹⁹ and in his *Revenge*, which was produced two years later.²⁰

¹⁸ *Dramatic Works of George Farquhar*, ed. A. C. Ewald, p. viii.

¹⁹ H. C. Shelley's *Life and Letters of Edward Young*, chap. III, p. 44.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. III, p. 51.

In November of 1741 London was all agog over the advent of a new Irish actress at Covent Garden. Says Mrs. Donellan, writing to Elizabeth Robinson (later Mrs. Montague, the queen of the blue-stockings) November 15, 1741:

London is as full now as it used to be in January. Plays are much frequented, both to see Barberini dance, and a new actress from Ireland, her name is Woffington . . . she excels in men's parts, and is to act "Sir Harry Wildair" next Monday, by the king's commands, and all the world goes.²¹

The same correspondent writes again under date of December 1 to say that she and her sister, Mrs. Clayton, had been to two plays in one week:

One of our plays was to see Mrs. Woffington perform the part of "Sir Harry Wildair," and indeed I never saw anything done with more life and spirit.²²

The effect of these letters was to make Mrs. Montague very desirous herself to see the new wonder. Accordingly we find her writing from Whitehall—the town house of the Duchess of Portland—to her sister:

I am going to the play tonight to see Mrs. Woffington act Sir Harry Wildair in the Constant Couple.²³

The letter is undated, as are many of her letters of this period.

Now both Mrs. Donellan and Mrs. Montague were intimate friends of the Duchess of Portland, and to that pleasant circle Young himself had been admitted some time prior to August, 1740.²⁴ He was frequently invited

²¹ Emily J. Climensson, *Elizabeth Montague, 1720-1761*, vol. I, chap. III, p. 92.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

²³ *Letters of Mrs. E. R. Montague*, ed. Matthew Montague, Esq., vol. II, p. 169.

²⁴ H. C. Shelley, *op. cit.*, chap. V, p. 116.

to Bulstrode, the country seat of her Grace, whither likewise often repaired Mrs. Donellan, Mrs. Delaney, and her vivacious young friend, Elizabeth Robinson. Writing from Bulstrode in 1741 (no month given) to her sister, Miss Robinson remarks:

The sons of Apollo haunt this place much; the tuneful Green is gone, but the poetical Dr. Young is with us; I am much entertained with him; he is a very sensible man, has a lively imagination, and strikes out very pretty things in conversation.²⁵

Again she writes to the same correspondent: ". . . But Dr. Young came in and entertained my mental faculties 'with a feast of reason and a flow of soul,' till six, and left me a notion or two which I could not digest till tea came in."²⁶

In another note to the same she has: "The Duchess of Kent and Dr. Young have long left us. You would like Dr. Young; he has nothing of the gall of satire in his conversation."²⁷ And again:

We expect Mr. and Mrs. West and live in hopes of Dr. Young. He is now at Welwyn, sowing spiritual things in his parish. . . . Sunday se'nnight is the day set for our departure (to London). Oh! then for operas and delight.²⁸

Though this last is undated, it is written from Bulstrode and follows a letter to her mother, which is dated November 6, 1741.

Under date of December 19, 1741, she writes to her mother:

We lost two of our divines today, Dr. Young and the Dean of Exeter . . .

²⁵ *Letters of Mrs. E. R. Montague*, vol. II, pp. 57-58.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65. The *Night Thoughts* had not yet been published. Young was known principally for his lively satires.

²⁸ Emily J. Climensson, *Elizabeth Montague*, vol. I, chap. III, p. 90.

That "Peg" Woffington's appearance in the part of Sir Harry Wildair was an event of more than ordinary interest we have the word of Mr. John Fyvie:²⁹

The standard for acting this character was Wilks, and every actor who had attempted it since him had fallen very far short of success. It was reserved for Mrs. Woffington, says Hitchcock, to exhibit this elegant portrait of the young man of fashion "in a style perhaps beyond the author's warmest ideas." The house was crowded, and she so infinitely surpassed all expectations that her performance was received with a degree of applause beyond anything that had ever been known. *Her Sir Harry Wildair became the subject of conversation in every polite circle*; it was repeated twenty nights during the season, drawing every night a crowded and brilliant audience, and it established her reputation as an actress of the first rank.

Now bearing in mind the fact that both Mrs. Donellan and the future Mrs. Montague had seen "Peg" in the part of Sir Harry, and remembering Young's early connection with Wilks, whose fame in that part had hitherto seemed secure from eclipse; and recollecting his continued interest in the theatre,³⁰ it will—far from seeming improbable—appear most likely that not only were the merits of the two interpretations interestingly discussed by the Bulstrode circle, but likewise the relative excellence of the plays in which Sir Harry appears as the principal character.

Assuming, then, that circumstances had recalled to Young's mind the affecting passage in *Sir Harry Wildair* and that he had procured therefrom hints for the treatment of the Narcissa episode in the *Complaint* (the first title of *Night Thoughts*), his peculiar "reticences renforcées par des mensonges" as M. Thomas views them, become susceptible of ready explication.

²⁹ *Comedy Queens of the Georgian Era*, p. 116.

³⁰ *His Brothers* was not produced until 1750. See H. C. Shelley, *op. cit.*, chap. III, p. 67.

The *mensonges* to which M. Thomas has particular reference, occur in a letter written from London, March 15, 1750-51, to Baron Haller by Vincenz Bernhard von Tschanner, a young Swiss gentleman, who gives what purports to be an exact statement of an explanation he had from Young himself.⁸¹ In this explanation Young is made to declare that the *Lucia* of the *Night Thoughts* is his wife, the mother of *Narcissa* and sister of the Count of Litchfield; that on her mother's side she was grand-daughter (*petite-fille*) to King Charles II; ⁸² that *Narcissa* married *Philander*, the son of Lord Palmerston, and that they had both died on a journey to France, undertaken for their health, on which journey they were accompanied by "leur digne Père" (Young). Their deaths were separated by a very short interval.

Young, lui-même, profondément affligé par cette double perte, eut encore au passage de Calais de Douvres une fièvre qui le mit au bord du tombeau. Ces tristes accidents furent l'occasion et le sujet des *Pensées Nocturnes* qu'il composa effectivement dans le silence de ces nuits que l'affliction et les insomnies lui rendirent encore plus noires.

As we have already seen, Mrs. Temple died at Lyons in 1736 and was regularly interred in the foreign cemetery at that place. Her husband, the Philander referred to in the above letter, not only survived her, but married again in England; ⁸³ although the poem makes the death of Philander precede that of *Narcissa*.⁸⁴

If the reader will now turn to the prefatory statement

⁸¹ See M. Thomas, *op. cit.*, chap. vi, pp. 164-6.

⁸² This point H. C. Shelley declares has escaped the notice of all of Young's previous biographers, with how much justice the above citation from M. Thomas clearly shows. See the former's *Life of Young*, chap. v, pp. 107-8. The fact is likewise recorded in Mrs. Temple's epitaph.

⁸³ M. Thomas, *op. cit.*, chap. v, p. 141. Temple died in 1744-5.

⁸⁴ See *Night Thoughts*, III, ll. 62-63.

at the head of the *Night Thoughts*, he will note that Young declares that the occasion of the poem "was real, not fictitious." That little statement, I believe, furnishes the key to the mystery, assuming, of course, that von Tschanner is accurately quoting Young. The readers of the *Complaint*, noting the author's rather vague statement with regard to the "real occasion" of the poem, naturally seized upon the most affecting episode in the poem as that embodying the occasion referred to. This episode is indubitably that describing the clandestine burial of the frail and beautiful Narcissa. Now the actual "real occasion" I believe to be the death of Philander, who, as M. Thomas has brilliantly shown, is no other than the poet Thomas Tickell, the intimate friend of both Young and Addison. Tickell, it was, who confided to Young the famous anecdote concerning the manner of Addison's death,⁸⁵ and it was the recollection of this confidence, I feel certain, that furnished the real inspiration for the *Complaint* as a whole.

Says Young in the essay *Conjectures on Original Composition* (written in the form of a letter to his friend Samuel Richardson, the novelist):

The fact [the death-bed anecdote] is indisputably true, nor are you to rely on me for the truth of it: My report is but second edition: As clouds before the sun are often beautiful; so, this of which I speak. How finely pathetic are those two lines, which this so solemn and affecting scene inspired:

"He taught us how to live: and oh; too high
A price for knowledge, taught us how to die."

—Tickell.

With truth wrapped in darkness, so sung our oracle to the public, but explained himself to me: He was present at his patron's death, and that account of it here given, he gave me before his eyes were dry: *By what means Addison taught us how to die, the poet left to*

⁸⁵ See Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition*, 2nd Ed., 1759, pp. 107-8.

be made known by a late and less able hand; but one more zealous for his patron's glory.

The italics are mine. The reference, I take it, is to the *Night Thoughts*.

It must not be forgotten that the first four *Nights* made their initial appearance anonymously, the author carefully concealing his name "on purpose to try the force of his poem."⁸⁶ The first *Night* proved so popular that a second edition was necessary in less than two months. Naturally, with the publication of each successive *Night* the curiosity of the public regarding the authorship of so unusual a poem mounted to a very high pitch; and when, at the appearance of the fourth *Night*, a general preface was added declaring that the occasion of the poem was real, not fictitious, speculation must have been busy indeed. In December, 1743, the fifth *Night* made its appearance, bearing upon its title-page the name of the author. Dr. Young immediately became an object of sympathetic interest. His various bereavements, vaguely known, were brought into harmony with the pathetic incidents narrated in the poem. Mrs. Temple, who, it was remembered, died somewhere in France, became Narcissa; her husband, Henry Temple, was of course Philander; and Lady Young, the mother of Narcissa, was Lucia. Nothing could be clearer.

This seeming basis of fact, with its melancholy suggestion of personal grief, must have had a direct bearing on the sale of the poem; for we find the absence of the poignant personal note from the fifth *Night* freely commented on by even the partial Bulstrode circle.⁸⁷ Perhaps it was

⁸⁶ Letter of Benjamin Victor, quoted in Ralph Straus's *Robert Dodsley*, chap. iv, p. 76.

⁸⁷ "I believe I told you the judgment of this house about the Fifth Night; 'tis not so dark as some of his former, but has not so much

this fact that influenced Dodsley in his negotiations for the copyright of the *Sixth Night*; for we are told that he was at first unwilling to pay the sixty guineas asked.⁸⁸ At any rate, there seems to be a good deal of truth in George Eliot's statement that "most persons in speaking of 'Night Thoughts' have in their minds only the two or three first Nights; the majority rarely getting beyond these, . . ." the reason being that, "in these earlier nights there is enough genuine sublimity and genuine sadness to bribe us into too favorable a judgment of them as a whole."⁸⁹

It now becomes evident that there might have been very substantial reasons for the peculiar answer Young is said to have made to von Tschärner. Eleven years had elapsed since the composition of these *Nights* which introduced the characters about whose identity information was then sought. During the interval an explanation had sprung up that had attained the fixity of settled tradition. This explanation was plausible; it interested the public; and it had materially aided in the sale of the poem as a whole. Why then disturb it, particularly since the explanation had some slight element of truth?

merit as his last, though many thoughts and lines in it are charming." Mrs. Delaney to her sister, Mrs. Dewes, Bulstrode, Jan. 4, 1743-4. *Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Delaney*, vol. II, 1st Series p. 243.

"I have an old aunt that visits me sometimes, whose conversation is the perfect counterpart of them [Shenstone's letters]. She shall fetch a long-winded sigh with Dr. Young for a wager; though I see his *Suspiria* are not yet finished. He has *relapsed* into 'Night the Fifth.' I take his case to be wind in great measure, and would advise him to take rhubarb in powder, with a little nutmeg amongst it." W. Shenstone to Mr. Graves, Dec. 23, 1743. *Shenstone's Works* (J. Dodsley, 1791), vol. III, p. 94.

⁸⁸ R. Straus, *op. cit.*, chap. IV, p. 76.

⁸⁹ George Eliot: *Worldliness and Other-Worldliness*, *Complete Works* (St. James Edition), vol. III, pp. 235-6.

Suppose, for a moment, Young had informed his Swiss admirer that Philander was not Henry Temple, his son-in-law, as had been believed, but that he was the poet Tickell, merely a friend; that Narcissa was not entirely drawn from Mrs. Temple, that the latter had been buried in Lyons in conformity with existing regulations, that a stone had been placed over her remains by her husband, who, oh unromantic fact, outlived her and married again; that in reality (assuming my theory to be correct) he had got several hints and suggestions for the Narcissa episode from Dicky's fictitious report in George Farquhar's *Sir Harry Wildair*; what would have been the effect on his own reputation and, consequently, on the sale of the poem? He would forthwith have been charged with insincerity, with feigning a poignancy of grief that the circumstances did not warrant—in short, with tacitly cheating the public into buying his work, although he had merely accepted an interpretation which the public itself had placed upon his poem. The ultimate result would have been the complete alienation of all those who had believed the poem to be the outpouring of a genuine sorrow induced by the pathetic incidents related in the first three *Nights*.

It is true that the explanation here given does little credit to Young in his quality of clergyman. From the point of view of the literary worker, however, his offense would appear comparatively venial. At any rate, the theory seems to me more charitable than that which seeks to father upon him a conjectural illegitimate daughter.

There remains, however, another difficult point. It will be recalled that by the close of the eighteenth century the Montpellier tradition had assumed a verisimilar exactitude of detail impressive in its fullness. It was believed by Eugène Thomas and other French critics of the first half of the nineteenth century, that Le Tourneur, the

translator of Young, who first introduced the poet's works to France, was responsible for the origin of the Montpellier tradition. But as M. Walter Thomas points out,⁴⁰ this tradition had its origin in England, "in the first authentic documents that we possess on the whole life of the poet," the account in the *Biographia Britannica* for 1765, the year of the poet's death. It was from this report that Le Tourneur and most of the later biographers of the poet drew the bulk of their material. "It is certain," the anonymous writer of the *Biographia* sketch declares (I quote from M. Thomas) "that his daughter figures under the poetic name of Narcissa. During the last sickness (of the latter) he took her to Montpellier in France, where she died."

In tracing the later history of this tradition, M. Thomas found that as early as 1787, eighteen years after the appearance of Le Tourneur's translation, the story of Narcissa's clandestine burial had become part of the local history of Montpellier. In 1797, as we have seen,⁴¹ it received detailed notice in the *Evangelical Magazine*, and it was not called in question until about the middle of the nineteenth century. But M. Thomas's indefatigable scrutiny revealed something more; he discovered that no less than three separate versions of the tradition had flourished at Montpellier itself, two of which generously supplied the unfortunate girl with different graves.⁴²

The fact that different versions of the same tradition existed contemporaneously at Montpellier suggests for M. Thomas some basis in actuality, the idea being that the presence of much smoke indicates the certainty of at least a spark of fire. According to this theory, the frequent

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, chap. vi, p. 151.

⁴¹ See summary of Mr. Taylor's letter quoted above from *Notes and Queries*.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, chap. vi, pp. 157-61.

circumstantial references to Young point to an actual visit shortly after the death of his wife, the purpose of the visit being to give the supposititious illegitimate daughter the benefit of the climate.

For the support of this view, M. Thomas confesses his inability to find any direct evidence. There is no record of Young's absence from England at the time conjectured. It is true that in the report of a suit being tried before Chancellor Hardwicke to settle the question of Wharton's annuities to Young there is no definite mention of Young's presence at the trial. On the other hand, we have no proof that he was not there or even that his presence was necessary. In a suit that dragged its sinuous course through a period of twenty-four years,⁴⁸ it would not be surprising if one of the interested parties should occasionally be absent; nor need this absence imply a sojourn abroad.

In view of the fact, then, that there is no definite evidence of Young's absence from England at the time when the supposed interment is thought to have taken place; that there is no real evidence of any scandal in the life of the poet such as the existence of an illegitimate daughter would indicate; that there is a striking similarity between the Narcissa episode and the imagined burial episode from *Sir Harry Wildair*; and that there is a probability amounting almost to certainty that Young's attention was drawn to the *Wildair* passage at the time when he was composing the first parts of *Night Thoughts*, we are justified, it seems to me, in discarding the theory of an illegitimate daughter and adopting that which sees in the incident an unacknowledged borrowing poetically fused with material from the writer's own experience.

HORACE W. O'CONNOR.

⁴⁸ H. C. Shelley's *Life of Young*, chap. vi, p. 62.

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NEW SERIES, VOL. XXVII, 2

X.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY
FROM TRANSLATIONS OF HEINRICH
VON EPPENDORFF

In the introduction to my edition of the pre-Lutheran German Bible¹ I had occasion to refer to the *Epistola de Constantinopolitana urbe capta* of Leonardus Chiensis, a German translation of which had been described in an auction catalogue of the year 1913. The volume in question has meanwhile come into my possession, and as it does not appear in the current bibliographies,² it may not be out of place to give its full title:

¹ *Die erste deutsche Bibel*, 10. Bd., Tübingen, 1915, p. xxiii [Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 266. Bd.]

² Ebert, *Allgem. Bibliogr. Lexikon*, No. 7656, notes: *De Caesaris praestantia* deutsch: *Kriegsübung des ersten Röm. Kaisers Julii* übs. v. H. von Eppendorf Strb. 1551, without referring, however, to the other works contained in my copy. Again, Jöcher, *Allgem. Gelehrten-Lexikon* II, p. 368, attributes to Eppendorff the translations of Floridus, Aretinus, and Leonardus, without stating date or place; under Fontanus (II, p. 668) he notes that his work was translated by Eppendorff in 1551. Goedeke, while mentioning other translations of Eppendorff (II, p. 320), does not cite any of those contained in the present volume.

Kriegsübung dess fůrtrefflichsten vnd streitbarsten ersten Römischen Kaisers Julij | sampt anderer Römischen auch auszlendigen Fürsten | Veldtherrn vnd Hauptleuthen der gantzen welt | gegen Julio | vergleichung. Mit kurtzer historischer erzalung jhrer thaten | Victorien | vnd Niderlagen | in drey bücher verfasst | durch Franciscum Floridum Sabinum.

Die wunderbarliche Histori | von der Christen auszug | vnder Kaiser Heinrichen dem vierdten | zů des hailigen lands | vnd der darinn Christliches namens gefangenen errettung | Wie sie Syriam | Judeam vnd Jerusalem erobert | vnd Hertzog Gottfriden aus Lothringen | alda zů ein König erwölet vnd eingesetzt haben | durch Benedictum Aretinum in vier bücher eingetheilt vnd ordenlich beschriben.

Die belegerrung vnd eroberung der Kaiserlichen statt Constantinopolis | welche Mahomet der Türck als man nach Christi geburt | M. cccc. vnd liij. gezalt | dem Kaiser Constantino abgedrungen | durch Leonhardum den Ertzbischoff zů Mitylene (welcher auch dennzůmal in der statt belegt geweszt) summarie vnd warhafftig dargegeben.

Item | der schönen Insel vnd porten Rhodus verlust | die Solimannus der Türckische Kaiser im M. D. xxij. jar | am hailigen weihenacht tag | in seinen gwalt bracht | Von Jacobo Fontano | dem Babst Adriano | in schrifftten | wie es alda ergangen | übersendet.

Alles aus Latinischer sprachen | ins deutsch newlich verdolmetschet | Durch Heinrichen von Eppendorff.

Gedruckt zů Straszburg in Hans Knoblouchs druckerey | durch Georgen Messerschmidt | des jars M. D. lj.^{2a}

The book is dedicated to the Bishop of Strassburg and contains 4 (unnumbered) + CLIII leaves, in folio. Each of the four works contained in it begins with a new leaf (1, 81, 140, 150), so that there is a possibility of one or the other having been issued separately. The *verso* of the last leaf has a list of *errata*.

Heinrich von Eppendorff was a well-known figure in the

^{2a} The lines here used are slightly oblique in the original. They have the value of our comma, which has been substituted for them in the following citations.

learned circles of the first half of the sixteenth century.³ A native of Saxony—Eppendorf lies near Chemnitz—he was sent by Duke George to continue his studies under Erasmus (1520). Later he sided with Hutten in his quarrel with Erasmus, who attacked Eppendorff in a pamphlet (1530). In his reply (1531) the latter more than holds his own, and incidentally he praises the city of Strassburg, presumably the home of his later years. His translations of Plutarch (1534), Florus and Eutropius (1536), and Pliny (1543) were likewise published here.⁴

Eppendorff devoted his later years to the dissemination of the knowledge of classical and mediæval antiquity among the common people. His aim, therefore, was not to give a learned and accurate rendition of his text, but a free and colloquial paraphrase. He wrote as the people spoke—witness forms such as *rab*, *rauss*, *nauss*, *aussem* (*aus dem*). His vocabulary, moreover, is very rich and instructive. Many words in the following list illustrate new or unusual meanings; others testify to a survival of Middle High German usage, while still others antedate by a century or more the hitherto recorded New High German instances; more than a hundred are unrecorded in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of the Grimms.⁵

³ The most accessible biography is that by Scherer in the *Allgem. deutsche Biographie*.

⁴ Jöcher, II, p. 368, cites a number of other translations, but without giving dates or places, and probably with paraphrased titles. The present edition is mentioned by neither Jöcher nor Scherer.

⁵ Words marked * are not recorded in the *DWb.*; those marked * antedate the instances there recorded of the word or meaning in question. However, not all the words that might have been included in these two groups have been thus marked: in some cases, for example, the *DWb.* intentionally omits foreign words, in others it has not yet reached the letter in question. I may add here that for the later volumes of the *DWb.* Eppendorff's Pliny seems to have been used: see for example vol. IX, col. 547, under *Schleek*.

*abarbeiten**: die jenigen so sich also im wasser abgearbeit hetten, 75^b 34.

*abblasen**: wie die nacht hat wöllen einfallen, hat man den sturm abgeblasen. 130^a 34.

abbrücklich: mögen sie doch eins strengen obersten ehre . . . nicht abbrücklich sein, 21^a 35. wolt es nicht vnseren ehren abbrücklich sein, 93^a 13.

abereins^o, *abereinst*^o: hat sie abereins one alle mühe geschlagen, 51^a 35. die jhm abereins in Judeam gefallen, 137^b 21. die aber einist Antiochiam belegett hetten, 138^a 20.

*ablösen**: die vnseren mochten einander ablösen, 104^b 29. (cf. lösen).

abrede: wie ich nicht in abrede bin, das . . . 61^b 34. so bin ich nicht in abrede, das . . . 78^b 6.

absaufen, sich^o: Es wirt auch das selbige kriegs volck selten braucht, es sey dan voller weins, vnd hab sich abgesoffen, gespilet vnd gehüret, 2^b 40.

*abscheuen**: so hab ich kein abscheuhens getragen, den Keiser über alle zů setzen. 17^b 31. das die leuth kein abscheuhens an einander gehabt haben, 119^a 36.

abstäuen^o: welchs der grosse angeborne glaube des Pompeij nicht haben wolt, stöwet dem kriegsvolck dauon abe, 49^b 9. (cf. ich wil mîner vröude stöuwen, Heinr. v. d. Türlin, *Krone*, 25179).

*abtritt**: so wil michs für gůt ansehen, ein abtrit von fürgenomener historien zů nemen, 125^b 8.

*abwerfen, sich**: hat sich gegen dem Hertzogen von Tripolis, vnd vielen andren abgeworffen, 139^b 7.

ächters^o: bekümert, das er ein soliche schlang in seiner schosz hette auffgezogen, ist ächters Pompeius des sinns je geweszt, das er. . . 49^b 25. (cf. *DWb.* s. v. ächt, achter).

advocieren^o: Wenn Keiser Julius sich allein auff aduocieren begeben, 13^a 4.

*alleinig**: gedacht, Hanno alleinig sey basz zû schlagen, 59^a 22.

*allgemächlich**: was in Italia sich an den Hannibal gehenckt, hat sich all gemechlich wider von jm gethan, 27^b 38.

allgereit: die statt von dem Perser allgereit belegert, 114^a 43.

ambasiat^o: Da wurden Ambasiaten ins Türcken leger abgefertiget, 151^a 26.

ammal: vnd seine laster erzelen, wie grosse ammäl vnd miszstände, würde ich an jm finden, 39^a 4. (*cf. DWb. s. v. anmal*).

*ammiral**: der Archelaus ein oberster Ammiral über die Armada, 36^b 7. den Neoptoleum des königs Mithridatis Ammiral, 39^b 6.

*anfesseln**: er hett das gantze meer eingezogen, oder den Neptunum angefeszlet, 53^b 2.

angetan^o (= *bewaffnet*): das viehe . . . welchs vil angethaner leuth mit den hirten verhüten. 134^a 30. mit dreyhundert ausgelesenen Jenuesern, die alle wol angethan waren, 145^a 15.

angster^o, der: Auff das aber der Türck vns mehr den angster in büsen stiesz (*quo nos terreret magis*), 143^a 19.

*anhänger**: Brutus, ein anhenger des freuelen Lepidi, 50^a 2.

anheim: da er . . . anheim ward berüffen, 38^a 33. (*cf. enheim*).

*ankern**: schiff, so da geankeret waren, 143^a 25.

annehmen, sich: wie die selben . . . sich schwerer vngnad annemen, *ij^a 15.

anrühren: vor allen dingen (wie oben ein wenig angerüret) wil ich weiter melden, 12^b 6.

*anschickung**: vorbetrechtig in der thadt, schnelle in der volnführung, vnd weisz in aller anschickung. 6^b 36.

anschlag: hatte Scipio weiter in anschlegen für Carthago zů ziehen, 57^b 22. Wie aber Scipio hochwichtige hendel in anschlegen hette, 58^a 8. hat er . . . der Römer leger lassen besichtigen, wie starck vnd in was anschlegen, das were, 69^a 14.

anstiftung^o: auff anstiftung des Pompeij parthey, 18^a 28.

anstossen: haben sie syben bachheuser, vnd ein dorff angestossen. 87^a 21. die dörffer vmb die statt geplündert vnd angestossen, 89^a 20.

*anziehen**: Da sich aber die zeit des anziehens neheren wolt, 85^b 6. es wer nu ein gelegne zeit, das man anzuge in Asiam, 96^a 7.

apparat^o: Die . . . hat könig Gottfrid, mit königlichem apparat entpfangen, 135^b 24.

armada^o (= *flotte*): vnd sein armada oder schiffung den Römern zůstellen, 37^a 32. hat der Türck ein armada lassen zůrichten . . . die zwey hundert vnd zwentzig schiff starck geweszt, 142^b 39. Numerous other instances.

armbrust: solt man weiter wie bizher beschehen, im armbrost liegen, den feind nicht hindersich dringen, 85^a 18. *DWb.* cites a similar instance from Lehmann (1640), without defining the phrase.

armgeschmuck^o: vil verehrung beschehen, mit zeumen, ketten, armgeschmucken, krentzen, &c. 31^a 1.

*armseligkeit**: solten sie aber geschlagen werden, so weren sie in gewisser arbseligkeit (*misprint*), 115^a 31.

artikel^o: von den articklen des frides, 59^a 42. da haben sie schwere artickel . . . annemen müssen. 60^b 14.

aufarbeiten: das sie . . . tausent auszgelesen volcks auffbracht, den Keiser Julium da vor der statt auffzůarbeiten, 9^b 43.

*aufbruch**: was . . . schnell in seinem auffbruch, das er nicht mehr dann mit sechs legionen . . . kam, 49^a 24.

aufenthalten: wiewol sie durch den Groszmeister . . . lang auffenthalten (= *supported*). 151^b 41. den Türckischen Keiser . . . sechs gantzer monat vor Rhodisz auffenthalten (= *delayed*), 152^b 27.

aufenthalterin^o: Frid ist ein müter vnd auffenthalterin aller güter ding, *ij^a 37.

*aufflenzen** (= *verzögern*): Da Fabius Maximus also auffgelentzet, vnd der Marcellus jmmer geschlagen, 30^a 33. Lucullus habe nicht seinen syg mit aufflenzen, sonder mit angreifen erholet, 42^b 16.

aufflenzen^o (= *reizen*): hett alle regierung in seinen henden behalten . . . den gemeinen man auffgelentzet, 19^b 18. (cf. *DWb.* s. v. lenzen, reference to Kehrein).

auffmutzen: das der Sylla seine eigene hendel wol hat können auffmutzen, 33^a 5. warumb du die triumph des Pompeij so hoch vffmutzest, 52^b 32.

auffpflanzen: in einem schönen auffgeplantzten garten, 1^b 19.

*auffrechtig**: dieweil der Keiser Julius auffrechtig were, 9^b 3. es möchte Rom, durch keinen andren gewalt . . . auffrechtig bleiben, 32^b 5. das kriegsvolck, was noch auffrechtig was, 56^a 38. die anderen [schiffe] seind alle . . . auffrechtig in den hafen komen, 143^b 17.

auffschlagen: die andren Christen, so dise auffgeschlagen seind, werden sich ewer gantz entsetzen, 98^b 6. der selbigen statt helffen, vnd den feind daruor auffschlagen, 113^a 17.

aufftrossen: geflohen, mit jnen genomen, was sie in der eyle haben mögen vff drossen. 123^b 27.

*auffzug**: hat jhn auch gleich mit vffzug des lands vertriben, 42^a 23. (cf. *DWb.* s. v. auffzug, 4.)

ausarbeiten: damit sie die Christen, so schwer angethan

waren, auszuarbeiten möchten, 90^a 9. ein statt . . . darinnen sie ihre verwundte ausgearbeite körper . . . erquicken mögen, 152^b 34.

ausmachen: in eim monat alle kriegsrüstung volbracht vnd ausgemacht wurden, 129^a 11. (cf. *Cgm.* 204: 1473 ward daz buoch gantz aussgemacht nach den obresten, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, xxii, p. 75).

ausschlagen^o (= *bekannt machen*): Dieweil aber disz von dem Keiser auszgeschlagen hat . . . , 20^a 24. Es ist nicht vergebens ein red auszgeschlagen, 21^b 12. solliche . . . wort, hat Tigranes nicht vergebens auszgeschlagen, 40^b 42.

aussetzen: hat in wenig tagen sein kriegsvolck frisch vnd gesundt in Africa auszgesetzt, 59^a 8.

*ausspreiten**: hat . . . die schandtliche ketzerey weit vnd breit, auszgespreitet. 81^a 35. so würden sie das böse giff nicht auszgespreitet haben, 142^b 34.

bankettieren: sein fest gehalten, vnd ist in dem selbigen pancketieren, foller weins, vnd blütdurstig worden, 149^a 39.

*barbarisch**: Christen, die den selbigen Barbarischen müsten gehorsam sein, 132^a 6.

*barche**: Fusten, Barchen, vnd andere kleine schiff, 142^b 43.

*barse**, die: des Pompeij ross, welchs mit einer vergulden Barsen, vnd edlem gestein war behenckt, 45^b 43. vnd nicht (= *nichts*) sein leben errettet, da er von dem pferde gefallen, dann der guldene geschmuck an der Barsse. 52^b 8. (cf. *DWb.* i, 1140, where this word, cited only in the plural, is supposed to be identical with *Barsch*, *m.*, = *perch*. In our text it translates the Latin *phalerae*, 'trapping on a horse's head and breast.')

*bedränglich**: haben dem Türcken so bedrenglich gethan, jrer so viel erwürget, 143^b 8.

*befelchhaber**: die befelchhaber des königs, 90^b 16.

*beherrschung**: Christen, welche der Persier beherrschung nicht wol dulden mögen, 103^b 8.

behilff: wir wöllen dem Pompeio dise behilff alle lassen, 52^a 15.

*beifällig**: daz glück wer jm allzeit beyfellig geweszt, 16^a 42. mehr mit vrsachen, dann andrem beyfelligem rechten, 47^b 40.

beiharnisch^o: mit den kürisern in jhren sturmhauben, vnd beyharnisch, mit schwertren, kurtzen weren, 4^a 18. mit denen, so mit rinckharnisch, sturmhauben, vnd beyharnisch versehen weren, 53^a 12.

beladen: das er sich der griechen belade, 5^b 38.

beratschlagt: man kan nit alzeit berathschlagten anschlegen nachgehn, 29^b 41.

*beredsamkeit**: damit ich . . . von der beredtsamkeit . . . anfahe, 48^a 32.

*bergknappe**: liesz darzü die bergknappen . . . die statt mauren vndergraben . . . die bergknappen ein bolwerg . . . vndergraben hetten, 141^b 35 ff.

*bescheinen**: denen sollich glück beschinen ist, 52^a 18.

beschreien: welchs jr höchster trost vnd ein beschreiter kriegsman was, 45^b 8. diser biderman hat den gewalt Scipionis dermassen beschreyt, 61^b 6.

beschreißig^o: welcher der fürnembste vnd beschreißigste bey jhnen was, 59^a 16.

*besoldung**: knechten an jhrer besoldung abbrechen, 3^b 15. kriegsvolck, one besoldung nicht zů erhalten ist, 17^b 12.

bestehung^o: also seind sie auch in bestehung der ferligkeit einander vngleich geweszt. 134^b 31.

*betroszt**: über ein rauch gebirge gezogen, das man kümmerlich darüber komen, sonderlich zů ross, deren vil da

verfallen seind, dergleich die andren thierer so bedroszt waren. 105^a 28.

betrübsal^o: welchs jhm villeicht, nicht sonderlich betrübsal bracht, 75^a 33. das er jhres betrübsals ein end machen wolt, 82^a 43.

*bettelhaftig**: Giagarus, der ein lang zeit bettelhaftig geweszt, 146^a 26.

bewegnus (= *aufruhr*): ehe er sich die inwendische bewegnusz zû stillen vnderstünde, 61^a 31.

bisz halten: haben sie vil aus dem fusz volck erstochen, . . . also das die reutter allein den bisz gehalten. 109^b 42.

blindgraben^o: hat man in der stat andere blindgräben auffgeworffen, vnd mauren gemacht, 150^b 20.

*blutsverwandt**: hat . . . Solimanus sein blütsuerwunter, jnnen gehabt, 89^a 2. einer aus seinen blütsuerwanten, 136^a 36.

börse: Jedoch so haben etlich gütwillig in die bursz geschossen (= *beigesteuert*), 144^b 42.

*brandschatzen**: hat er . . . geraubt vnd gebrantschatzet, 66^b 11. das sie die stat brantschatzten 125^a 13.

brauchen, sich: hat er sich in allen disen dingen gebraucht, die eim fürtrefflichen burger wol anstehen, 12^a 3.

bruckport^o: von des Hertzogen porten an bisz zû der bruckport, 107^b 5. das sie die bruckport mit grossen gewaltigen steinen vertarrest, 107^b 39.

*büchsenkugel**: hat sie doch vor einer sollichen gewaltigen büchsen kuglen nicht halten mögen, 141^b 9.

bundgenossenkrieg^o: Darauff hat sich gleich der pundtgenossen krieg zûgetragen, 36^a 42.

*bundsgenosse**: mit . . . vil tausent Römern sampt jren pundsgenossen, 28^a 40.

*bürgerlich**: das der burgerliche krieg . . . nicht fürgegangen were, 20^a 10. aus des Keisers todt ist der burgerliche krieg . . . erwachsen, 21^b 26.

*bürgermeisteramt**: erlangte das Burgermeister ampt, 15^a 20. im schein des Burgermeister ampts, oder des obersten befelchs, 19^b 17.

*bürgersmann**: ein vast güter burgers man, 46^b 1.

danksagen: da . . . ist gleicher gestalt gedancksaget worden. 12^b 21.

darauffhauen^o: oder das schnell darauffhawen mit den feinden, 10^a 9.

dartuung: mit eigentlicher darthûung der person dauon er redt, 43^a 18.

*delben**: haben etliche kunstreiche meister, bronnen getolben, 126^b 43. haben . . . allenthalben nach dem geldt gedolben, 149^a 19.

dennzumal: dennzumal in der statt belegert geweszt, Title.

derenhalben^o: Aber E. F. G. derenhalben zûgeschriben, *ij^b 15.

deshalber: allein deshalb, so bald Hannibal gesehen, 74^a 5.

dienstbote: wolt ein bundtschûch mit den dienstbotten oder gesinde auffrichten, 38^a 36.

*disputation**: Aber seitmals wir vns derhalben in ein disputation begeben, 47^b 39.

diszipel^o: den er ein discipel des Sylle etwan gnant, 45^b 27. vnd discipel des hochberûmpten weysen mans Aristotelis, 75^a 16.

*donnerstreich**: vnd wil mich zû den zweien donderstreichen des kriegs, den beyden Africanern wenden, 55^a 15. als hette jhn ein donder streich zû boden geschlagen, 60^a 38.

dupel: seind . . . so nicht tripel doch dupel, grösser geacht, 63^b 4.

*durchlaufen**: wiewol ich die bekanten historien . . . durchlauffen wil, 25^a 11.

*ehrengeiz**: er wer des ehrengeytz lasters, beschuldiget worden. 34^b 23.

ehrengeizig^o: das der Flaminius ein ehrengeitziger mensch was, 69^b 31.

ehrverletzlich^o: nichts warhafftiges, das jhm ehrverletzlich wer, 20^a 42.

*eigennützig**: ein eigennütziger tyrannischer mensch, 33^a 6.

eigenstreitig^o: so wolt ich . . . mich hinfürter so eigenstreittig erzeigen, 35^b 41. O jhr eigenstreittigen köpf (*O pertinaces homines*), 140^b 22.

eilwerk^o: sahe er wol das es ein eylwerck was, 98^b 39.

*einländisch**: der burgerlichen, cder einlendischen kriege, 51^b 22.

*cinschreiten**: damit ich von dem anfang der kriegsübung des Scipionis einschreitte, 56^a 23.

einträchtlich: Die einträchtlich geantwort haben, 152^a 13.

enheim^o: ist nicht aus dem vatterland ins ellend, sonder von den Römern . . . enheim berüffen worden, 14^b 1.

*entlegen**: in weit entlegenen lendern, 53^b 21.

entpören: haben sich die Thebaner . . . auch entpöret, 75^b 6.

entsatzung^o, *entsetzung**: Deiner heiligkeit entsatzung, hat vns in hoffnung gestellet, 140^b 13. das sie in der statt entsetzung aus Italia, verhofften, 146^b 34.

entschuldung^o: ist es ein schöne entschuldung? 73^b 39.

*entsessen**: so sie vns so weit entsessen, vnd wir mitten vnder den feinden wonen, 132^b 23.

*erbfeind**: Mahomet . . . ein erbfeind der Christen, 141^a 26.

*ereignen**: die kirchen so seinem heiligen namen ereigent geweszt, 83^b 30.

erhasen: die weil sie also erhaset vnnd zerstrewet, 101^a 39.

*erlustieren**: das sich Pompeius nach der schlacht mit jagen der löwen vnd elephanten, erlustieret? 52^a 30.

ersitzen: Das liesz er nie ersitzen still, 54^b 34.

erwegen: so einer erwigt den ausgang diser ding, 82^a 27.

erzippern: sie hetten sie dermassen erzipperet, 125^a 14.

eselsfleisch^o: das man ross vnd esels fleisch hat essen müssen, 114^a 2.

*fabelwerk**: vnd was eim fabelwerck änlicher mag herfür gelesen werden, 53^b 3.

*färblein**: schlechte, vnnd nicht geblümte wort, kein eusserlich auszstreichen, oder färblin, 150^a 16.

feder: weil der Sertorius noch in seinen fedren (= *am Leben*) war, nach dem er aber von den seinen . . . ermordet, 52^b 35.

feldherr: sampt anderer . . . Fürsten, Veldtherrn, *Title*.

*fisierlich**: wie Juuenalis . . . fisierlich anzeigt, 34^a 43. wie es dann fisierlich dem anschlag nach, gleich ergangen ist, 41^a 26.

flitzbogener^o: schickten vil schützen . . . die mit den flitzbogenern, handeln solten, 95^b 4.

flöhen: da alle jre schetz, als an einem sicheren orth geflöhet weren, 41^a 25.

flück: des girigen gemüts, der flücken hende des Pyrrhi, 67^a 1.

fortun^o: da ist ein fortun an sie komen, das sie den mehren theil ertruncken, 137^b 26.

friede nehmen: hielten gegenander so hart an, das die nacht frid nemen müste, 28^b 5.

frontier^o: ein statt auff der Frontir gegen Franckreich,

10^a 35. Wie sie nu . . . auff der frontier geweszt seind,
102^a 23. mit seinen frontieren oder grentzen, 125^b 10.

fürachten^o: Scipio . . . dem doch Quintus Flaminius
. . . vom volcke ist fürgeacht worden. 61^a 22.

fuszen: wo vns Gott hin schicken wil, oder wo wir
fussen sollen, 152^b 22.

fuste: Fusten, Barchen, vnd andere kleine schiff,
142^b 43.

garaus machen^{*}: Wie Lucullus die schlacht erobert,
was er willens, jnen den garausz zû machen, 41^a 34.

garde: das fuszvolck . . . aus welchen, der könig seine
gwarde erhalten, 141^a 30.

gebraucht: der fleisz des leuthenampts, rotmeisters,
hauptmans, ja auch der gebrauchten gemeinen knechte,
34^a 10. (*cf.* brauchen, ungebraucht).

gedresch: der . . . in dem gedresch, von dem kriegs-
man Ferentario schier erwürget ist worden. 68^a 3. wie
ein grosz gedresch vmb den Alexander was, 75^b 35.

gedrungen: das wir nicht durch faulheit, sonder ge-
drungener noth halben abgezogen seind. 107^a 13.

gegenbau^{*}: Die selbige, der vnseren gegenbew, haben
denen in der statt ein grosse forcht bracht, 130^a 13.

gegensein^{*}: in gegensein Hannibalis, 1^b 28.

gegenteil: hat jetzt seinen gegentheil aus Italia verja-
get, 19^a 22. hat . . . seinen gegentheil nichts wöllen
lassen sein, 33^a 5.

gehasz: dieweil sie dem Tancredo züstünden, dem er
gehass vnnd feind was, 102^b 38.

geldgierig^{*}: wie geldtgirig er sich . . . gehalten, 15^a 30.

general: aber der general liesz jm das nit anligen,
146^a 8.

general kapitanier: der general Capitanier Johan Jus-
tinian, der des gantzen kriegs acht nam, 145^b 41. Da hat

der general Capitanier gesagt: 146^a 3. Ich wolt das diser general Capitanier bey mir were, 146^a 13.

genitzer: seint abtrinnige Christen geweszt, oder der Christen kinder, die man Genitzer nennet, welche man bey den Macedoniern, Mirmidones heiszt, 141^a 31.

genüchtig: so ein lustig vnd genüchtig land, 125^a 37.

geschwader: haben dem gewaltigen hauffen, zwen flügel angehenckt, etliche geschwader reutter zwischen sich genomen, 4^a 9. hette sie mit einem geschwader reutter geschlagen, 116^a 24.

gespei: Darumb haben nit vergebens vil zů Rom das fatzwerck oder gespey von dem Mario getriben, 35^a 8.

gewehrt: dise . . . so bey gewerter hand, von dem Hannibal gefangen wurden. 3^b 31. es sey ehrlich mit gewerter hand für das vatterland zů sterben. 100^a 20. Wolten sie aber mit gewerter hand, wider des königs willen, weiter ziehen, 124^a 33.

gewinnlich: es was auch Perpenna gewinnlicher, das die tyrannei zů Rom im wesen blibe, 46^a 37.

glast: So warden auch mit fewres glast

Cometen, . . .

22^b 2.

glaubiger: hat er kümmerlich, durch viler leuth bürgschafft seine glaubiger zů fride stellen mögen, 15^a 29.

glaubsverwandt: ich wil von meinen glaubsverwandten nichts reden, 142^a 35.

glückfall: zeit hast, anzuhören vnseren glückfall, 150^a 18.

gotsmörder: wenn er der gotsmörder degen, nicht mit seinem blůt, geferbet hett. 21^b 4.

*grad**: in gleichem grad der ehren, 24^b 37.

grimzornig: dem grimzornigen Achille, 30^b 39.

händelein^o: Domitius fieng auch ein hendelein an in Africa, 49^a 9.

hans, grosser: wie er allen Römern (wenig der grossen

hansen ausgeschlossen) so angemessen gewesen, 12^b 7. vil aus den grossen hansen . . . in sonderheit der Quintus Fabius Maximus, 58^b 16. Die grossen hansen (*magnates*) vnder jnen, 142^b 8.

hans, langer: des hauptmans lang Hansen schiff (*centurionis navem*) . . . zů grundt geschossen, 143^b 30.

hartnickig^o: Warumb thůt man die hārtnickigen leuth nicht hinweg? 142^b 27.

hartnickigkeit^o: von seiner hartnickigkeit, abstehn wolte, 140^a 30. die hartnickigkeit der Griechen, hat vns alles trosts beraubt, 140^b 14.

*hauptharnisch**: vmb den Alexander was, der ein haupt-harnisch auff hette, 75^b 36. auff seinen feind getretten, jhm das haupt-harnisch abgethan, 136^b 7.

*hauptmannschaft**: die, so zů befehlen oder hauptmanschaften komen wolten, 4^b 29. des alters, das zů hauptmanschaft tauglich, 51^b 23.

*hauptschlacht**: das disz sein brauch sey, ehe er ein hauptschlacht thůe, 144^b 11.

haussen^o: das die in der statt stercker seind, dann er haussen, 9^b 36. ein baw haussen vor der stat, 131^a 3.

heimstellen^o: dem Keiser die höchste kriegserfarung heim zůstellen, 47^b 41.

helmlein: so thůstu am aller besten, das du one allen zanck, dem Keiser das helmlin gebest, 26^a 20.

herfürlesen^o: vnd was eim fabelwerck änlicher mag herfür gelesen werden, 53^b 3.

hinfürter^o: so wirstu hinfürter (mit meinem willen) den Lucullum mit dem Keiser nicht vergleichen. 44^a 20.

hinterlistung^o: wie sie jnen mit hinderlistung abbrechen möchten, 138^b 15.

*historisch**: Mit kurtzer historischer erzalung, *Title*.

*hochberühmt**: ein hochberühmbten kriegsman, 52^a 39.

*hochtrabend**: stoltze vnnnd hochdrabende wort, 40^b 41.

hofhaltung^o: die hauptstat des königreichs gemacht, sein hoffhaltung allezeit da gehabt, 127^a 43.

instrument: hat durch instrument die mauren gefellet, 150^b 15.

inwendisch^o: ehe er sich die inwendische bewegnusz zů stillen vnderstünde, 61^a 31.

irgend: Gottfrid ist jrgent (= etwa) drey tausent schrit von jm geweszt. 100^b 35. hat Asias vil ross auff die weyde geschlagen, jrgent drey tausent schritt von der statt, 111^a 42. (cf. nirgend).

jagschiff^{*}: zwey schiff . . . mit kleinen jagschiffen, 144^a 23.

kalend^o: Hat er die andern alle sampt
 Die von Kalenden ghandelt handt
 Weith übertroffen, . . . 13^a 26.

kaltsinnig^{*}: O jr von Genua wie seind jr so kaltsinnig (*cicurati*) worden, 142^a 35. der Türck etwas hindersich zoge, oder kaltsinniger ward, dann er wiszte wol, solt er noch eins stürmen, das wir . . . viel erschlagen würden, 151^a 8.

kameinfeger: das es die losten Schlaunen vnd kamein feger geweszt seind, die anders nichts gewiszt, denn den schimel aus dem brott zů vertreiben, 42^b 25.

kapitanier^o: der grosse Capitanier des königs, 134^a 5. Der Capitanier heisz Clasdala, 134^a 10. der Capitanier Johan Justinian, 144^a 22. Der Türck hat des Capitaniers fleisz gerhümet, 146^a 12. Similar instances 148^b 13, 25.

kappe lösen: schult . . . des kriegsvolcks, welchs der Marcellus nach dem sie die kapp gelözt, ernstlich gestrafft, 28^b 20.

katze: darzů viel schantzkörbe stellen lassen, sampt grossen katzen, vnd streittwegen, 142^a 9.

kegel^{*}: hat wol gesehen, wo der selbig geweszt ist, da hat es kegel geben, darumb dachte der Persier, es müste

nicht der geringste vnder den hauptleuthen sein, 111^a 20.

*kesseln**: wir seind . . . allenthalben auff dem meer herumb gekeszlet, wissen noch nicht wo vns Gott hin schicken wil, 152^b 21.

*kirchengezierde**: man solle die burger in dieser noth nicht beschweren, sonder man [solle] die kirchen gezierten angreifen. 145^a 4.

*kirchenräuberin**: dein hauszfrau ist ein kirchenrauberin vnd trewlosz, 20^b 19.

*kirchräuberisch**: das an disen orten . . . kirchreuberische breuch gehalten werden. 83^b 17.

kondition^o: ein rachtung mit vast beschwerlichen conditionen, 9^a 32. vmb ein frid bey den Römern ansuchen, es gelte gleich mit was condition, 60^a 41.

konfiszieren^o: der . . . vil geächtet vnd jhre güter confisciert, 21^a 43. hat man vil der statt verwisen, jre güter confisciert, 120^b 16.

konscientz: Ob sie wol aus eigener conscientz, den artickel vom heiligen geist bekennen müsten, 140^a 30.

konterfeien: wiewol Sylla die selbige geschicht in ein ring conterfeit getragen, 38^a 11.

kostfreiigkeit^o: Was sol ich von seiner mildte oder kostfreiigkeit reden? 41^b 9.

*kraft**: haben doch die Römer krafft jhres übersten so freudig angegriffen, 36^b 30.

kriegführen^o: das er in seinem kriegfüren, mehr vorbetrechtig dann ernstlich vnd schnell geweszt sey, 25^a 40.

*kriegsehre**: wie keiner in der kriegsehre dem Africano gleichen mag, 56^a 1.

*kriegserfahren**: land . . . das so reich vnd kriegs erfahren ist, daz sich gantz Asia, des entsetzet. 106^a 19.

*kriegserfahrenheit**: durch kriegs erfahrenheit seinen feind mit macht glückhafftig erlegt, 33^a 42.

kriegserfahrnus^o: ob die selbigen scharrhansen, nur ein füncklein der rechten kriegserfarnus hetten, 5^a 8.

kriegserfahrung^{*}: dem Mario in tugent vnd kriegserfarung, fürgienge. 31^b 42.

kriegsfürst^{*}: Von vergleichung der kriegsfürsten, ff. 1-79.

kriegsgeschäft^{*}: damit ich vor den kriegsgeschefften, von der beredtsamkeit . . . zû reden anfahe, 48^a 32.

kriegsgeschicklichkeit^o: das er nicht allein mit kriegsgeschickligkeit alle kriegsleuth übertroffen, 41^b 15.

kriegshändel^{*}: was zû kriegshendlen gedienet, 4^b 34. seine erste kriegshendel, 48^a 42.

kriegslauf: was das glück in kriegsleuffen vermöge, 91^a 39.

kriegsmann: welche vorhin dapffere kriegsmenner geweszt, 78^b 33.

kriegsmännisch: Das alter hat . . . sein kriegsmennisch geblüt, sampt dem hitzigen gemüt, kalt gemacht, 54^b 1.

kriegsordnung: die kriegsordnung so sie von Romulo empfangen, 4^b 13. wolt mit einer kriegsordnung durch ein rauh thal ziehen, 49^a 28.

kriegspracht, der: so jn der kriegsbracht nicht verführet hette. 48^a 38.

kriegsrüstung^{*}: von . . . alter kriegsrüstung zû reden. 17^b 4.

kriegstugend^{*}: mit andren kriegstugenden geziert, 29^b 13.

kriegsübung^{*}: das zû kriegsübung gedienet habe. 22^b 28.

kriegswapen^o: Es ward in deutscher nation
In lüfften ein grausamer thon,
Das kriegswapen gehört zû hand,
22^a 16.

*kriegszucht**: so wirt nicht bald die alte kriegszucht, auffgericht werden. 3^b 3.

*kundbar**: da der berg Caluaria durch den todt Christi . . . gantz kuntbar worden. 127^b 13.

leibesaufenthalt°: vil korns, vnnd was man zû leibs auffenthalt nottürftig, 126^b 33.

leibeslustpfleger°: ist auch kein tyrann, kein leibs lust pfleger, nit geytzig, nit stoltz geweszt. 136^a 25.

leichen: er hette den fisch ins garn geleichet, 41^a 29.

*leutenampt**: was eim obersten leuthenampt, auch gemeinem kriegsman zûsteht, 32^a 5. There are 28 instances of this spelling. Plural regularly in *-er*: so vil rathsherrn vnd leuthenämpter, 53^a 38. The pl. *leuthenampt* only once: von etlichen zügen der Leuthenampt des Keisers Julij, 8^a 29.

liedlohn: Der hat bauren arbeit gethan,

Vnd des entpfangen sein lidlan, 31^a 38.

lorbeerbaum: Vnd disem mann triumph gemacht,

Vnd jhn mit lorberbaum geziert,

33^a 25.

*lösen**: das ander so müde was, zoge ins leger, darnach müsten sie dise lösen, 104^b 34.

lustierer°: das jhr verzagt, faule lustierer wert, 93^a 15.

mannlich: ist sein son Balduinus an die regierung komen, der noch nicht manlicher jar geweszt, 138^a 38.

marschalk: Minutius, marschalck über die reysigen, 70^a 11. das ein Marschalck gleichen gewalt mit dem obersten im feld haben solt, 70^b 6.

*masse**: hat . . . die vngeschickten leuth zû dem kriege, der dann viel waren, in ein masz gedrunge, vnnd ein wagenburg vmb sie geschlagen, 100^b 43.

matten: sie mit abstrickung der profiant, zû matten, 40^b 37.

*mauerbrecherin**: stette . . . für welchen tausent maurbrecherin nichts mit gewalt schaffen möchten, 2^a 34.

mausen: keiner arbeit gewonet, allein stelen vnd mausen können, 3^a 33.

meerleben^o: theylete . . . schiffreuber aus in öde lender vnnd stette, auff das sie des meerlebens vergessen, 50^b 18.

meerrauben: In the errata the preceding passage is corrected to: das sie des Meer raubens vergessen.

mehr, das: durch das mehr des vnuerstendigen gepöfels, 31^a 11.

*meuterei**: oder meitereien auffrichten, 3^b 17. wie der Marius ein grosse meitterey zû Rom gemacht hab, 36^b 4.

*miszstand**: so ist es auch kein miszstand, 1^b 36. wie grosse ammäl vnd miszstende, würde ich an jm finden, 39^a 4.

mitkriegsherr^o: den Scipion . . . vnnd seinen mit kriegsherrn, 70^a 6.

*mitregieren**: wider eins gantzen raths willen, vnnd seins mitregierenden rathsherren, 15^b 9.

nachbäurlich^o: frid mit den nachbeurlichen feinden, 93^a 42.

*nachgedenken**: das machte dem Hannibali ein grosz nachgedenckens, 60^a 4.

nachgültig: nicht ein lose nachgültige statt, sonder Rom, 72^b 2.

nachhängen: sich an ein andren ort gethan, dahin jm der Lucullus nachgehenget. 39^b 37.

*nächlein**: mit etlichen kleinen Griechischen nächlein, 39^a 38.

nachname: ist dem Scipioni zûgelassen worden, das er sich des nachnamens Africani, brauchen solt, 60^b 19.

*nachsetzen**: das wir den Syllam . . . aus vrsachen,

dem Keiser nachsetzen, 38^b 8. woltestu aber die auszland-
ischen . . . dem Keiser nachsetzen, 64^a 21.

näglein: Die alten Römer . . . wiszten bey eim nege-
lein, wie sie sich derhalb halten solten, 3^b 7.

nähet, nähent, die: das er in der nehent das land be-
schirmete, 59^a 20. das sie in der nehet kein wasser haben
werden, 102^a 24. den Persiern so in der nehet woneten,
103^b 29.

neut (= *nichts*): Wüsch auff vnd ab, wo da ist neut
Das jhn behaben mag, . . . 55^a 2.

nirgend: wiewol die vnsren nirgent (= *bei weitem*
nicht) so starck, so seind sie doch jnen nicht gewichen,
128^b 25.

obbemeldet^o: von wegen der obbemelten einigen
schlacht, 47^b 19.

obbestimmt^o: in denen obbestimpten lendren, 88^b 27.

oberzählt^o: hat sich der oberzeleten ding, nicht geflissen,
21^a 1.

obgemeldet^o: dise obgemelte würde, 14^b 8. des königs
von Franckreichs brüder mit etlichen obgemelten Grafen,
93^b 4.

obgenannt^o: Dise obgenante vnd andere mehr, 85^b 24.
von dem obgenanten Wal oder schütte, 151^a 4.

ohne sein: Aber wir wöllen dise ding faren lassen, vnd
ist nicht one, das jn der Keiser auch in der beredtsamkeit
übertroffen, 48^a 39.

opinion^o: die vnbestendigen opinionen des Scolarij,
140^a 35.

ordinanz: Das die Römer in der ordinantz des jars
minder dann andere nationen jrren, 13^a 17.

orientisch: wider den Orientischen Keiser zů kriegen,
91^b 40. lender, dem Orientischen Keiser abgewonnen,
97^b 28.

patienz: wöllen wir in der zeit des kriegs, nicht auch die selbige patientz haben? 106^b 28.

perfort^o: hat sie dermassen geengst, das er sie perfort gewonnen, 56^b 32.

*pfennigmeisteramt**: wie geldtgirig er sich in dem selbigen pfennigmeister ampt, gehalten, 15^a 31.

pflichtung^o: Von dem aide . . . damit man das kriegsvolck, als mit eim harten band in pflichtung behalten, 3^b 9.

phönix: den Keiser vnder andren übersten, nicht anders dann wie den Fenix vnder andren vöglen, halten, 51^b 16.

posselarbeit: Mit possel arbeit grosz vnd vil, 31^a 41.

*possen reissen**: der selbig könig die Römischen übersten hat können hindergehn, vnd jnen bossen reissen, 34^a 16.

possession: das sie auch heuser vnd possession verbrenneten, 37^a 25. in dem Picener land so vil kostlicher possession vnd freundschaft hatte, 48^b 8.

*preis geben**: die statt Cosoar, die . . . dem kriegsvolck preisz gegeben ist worden, 105^a 19.

proportion^o: von der änlichkeit, oder proportion, 13^a 9.

rachtung: so sie . . . ein billige rachtung, erlangen mögen, 73^b 15. ein billige rachtung möchte troffen werden, 94^a 11.

*ranzieren**: schiffreuber, die jn rantzieret hatten, 14^b 27. ist . . . gefangen vnd ranziert worden, 149^a 4. vmb syben tausent ducaten, hetten rantzieren lassen, 149^b 17.

ranzon: vmb ein ranzon ledig zů lassen, 73^b 3. die jm ein grosse sum golds, zů rantzon geben haben. 137^b 23.

ranzonen: von wegen des gelds, das er . . . genomen, vnd von dem könige Antiocho gerantzonet, 61^b 11.

ratsverwandt: ein Burgermeister oder rathsuerwandter, 15^b 10. nicht von geringem herkomen . . . sonder von raths verwanten geboren, 36^a 2.

räuhe: nach züeylen, durch die reuhe des bergs Caucasi, 51^a 18.

rechtverständig^o: die sich für rechtuerstendige ausgegeben, 41^b 16.

regieren: zû Antiochia ankomen, da die pestilentz noch regirt hat, 121^b 9.

*regiment**: der Keiser . . . wölle den burgern zû Rom das regiment lassen, 21^b 14.

reichtum: dem Alexandro Magno, der die reichthumen des gantzen Orient vmbgestürtzet hat, 133^b 15.

reiter, die: das er hoch verspottet, vnd eins tags zwiren durch die reitter gefallen, 34^b 21.

*rennweg**: vor dem platz da der reumweg (= *Hippodromium*, read: rennweg) ist, 145^a 41.

reputation^o: zû erhaltung der reputation vnserer herrschafft, 144^a 16.

*reverenz**: ist mit grosser reuerentz . . . entpfangen worden, 95^b 23. den man mit gebürlicher reuerentz . . . vmbgetragen, 114^b 27.

revier, die: in der refier Albe, 28^a 31. vil stette in der selbigen refier, 105^a 25.

ringharnisch^o: ist er verwundt über den . . . fluss Rhodanum geschwummen, mit seinem rundel vnd rinckharnisch, 44^b 4. denen, so mit rinckharnisch, sturmhauben, vnd beyharnisch versehen weren, 53^a 12.

rittersbruder^o: hat . . . die sach für den gemeinen Adel, oder Ritters brüder . . . raichen lassen 152^a 9. die Rittersbrüder begeren sich zû brauchen, gefar vnd ferligkeit zû bestehn, 152^b 37.

*rittmeister**: Maharbel der ein rittmeister geweszt, 71^a 2.

rottmeister: der fleisz des leuthenampts, rotmeisters, hauptmans, 34^a 10. hat jn . . . zû eim obersten rottmeister angenommen, 36^a 14.

rudel: die Jenueser solten jre segel vnd rüdel, von den schiffen thûn, 144^a 8.

rundel: wenn ein andrer, nicht das rundell fürgeworffen. 16^b 6. haben mehr aus gewonheit, jr rundel, scheffelein, bogen vnd schwert, an jnen getragen, 144^b 23.

*rung**: welche kein wehr, mehr in henden hatten, die seind zû rung an einander komen, 117^b 33.

rupfen, sich: als Alexander begerte sich mit jhm zû ropffen, 76^a 16.

*säbeln**: das er den Calilbastian . . . darnach zû Adrianopoli seblen lassen (= *vita privari jussit*). 149^b 8. hat er . . . den Chirluca mit andren sebelen lassen (= *decollatur*). 149^b 12.

satt: viel mehr ausz dem brauch, dann durch satte ordenung getriben wirt, 2^a 22. die kriegsordnung . . . der newen kein satte vnd gewisse ordnung ist, 4^b 40.

saures ansehen: Wenn gleich der Pompeius, den hauffen . . . allein mit saurem ansehen geschlagen hette, 52^b 24.

schäbicht: des schebechten gelts halben, *ij^b 5.

schäfflein: vnnd mit eim scheffelin auff den Hertzog gerandt, 111^a 25. die haben sturm hauben, bantzer, schwerter vnd scheffelein gehabt, 144^b 26.

schalatzen: lassen jhnen die hûren, das fressen vnnd sauffen gefallen, schalatzen in dem lande hin vnd wider, 98^a 8.

schalksnarr: dann er von jugent auff vnder den gaucklern vnd schalcksnarrn gewonet, 39^a 5.

schandfleck: den schandtfleck den der Keiser von dem Mamurra gehabt, 20^a 34. sonder hencken jhnen auch ein schandflecken an, 51^b 36.

*schandmal**: hat . . . den Keiser des schandmals, entlediget. 20^a 36.

schandwort: haben da alle schmach vnd schandwort, dulden müssen, 81^b 35.

schanze: dieweil sie sich seiner am tag hoch entsetzten, in einer vast güten schantzen, 66^a 33. er hette die statt in die schantz geschlagen, 97^a 43.

*schanzkorb**: hat der Türck . . . viel schantzkörbe stellen lassen, 142^a 9. [hat] der feind vnser schantzkörbe . . . herab gezerret, 145^b 27.

schelten: wolt nicht das jhn die seinen solten, ein obersten schelten, 49^a 34. da haben sie jn gleich jren könig gescholten, 139^a 35.

*schiffräuber**: ein solliche grosse anzal der schiffreuber, 50^b 2. hat . . . das meer vor den schiffreubren geseuberet, 50^b 8.

schiffräuberkrieg^o: nit einer, sonder vil der schiffreuber kriege, 53^a 39. der gantze schiffreuber krieg des Pompeij, 53^b 24.

schiffung: sein armada oder schiffung, 37^a 32. welcher dem Soldan sein schiffung . . . auff dem meer genommen, 152^b 25.

schimmel: das es die losten Schlaunen vnd kamein feger geweszt seind, die anders nichts gewiszt, denn den schimel aus dem brott zů vertreiben (= *to eat it?*), 42^b 25.

schlechtverständig^o: [das] verstehet ein jetlicher schlechtuerstendiger wol, 54^a 43. Welcher schlechtuerstendiger wils denn nicht dafür achten, 132^b 3.

schleck: ross vnd esels fleisch hat essen müssen . . . doch so ists auff das selbig mal ein schleck geweszt, 114^a 4.

*schleifung**: in der schleiffung der statt Mytilene, 33^b 27.

schleissen: wolt seine andere jar zůr zierung seines vaterlands, da heim schleissen, 12^a 39.

schlemmer: ist kein tyrann geweszt, kein schlemmer oder hůrer. 133^b 33.

*schleunigkeit**: dem einen hat vil weiszheit gefelet, dem andren grosser müt, vnd schleunigkeit zů handlen, 30^a 37.

schmachwort: Dise schmach wort haben den Chirluca verdrossen, 146^a 5.

schnapp nehmen: des Hannibalis . . . der viel schnepp genomen, 74^a 31. Da die Deutschen vnd Frantzosen disen schnapp genomen, 91^b 3. wie der Christlich namen so ein grossen schnap nemen . . . wirt, 133^a 2.

*schnappen**: welchs land schnappens vnd raubens halber schier öde gelegt was, 31^b 33. es wer nichts feiners dann sich des schnappens vnd stelens behelffen, 31^b 35.

schnaufen: es wirt da schnauffens brauchen, 105^b 4.

*schwader**: der nit mehr dann etliche geringe schwader, bey jhm hätte, 72^b 16.

serben: seind vil kranck worden, die lang geserbet haben, 102^a 7.

sicherung: da alle vertribene Christen jren vnderschleiff, vnd alle Griechen jre sicherung gehabt, 147^b 31.

siegenhaft: das er den Sertorium . . . geschlagen, vnd sygenhafft der wegen widerumb ist gehn Rom komen, 52^a 40.

siegenoss^o: Vnd auch hie sygnosz alle man
Weit übertrifft die bey jhm stan,
27^a 13.

*sommervogel**: gleich wie die sommer vögel, die auff den winter ein andere wonung suchen. 106^b 25.

sonder: ist ein lange zeit auff dem kampff sonderer personen gestanden, *ij^a 28. als von des gemeinen nutzes seckel mehr denn der sondern personen gelt vnd güt ward gehalten, 21^a 25.

spann, der: Was er durch die leuthenämpter gehandelt, da ist kein span von, 62^b 5.

spektakel, die: hat er ein schnöde spectackel sehen müssen, 52^b 5. welchs jhnen in der statt so ein traurig spectackel gewesen ist, 109^b 29.

*spieszgesell**: Durchleuchten vnd edelen hauptleuth vnd

spieszgesellen (*commilitones*), 147^b 6. der gleichen solt jr alle thûn, lieben spieszgesellen, 147^b 41.

*spolieren**: wa er nicht vil stett . . . spolirt vnd geplündert hett, 15^a 34.

sprache halten: erdacht den listigen anschlag, das er spraach . . . mit den Rhodiseren hielte. Der gemein mann . . . wolt, man solt spraach halten. Da wurden Ambasiaten . . . abgefertiget, zû denen der Tûrckisch Keiser saget, er hab kein spraach begeret, 151^a 23 ff.

staffieren: nach dem er mit reysigem volck, nit wol staffiert was, 58^b 36.

stetigs: mit seinen freunden stetigs daruon geredt, 29^a 16. Sylla was stetigs der hilff der Römer gewertig, 36^b 42.

stolzen: darzû stoltzet jhm der mût noch, von der nechsten erlangten victorien, 39^b 27.

sturmhaube: den kürissern in jhren sturmhauben, 4^a 18. mit rinckharnisch, sturmhauben, vnd beyharnisch, 53^a 12.

subtil: wann jhr wolt haben das ernst gemût, oder subtilen rathschlag, 10^a 9.

täuben: Saget darzû von grossen wunderzeichen, blendet vnd teubet die leuth, 81^a 22.

templierer^o: welchen die Templierer feind waren, 139^b 6.

testieren: dieweil Sylla vilen seinen freunden vil testiert, hat er des Pompeij nicht mit einem wort gedacht, 49^b 31.

tigertier: grausamer geweszt . . . dann die Löwen vnd Tigerthier, 43^b 30.

tigris^o: Greulich wie das thier Tigris, 43^a 10.

tope: der selbig Beer . . . sich auffgethan, vnd mit den fordern topen, den Fürsten vmbgriffen. 103^a 41.

torhaftig: der nerrische vnd torhafftige jrrthumb in Aphrica vnd Asia, 83^b 3.

transferieren: im latin beschriben, ins deutsch transferiert, *ij^b 8.

tribut, die: gaben sie jhnen aus forcht ein järliche tribut, 104^a 25.

tripel: nicht tripel doch dupel, grösser geacht, 63^b 3.

trosser: ein loser drosser, der drey monat vnder den knechten gewest, 2^a 42.

trostmütig: seind sie gantz trostmütig vnnd schwach worden. 101^b 39. gesehen hat, das Capitanier Johan so gantz trostmütig (*desperatum*) geweszt, 148^b 14.

trunkenboltz: könig, der stoltz, freuel, vnd ein trunckenboltz (*temulentum*) . . . geweszt ist, 141^a 26.

tyrannei: es wer dann das sie tyranny liebten, 10^b 4. wenn er von jugent auff nach der tyranny getrachtet, 18^b 15.

tyrannisch: damit er nit zû tyrannisch wider dise were, 14^b 17.

tyrannisieren: da der Cinna vnnd Carbo, so greulich tyrannisierten, 48^b 1.

übelhalten: hat das kriegsvolck . . . sich aller straff von jhres übelhaltens wegen vndergeben, 28^b 24.

übelreder: Vnder die selbigen übelreder setz ich auch den Catullum, 20^a 32.

überenzig: vnd was noch von dem bauren krieg, überentzig was, 53^b 37. die überentzigen hab der hunger . . . schier verderbet, 117^a 29.

überlästig: den Cizicern, den er eins sollichen überlestigen kriegs abgeholfen, 40^a 15.

überlistigen: Es het der Fabius . . . wol mögen von dem Hannibal überlistiget worden sein, 25^b 42.

übermännigen: die feinde hatten die vnsren gar übermenniget, 134^b 41.

überrasten: damit die in der statt nicht rauszvielen, vnd sie mit jren müden rossen, überrasteten, 127^a 29.

überreichen: die aus den thürnen haben in sonderheit denen in der statt, drang an gethan, sie überreichet, vil von den mauren geschossen, 100^a 18.

überschlag: vnd hat vns vnser überschlag nit betrogen, 1^b 18.

übertrefflich: dieweil der auszlendischen so ein grosse übertreffliche anzal mehr dann der Römer, waren, 32^b 8.

übevorteilen: seind mit der viele der feinde übevorteilet worden, 4^b 1.

umschlagen: hat . . . vmbschlagen lassen, das die knechte daz auch theten, 76^b 41. haben die hauptleuth . . . lassen vmbschlagen, das jederman gerüst sey, 112^a 17.

unangesehen: das kriegsvolck hat jnen nichts destweniger, ob es jm gleich miszfallen, vnangesehen den Sylla, für jhren übersten genennt, 49^b 8. das die Iberi abgefallen, vnangesehen das er freuntlich von jhnen abgescheiden, 51^a 31.

unausgeschlossen: vnnd den selben . . . von den fürtrefflichsten obern, vnauszgeschlossen wil halten. 47^b 20.

unausgetilgt^o: weren die Römer nicht also alzeit, bey jhrem namen vnauszgetilget bliben, 2^b 22.

unbedacht: hendel, die mehr dem unbedacht, dann rechtem anschlag zû zûgeben. 29^b 30. aus vnbedacht oder forcht, dauon abstehen. 106^a 2.

unbericht: das es denen so der griechischen sprach unbericht nichts nutz, vnd denen so es gethan vnd wenig der sprachen bericht, ein ewige schande ist. 5^b 29.

unbestand: den vnbestand des glücks, 112^b 30.

unbeständig: aus eim vnbestendigen gerucht, 61^b 24. die vnbestendigen opinionen des Scolari, 140^a 34.

unbeständigkeit: die vnbeständigkeit des glücks, 63^a 40.

undienstlich: leuth finden, die vns zû vnserem vorhaben nit vndienstlich sein werden. 1^b 14.

unerbaut^o: mangel der profiant worden, die jn mehr vnd mehr in den vnerbauten lendren, abgieng, 87^a 5.

unerfahrnus: der vnerfarnus . . . zûschreiben, 61^a 39. wil ich . . . der auszlendischen hauptleut vnerfarnusz . . . straffen. 64^a 26.

unerzählt^o: So du auff jhre meinung fallen wöltest, vnerzeleter vrsachen, 47^b 6.

unfällig: der vnfelligen schlacht halber, 47^a 35. die vnfelligen hendel, 140^a 6. ist er aber gantz vnfellig, daz seine hendel, kein beredter . . . man, beschriben hat. 133^b 39.

unfleisz: wil ich nit allein meinen vnfleisz . . . straffen. 64^a 25.

unfüglich: duncket michs nicht vnfüglich sein, 5^a 41.

unfuhr: jhr . . . so die vnfur erstlich angefangen, 87^b 13.

ungebraucht: ein vnderscheid ist, mit kriegsleuthen, oder ungebrauchten menschen zû handeln, 125^a 24. aber es seind die vngeschicksten vnd vngebrauchsten geweszt, 148^a 14.

ungefährlich: Der gestalt vngeferlich halten sich die hochrhümlichen thaten des Marcelli, 29^a 18. das man vngeferlich sich in grosse gefar begeben, 29^b 43.

ungefasst: ich bin gleich als vngefasst daher komen als du. 24^a 26. das ich gefasst in disz gesprech komen, vnnd gedacht hab ich wölle bey den vngefaszten, one grosz arbeit, meins vorhabens, obligen, 29^a 36.

ungelegenheit: es trüge sich mit gelegenheit oder vngelegenheit zû, 29^a 15. Zû diser vngelegenheit, fiele auch das zû, 71^b 17.

ungeschafft: das er . . . aus Sicilia, vngeschafft vnd mit vnwillen gescheiden, 68^a 16. mit solicher grosser schande, vngeschafft wider heim komen, 130^b 2.

ungeschlacht: dem frembden vngeschlachten volck ein

widerstand thun, 32^a 38. die vngeschlachten Sarracener, 139^b 37.

ungewitter: vnnd sich . . . mit den Römern geschlagen hette, so es vngewitters halber hette beschehen mögen, 60^a 8. der Hannibal zwiren die schlacht ordnung gemacht, zů schlagen willens, vnd vngewitters halber wider hat müssen ins leger rucken, 71^a 36. ist der könig in kranckheit gefallen, von wegen der grossen mühe vnd vn-rüwe, auch des vngewitters (= *schlechten Klimas?*) halber, vnd ist kurtz darauff gestorben, 138^a 27.

unglücklich: alle andere gaben . . . hette, vnd vnglücklich were, 23^a 6. die eim wüsten vnglückhaftigen lecker, gehorsam sein sollen. 52^b 30.

unnatürlich: ein bösen ruff vnnatürlicher handlung, 14^b 29.

unterhändler: seind die vnderhändler schier mit steinen zů todt geworffen worden, 18^a 33.

unternehmen, sich: wolt sich eins grossen wercks vndernemen, 82^b 34. hat sich sein brüder Amaurius, des königreichs vndernomen, 139^a 4.

unterruhe: sich also im wasser abgearbeit hetten, kein vnderrüwe genomen, 75^b 34. damit ich dem leser . . . ein lust, vnd mir auch ein vnderrüwe meins gemüts machte, 78^a 38.

unterscheidlich: damit wir alle ding desto vnderscheidlicher anzeigen, 61^b 37.

unterschleif: das er nirgent keinen vnderschleiff gehabt, 33^b 42. mit profiant vnd vnderschleiff, dem kriegsvolck beholffen sein, 85^b 42.

unterschleifen: hat er gantz willig den Catilinam mit vil andren bösen burgern . . . vnderschleiffet, 14^b 14.

unterwürflich: die vmblicgenden lender, den Römern wolt vnderwürflich machen. 40^b 4. hat etliche stette . . . jm vnderwürflich gemacht, 135^b 36.

untüchtig: Krieg aber ist viler leuth vnfal, aber weniger glück, vnd zûm mehrern theil der vntüchtigsten. *ij^a 36.

untugentlich: so jr (da Gott vor sey) ein vntugentlichen (= *untauglichen*) könig erwöleten, 132^b 41.

unverachtet: das wir den Syllam vnueracht bleiben lassen, 38^b 8.

unverderbt: so sie witzig seyen, vnd vnuerderbet daruon komen wöllen, 102^a 41.

unverhindert: haben . . . jhn vnuerhindert . . . ziehen lassen. 66^a 18.

unvermeldet: der Africaner, die der Keiser bezwungen, vnuermeldet, 47^a 6.

unvermöglich: ersetzt werde, was den heuffen, durch erschlagene vnd vnuermögliches, abgehet. 2^b 11.

unverschamtheit: das mir niemants zû eim freuel, oder einer vnuerschamtheit zûschreiben sol, 150^a 12.

ursachen: die selbige schlacht, mich sonderlich vrsachte, das ich . . . 38^b 16. welchs Gott den herrn billich geursacht hat, das . . . 140^b 28.

ursacher: Sylla sei ein vrsächer das Marius den Jugurtham gefangen, 36^a 10. Des selbigen vnfals war er selbs ein vrsacher, 43^b 15.

venuskind: Aber der Keiser ist ein Venus kind gewesen. 61^a 4.

verächtig: das er sich so verechtig vnnd stoltz gegen dem Tancredo hielt, 103^a 2. möcht man jn verechtiger, dann den Sardanapalum, schetzen, 22^b 35.

verdroszlich^o: was mag . . . euch verdroszlicher vnd beschwerlicher sein, 84^a 4.

verehren: liesz profiant genûg ins leger fûren, verehret auch die hauptleuth mit ehrlichen geschencken, 123^b 13.

verehrung: haben sich die gesandten, grosser verehrung vnd vil gelts erbotten. 124^b 27. den hauptleuthen auch grosse verehrung gethan, 125^a 29.

verfahrlässigen^o: daz sie den gewissen syg also verfarlessigeten, 82^a 18.

verfechten: das er den Keiser hinfürter nicht so hoch verfechten wirt, 41^b 29.

vergess: vmb sollicher schlechten ding willen, die er in vergess gestelt, 49^b 34.

verhängung^o: das glück oder victoria, wirt aus verhängung der götter, auff deiner seiten sein. 147^a 5.

verhindernus: neyd, der in allen geschefften verhindernusz bringet, 72^a 6. welchs vnder weil verhindernusz . . . bracht hat, 79^b 10. Diser verhindernusz aller, seind nicht allein die könige frey, 79^b 13.

verhofflich^{*}: were auch verhofflich geweszt daz die . . . 29^b 39.

verhöhnen: das er nichts da verwarlose, damit die sach nicht verhönet werde. 112^a 12. das glück, das alzeit betrüglich, vnnd ein frölichen anfang pflegt mit eim traurigen ausgang zů verhönen, 150^b 12.

verkleinung: mit spott vnd verkleinung des Christlichen namens, 92^b 1.

verkommen: sonder auch zů verkomen waisz, das er nicht vnuersehenlich überfallen werde. 25^b 39.

verliegen: das wir . . . allein stille sitzen vnd verligen, 92^b 22. Warumb verligest du in disem land, 92^b 32.

vermeiden: ob er güts oder böses hette vermitteln? 54^a 34. die kein arbeit noch ferligkeit . . . vermitteln, 130^b 30.

vernachteilen: das sie damit nicht vil vernachtheilt gewesen, 8^a 16.

verräterlich: Nach dem aber Perpenna den Sertorium verreterlich vmbbracht, 50^a 28.

verrücken: das es zeit were zů verrucken, 134^b 12.

verschließen: der sich zů letst in den hindersten winckel Italie verschloffen, kein hertz mehr hatte, 74^b 12.

versitzen: wolt es nicht vnsren ehren abbrüchlich sein, so wir des zugs versessen? 93^a 14.

vertarresen: hat sich dermassen vergraben vnd vertarrest, das die in der statt nit ausfallen kondten, 10^a 1. das sie die bruckport mit grossen gewaltigen steinen vertarrest, 107^b 39.

verwahrlosen: das er etwas übersehen, oder verwarlaszt hab? 23^a 13. das er nichts da verwarlose, 112^a 12.

verwahrloser: einen faulenzenden der kriegsordnung vnerfarnen hauptman oder der sachen verwarloser, 22^b 23.

verwenden: vnsere opffer seind in ein flüch verwendet (= *verwandelt*) worden, 144^b 20.

verzagheit: wil ich alle verzagheit hinweg legen, 6^a 17. forcht vnd verzagheit, 42^a 38. aus verzagheit da hat weichen müssen, 67^b 11.

verzig: er wölle verzig auff den krieg thûn, 74^b 15. das sie auff den syg, als viel als verzig theten, 131^a 18.

vettel: die alte vettel, 46^a 7. zwo alter vetulen, 131^a 5.

vierschrottig: stercker vnd vierschrottiger von leibe, 30^b 29.

volkreich: Die Italianer seind . . . nicht so volckreich, 2^b 12. die volckreichen Frantzosen vnd deutschen, 4^b 7.

vollet: seind sie willens geweszt vollet den sommer aus, vnnd den gantzen winter zû Antiochia zû bleiben, 118^b 36.

volnbringen: nach dem er die erzeleten thaten volnbracht, 63^a 32. er müste . . . seinen anschlag volnbringen, 95^a 24. Similar forms: 22^b 32; 37^b 26; 101^b 27; 119^a 13.

volnenden: krieg, der . . . anfangen vnd volnendet ist, 53^b 24. wie jhr den krieg anfangen, auch volnenden wöllet, 107^a 15.

volnführen: hat vil schwerer vnd sorgliche krieg volnfüret, 4^b 32.

volnführung: schnelle in der volnführung, 6^b 35.

volnstrecken: des Keisers gebot zů volnstrecken, 96^a 31.

volnziehen: sollichs zů volnziehen. 47^b 25.

vorbeträchting: vnuerzagt in ferrligkeiten, vorbetrechtig in der thadt, 6^b 35. das er in seinem kriegfüren, mehr vorbetrechtig dann ernstlich vnd schnell geweszt sey, 25^a 40.

vorergangen: Ablainung vorergangner erzälung. 17^a 14.

vorfechten: Disz ist geweszt das vorfechten zwischen dem schweher vnd tochterman, der zükünfftigen schlacht. 10^b 42.

vorhandel: Disz seind geweszt die vorhendel seiner grossen thaten, 48^b 42.

vormann: das er im angreifen alzeit vorman geweszt ist. 144^a 35.

vorzug: Tancredus hatte den vorzug, liesz den Balduinum hinder jm, 102^a 26. Der vorzug des Balduini, ist in keiner ordenung gezogen, 103^a 7.

wacht: Da die wacht lerma geschryen, 108^b 33.

wahrzeichen: so er über das wasser keme, so solt er jhm ein wartzeichen, durch ein rauch geben, 105^b 8.

waska, waschka (= *baro*): hat auff bit seiner Waschken jhm disen sententz geben, 143^b 19. Es ist ein alter Waska bey dem Türcken geweszt, 146^b 15. Similarly: 146^b 29, 41; 149^b 3.

weder: der auch mit groszmütigern leuthen angefangen vnd volnendet ist, weder der gantze schiffreuber krieg, 53^b 24.

wefern: das Jüdisch land, da sich vnser glaub angefangen, vnd Christus selbs darinnen gewefert, 82^b 10.

wege: der todt wer vil weger oder besser, dann die übergebung der statt. 151^b 5.

wegstark: haben jnen ein geschwader reutter nachgesandt, auff das sie wegstarck würden, 128^b 21.

weibertand: Dein forcht ist nur ein weiber tandt, 43^b 3.

weiblich: Wenn der Keiser Julius, nach einer seiner schlachten, . . . solt ein weiblichen plunder funden haben, 53^a 23.

weidvieh^o: Greulich wie das thier Tigris,
Zu einem hauffen weydviehs, 43^a 11.

wendig: lassen sich hierin nicht die grosse farligkeit, den weiten weg . . . noch weib vnd kind wendig machen, 92^b 15.

werfrüstung: haben . . . tausent köpff, die sie von den todten abgehawen, in die statt mit einer werff rüstung, geworffen, 109^b 28.

werfzeug, der: Die weiber haben stein vnd ander werffzeug zügetragen, 100^a 21. hatten ein werffzeug zü gericht, den sie wider den einen thurn . . . richten, 100^a 24. mit steinen vnd andren werffzeugen, 130^a 29.

werfscheffelin: mit schwertren, kurtzen weren, werffscheffelinen, 4^a 19.

widerfechten: aber in andren . . . hat er sie one widerfechten übertroffen, 46^b 25. magstu nachgends, dir das selbige gefallen lassen, oder widerfechten. 57^a 20.

widersässig: der Christenheit alle zeit vnderthänig, vnd nie widersässig gewesen ist, 152^a 31.

widerweg: Wie die vnsren nu vff dem widerwege seind, 109^b 39.

willfahren: ist zü letst dem könige gewilfaret worden, 90^b 40.

wirsch: was thüt fromen leuthen wirscherer, dann boszheit, 87^b 6.

wischen: seind die andren für sie gewüschet, 4^a 13. ist er mitten in die ordnung gewischet, 11^b 25.

wohlbegangen: das gerucht, der wolbegangnen thaten, 128^a 20.

wohlstand: nicht allein ein krieg wolstands halber, 85^a 16.

wunden: vil erschlagen, vnd den könig selbs gewundet, 66^a 11.

wüsten: wie Hannibal . . . in dem lande . . . lang gewüset, 69^b 6.

wütung: Der eine brennet gantz, von wüttung vnd boszheit, 19^a 21. die wüttung des Hannibalis, 25^a 43. die wüttung der Keiser, 83^a 33.

zersteuben: Marcellus . . . die nachrede seiner miszgönner, zersteubet, gleich wie der wind die durren bletter, 29^a 3.

zertrennung: was können vnser hauptleuth anders, dann zertrennung in die heuffen bringen? 4^a 26.

zirck: Der hällen sonnen circk vnd lauff, 13^b 7. sol sechstausent schritt im zirck geweszt sein. 107^a 33.

zufall: der deiner meinung nit gern zûfall wirt geben, 6^a 5.

zufallen: Was er . . . auszgericht, wil mir nicht so eben zûfallen, 39^b 4.

zumutung: so sie die zûmütung abschlügen, stünden sie in gewisser gefar, 90^b 40.

zungendrescher: der zungen drescher Licinius Caluus, mit seiner feilen zungen, 20^a 25.

zunichtig: wie die feinde so ein lose zûnichtig volck were, 134^b 23.

zusammenschlagen, sich: das sich ein solliche grosse anzal der schiffreuber zûsamen geschlagen hatte, 50^b 2.

W. KURRELMAYER.

XI.—*VERS LIBRE*

According to whether we count, in verse, all syllables, regardless of accent, or only the accented syllables, we recognize in the modern languages two systems of versification, the foot system and the syllabic system. In each of the following verses of Boileau, for example, we may enumerate twelve syllables,¹ or find four feet thus graphically illustrated:

En vain | contre le Cid | un mini | stre se ligue,
Tout Paris | pour Chimè | ne a les yeux | de Rodrigue.

We have been taught that French verse is purely syllabic. English, German, Italian—all the other languages—admit the accentual, that is, the foot system in their verse structure. Strange, is it not, that French alone should make an exception to this universal law! I shall endeavor to show that there is no such exception, that French versification also rests essentially on the foot system, that it combines strong and weak syllables to obtain rhythm. It must be granted, however, that syllabism crept in surreptitiously at a certain period, and has caused the accentual system to be obscured and even forgotten by theorists and poets.

The main achievement of the French *vers libre* has been the rejection of all appearance of syllabism; consciously and methodically the poets of *vers libre* use the foot system. *Vers libre*, let this be emphasized to avoid confusion, has nothing in common with the so-called free verse outside of France. English and American poets have often made of *vers libre* an excuse for eccentricity and have rejected what

¹ Conventionally the “e muet” is not counted before a vowel or after the twelfth syllable.

the French poets hold as their most sacred principle. By *vers libre* the French poets mean freedom from arbitrary conventions, but strict observance of the laws of rhythm.

Rhythm in verse is produced by the recurrence of strong syllables at proportionate intervals. Each combination of strong and weak syllables forms a foot. The foot, as an element of rhythm, is the foundation of *vers libre*. At first *vers libre* appeared as a radical change in French versification. We shall see that it marks, on the contrary, a logical step in evolution.

A few investigators, such as Scoppa (1811), E. du Méril (1843), Becq de Fouquières (1879), and more recently Maurice Gramont (1913), have attempted to point out the rôle of the accent in the structure of French verse. A review of the main phases of French versification will show that the foot system remained its principal law from its origin to the *vers libre*.

Just as the French language is derived from popular Latin, so is the verse. The verse of popular Latin was based not on the quantity of syllables, but on their stress; not on combinations of long and short syllables, as in classical Latin, but on strong and weak syllables—in a word, on the foot system.

Écce Caésar núnc triúmphant qui subégit Gállias.
Nícomédes nóñ triúmphant qui subégit Caésarem.

These verses reported by Suetonius as sung by the soldiers of Julius Caesar, have seven alternating accents and represent each a seven-foot verse; and such versification introduced into Gaul became the model of the Latin liturgical hymns:

Ómnes qui gaudétis páce módo verum júdicáte.
Ábundántia peccatórum solet fratres cónturbáre.

Here we have, in a hymn of Saint Augustine, a regular eight-foot meter. It was not uncommon for this form of verse to use rhyme and a middle pause. There was also a marked tendency to have a regular number of syllables correspond with a regular number of accents in each line. But the foot division remained the supreme law.

From popular Latin, through the liturgical hymns, comes the verse of Old French. The first specimen appears during the ninth century in the *Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie*. This poem, we remember, has been a bone of contention among scholars. Littré and Paul Meyer wanted to make it out syllabic. French verse had always been considered syllabic. This *Cantilène* is French; therefore it must be syllabic. There was, to be sure, some difficulty in fitting the argument to the case. Obviously, the lines of the poem have not the same number of syllables. Littré cut off or stretched out all the line on a Procrustes bed, and by this process made the whole poem into verses of ten syllables. P. Meyer, less violent, but more ingenious, takes the lines two by two and gives to each couplet the same number of syllables. It is difficult to see how the lines can be equalized in such a couplet as this:

La domnizelle celle kosa non contredist,
Volt lo seule lazsier si ruovet Krist.

Gaston Paris maintained that the poem of *Sainte Eulalie* is built on the foot system uniquely, that the accented syllables alone count in the verse, but that the verses are arranged two by two, each couplet having the same number of accents. The poet did not invent a new process of versification, he merely applied to the vulgar tongue the method used in the verse of medieval Latin. This method was the foot system. A few verses will serve as an illustration:

Buóna pulcélla fút Eulália
 Bel avret corps, bellezour ánima . . .

Two verses of four feet each.

La domnizelle celle kosa non contredíst,
 Vólt lo seúle lazsiér si ruóvet Kríst.

Two verses of five feet each, perfectly regular in meter, although the first line has thirteen syllables and the second may have only ten.

Yet the prevailing tendency of medieval Latin verse to have a definite number of syllables in each line was to be expected in the poems written in the vulgar tongue. This we find to be true in the *Passion du Christ* and in the *Vie de Saint Léger*, toward the latter part of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh.

Dómine Diéu devéms lodér
 Et á sos sanz honor portér. (Saint Leger)

This is a four-foot verse, each verse having eight syllables. From that time on French versification follows exclusively this method; that is to say, the foot system combined with a definite number of syllables. In the eleventh century, the verses of the *Chanson de Roland* have a regular decasyllabic meter, with an accent on the fourth and on the tenth syllable:

Rolláns reguárdet Olivier al viságe.

This line has four feet; the weak syllable at the cæsure and the weak syllable at the end are not counted in the meter.

The twelve-syllable line, which appears at the end of the eleventh century in the *Voyage de Charlemagne* and in the

twelfth century in the *Roman d'Alexandre* follows the same principle:

Li roís qui Macidoíne tenait en sa baillíe,
 Et Grése et le país, et toute Esclavonie, . . .
 Une dame prist bèle, et genté et escavie,
 Olimpias ot nom, fille du roi d' Erménie.
 Et la dame fut preús et de gránt signorie. . . .

This is the alexandrine. It is essentially a four-foot line divided into regular hemistichs. Two accents fall necessarily on syllables six and twelve. The other accents are variable.

Since the alexandrine was destined to play the most important part in the development of French poetry, we shall follow it through its subsequent phases. Let us not forget that up to the seventeenth century, lyric poetry did not make use of the alexandrine. This verse, together with the decasyllable, is limited to the epic genre. It is not surprising therefore that with the downfall of the *Chansons de Geste* the alexandrine falls into desuetude for nearly two centuries. When at the end of the fifteenth century the Grands Rhétoriciens try their hands at it, its nature is thoroughly misunderstood and syllabism predominates over the foot system. Thus Martin Lefranc:

Regarde vers le ciel; rends ton devoir à cil
 Qui note tous tes faits jusques un poil de cil . . .
 Fourfit vers son Seigneur par désobéissance,
 Fiche ton cœur à Dieu, car tu ne peux sans ce.

It would be difficult to find in the structure of these lines, typical of the period, any rhythmic principles. The feeling for accent in the language has disappeared. Rhyme itself no longer requires a strong syllable.

A reaction was inevitable. Poets felt that something

was lacking in their verse. What, they did not know. Baïf and his disciples experimented with the classical Latin system of quantity. Although they mechanically imitated the arrangement of long and short syllables in hexameters and pentameters, it was evident that their product was no verse at all. On the contrary, when their supposed long and short syllables coincided with the strong and weak syllables of natural speech, the poets felt at once that the verse gained a singing quality, it had rhythm. To reinforce this rhythm, they even added rhyme both to the middle and to the end of the verse.

Henriette est mon bien; de sa bonté l'ombre je sens bien;
 Mais elle y joint la rigueur, dont elle abat ma vigueur.
 Dans le bouche elle a le miel, mais son cœur est de pur fiel.
 L'un d'espoir me soutient, l'autre à la mort me retient.

Rapin, the proud inventor of these lines, thought he was writing distichs in the classical manner. In reality his verses, with their middle rhyme, are solidly constructed on the four-foot system. Such experiments, however crude they were, had an immediate effect. The ear of the poet grew sensitive to rhythm, and this rhythm was to be founded on the natural laws of the language. With the great poets of the Pléiade the alexandrine come back to its traditional form, a twelve-syllable line built on the foot system:

Quand vous serez bien vieille, au soir, à la chandelle,
 Assise auprès du feu, devidant et filant. . . .

These verses of Ronsard contain regularly four accents, with their traditional arrangement.

Malherbe and Boileau formulated several laws concerning the nature of rhyme, hiatus, and the cæsura, but these

restrictions did not affect in any way the rhythmic accent. Throughout the seventeenth century the foot system predominates in the work of all the great poets.

Oui, je viens dans son temple adorer l'Éternel.
Je viens selon l'usage antique et solennel . . .

Four feet with syllables six and twelve regularly accented.

With Corneille, Racine, and above all La Fontaine, the alexandrine reaches its highest qualities of rhythm. The number twelve gives thirty-six possible combinations of strong and weak syllables, thirty-six varieties of feet. The accusation of monotony against the alexandrine can be made only by those who do not understand it.

And yet the tumultuous lyricism of the romantic school could not be bound within the classical alexandrine. More variety, more contrast were still needed. Hugo made a revolution. He introduced the three-foot measure:

Je disloquai ce grand niais d'alexandrin . . .

This verse certainly bears the marks of dislocation. It is a three-foot line; the accent on the sixth syllable has disappeared. If the accent on the twelfth syllable disappears also, the number twelve is no longer the unit of verse; and this is another innovation of Victor Hugo:

Le jour plonge¹ au plus noir du gouffre² et va chercher
L'ombre³ et la baise au front⁴ sous l'eau sombre⁵ et hagarde⁶.

Here the poet ceases to rely on the number twelve. His foot combinations overflow from one line into another. The two lines quoted merge into each other to form a rhythmic succession of six feet.

There remained to be repudiated the laws restricting rhyme, the hiatus, the conventional number of syllables. This step was taken by Verlaine:

Simplement, comme on verse un parfum sur une flamme
 Et comme un soldat répand son sang pour la patrie,
 Je voudrais pouvoir mettre mon cœur avec mon âme
 Dans un beau cantique à la sainte Vierge Marie.

If we count the syllables, there are thirteen in each of the lines; but syllables count no more toward the verse unit, which rests entirely on the foot system. Let us also note that the alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes is repudiated. At times the rhyme becomes merely phonetic:

C'est le chien de Jean de Nivelles
 Qui mord sous l'œil même du guet
 Le chat de la mère Michel;
 François-les-bas-bleus s'en égaie.

(*Romances sans Paroles*, VI)

Nivelles and *Michel*, *guet* and *égaie*—this marks a revolution in rhyme. It is purely phonetic, and just as rich as the best "rime riche" of the Parnassians.

The alexandrine, dislocated by Hugo, distorted by Verlaine, now keeps the appearance of syllabism in print only. Change the typography of the alexandrine and you have *vers libre*. Why keep the pretense of syllabism, since it is a mere illusion? And yet it required more courage to take that step than for Hugo to create the three-foot verse. Verlaine himself protests against such an undertaking:

J'ai élargi la discipline du vers et cela est bon, mais je ne l'ai pas supprimée. Pour qu'il y ait vers, il faut qu'il y ait rythme. A présent on fait des vers à mille pattes. On appelle cela des vers rythmiques. Mais nous ne sommes ni des Latins ni des Grecs; nous sommes des Français, sacré nom de Dieu.³

This statement is full of significance. Verlaine admits that rhythm is essential to every verse. But he does not realize, in spite of his own practice, that rhythm depends

³ J. Huret, *Enquête sur l'Evol. Litt.*, p. 69.

on the arrangement of feet and not on the numeration of syllables. The moment the poets became conscious of that fact, *vers libre* was created.

The first *vers libres* appeared in 1885 and were coincident with the symbolic movement, but in no way its preferred medium. A great cry of indignation arose against *vers libre*. Such aversion was largely due to the traditional reverence for the typographical arrangement of lines. The above-quoted lines of Hugo, if differently printed, would become excellent *vers libres*:

Le jour plonge
Au plus noir du gouffre
Et va chercher l'ombre
Et la baise au front
Sous l'eau sombre
Et hagarde.

Each foot has been liberated from the bondage of the number twelve and from the bondage of the rhyme. Yet the rhythm has been kept intact. The test may be reversed. We may take some *vers libres*, write them in lines of twelve syllables, and the illusion of the syllabic system will be restored:

Si j'ai parlé de mon amour, c'est à l'eau lente . . .
Si j'ai parlé de mon amour, c'est à l'oiseau
Qui passe et chante avec le vent; si j'ai parlé
C'est à l'écho.

These three lines, constructed from a poem of Henri de Régnier, show how the foot system can be made to coincide with the syllabic arrangement. By such adaptation, we have reconstructed the verse of twelve syllables with a three-foot division, the typical romantic verse.

But let us study the poem in its original form and note how the poet has been guided uniquely by the foot and by the musical value of the words,

Si j'ai parlé
 De mon amour, c'est à l'eau lente
 Qui m'écoute quand je me penche
 Sur elle; si j'ai parlé
 De mon amour, c'est au vent
 Qui rit et chuchote entre les branches;
 Si j'ai parlé de mon amour, c'est à l'oiseau
 Qui passe et chante
 Avec le vent;
 Si j'ai parlé
 C'est à l'écho.

These eleven lines contain successively the following number of feet: first line, one foot; second line, two feet; third line, two feet; fourth line, two feet; fifth line, two feet; sixth line, three feet; seventh line, three feet; eighth line, two feet; ninth line, one foot; tenth line, one foot; eleventh line, one foot.

The design of the rhythm is based on the four-syllable foot, that is, three weak syllables preceding a strong syllable. Variety is secured by the occasional intermingling of a two- or three-syllable foot. The movement is given by the first verse, reinforced in the second; then it curves lightly, reappears, meanders again until in the last three lines it reaffirms itself, solid and regular, to the greatest satisfaction of our ear.

Not only is there a dominant movement which gives the rhythm, there is also a dominant note which guides the melody: *lente, penche, vent, branches, chante, vent*. By the judicious intermingling of only two other vowels, *é, é, eau, o*, the poet has obtained a beautiful musical theme. We do not refer to other qualities in the interior of the verse, equally important though they are for judging the poem in its entirety.

The experiment of transposing *vers libre* into syllabic lines should not be misunderstood. Since poets of *vers libre* have no consideration for the syllabic arrangement,

one must not expect all their verses to submit meekly to such treatment. Besides, these poets give a phonetic value to their syllables, and it is as such, and not graphically, that we should count them. Nearly all the poems of Paul Fort may be thus translated into regular alexandrines, alexandrines even more rhythmical than could be found in the classics. Paul Fort chose to print his stanzas in the form of paragraphs, which to the eye look like prose, but which to the ear move rhythmically and sing beautifully. *Vers libre* is written for the ear, not for the eye. It is a return to oral poetry.

Vers libre means emancipation from the tyranny of rhyme, deliverance of the foot system from the syllabic bondage, freedom for the poet to follow the impulse of his own personal rhythm, freedom also to choose all the means at his disposal to enhance the beauty of his verse. He may use rhymes in any combination, assonance, alliteration, repetition, or no rhyme at all. Since the ear is the only judge in matters of euphony, the question of the hiatus disappears.

To complete this study one must not omit the statements of the masters of *vers libre*. Only brief quotations can be given here.

Vielé-Griffin: "Le vers est libre, ce qui veut dire que nulle forme fixe n'est plus considérée comme le nombre nécessaire à l'expression de toute pensée poétique; que désormais comme toujours, mais consciemment libre cette fois, le poète obéira au rythme personnel. . . ." ³

Henri de Régnier: "Qu'importe le nombre du vers si le rythme est beau?"

A. Retté: "Le seul guide pour le poète est le rythme, non pas un rythme appris, garotté par mille règles que

³ Vielé-Griffin, *Joies*, 1889, Préface.

d'autres inventèrent, mais un rythme personnel, qu'il doit trouver en lui-même." ⁴

E. Verhaeren: "Je crois que le poète . . . n'a d'autre but que d'exprimer avec ses passions, ses sentiments et ses idées dans la forme d'art qu'il s'est choisie. Cette forme, il la doit trouver moins dans les règles admises et les prosodies officielles qu'en lui-même. Tout ce qu'un vrai poète conçoit se répercute dans son être entier, dans ses os, ses muscles, ses nerfs, grâce à une émotion contagieuse qui va des choses à son âme. Cette communication fidèle et soudaine crée dans l'être entier du poète un ébranlement, une dynamique spéciale, et c'est ce mouvement intérieur et profond qui lui fournira le rythme de ses vers."

These poets are most emphatic in declaring that the unique law of their verse is rhythm, personal rhythm, rhythm engendered by the very nature of their emotions.

If there were any doubt left about the rhythmic qualities of *vers libre*, the scientific investigations of Robert de Souza would convince the most incredulous. Assisted by the abbé Rousselot, the famous phonetician, Robert de Souza applied the experimental test to the poems of *vers libre*. The results, registered by recording instruments, prove that *vers libre* is essentially rhythmic.

Dr. W. M. Patterson of Columbia University, has also applied the experimental method to the analysis of English free verse. His results are tabulated in *The Rhythm of Prose*, a most scientific work. He comes to the conclusion that the English free verse has no regular rhythm, that free verse is a fiction, that however poetic, imagist, or eccentric it may be, it belongs to a genre unpretentiously called prose.

⁴ A Retté, *Mercur de France*, 1893.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate that French verse originated with the foot system; it lapsed momentarily into syllabism, then it systematically combined syllabism and the foot, until *vers libre* brought it back to the foot system exclusively.

MATHURIN M. DONDO.

XII.—WORDSWORTH'S EYE

The poetry of Wordsworth seems, at first thought, to draw less from the visual sense than that of Milton, or Shelley, or Keats, or many another.¹ For Wordsworth's manner is not a pictorial manner; his poetic methods are not those of the artist; he was no searcher out of the striking; and beauty, as commonly understood, was not to him the supreme inspiration.

Those who are not of the company of true believers will assent with warmth to these observations; but will not, perhaps, be so ready to admit that other manners, methods, and inspirations may be as truly poetic, as rich in the life-giving power which is the final test of poetry. This power in Wordsworth's is in fact derived in remarkable measure from the faculty of the eye. How peculiarly it is so can be only roughly and partially outlined here; the body of his work is the full testimony. Such a sketch, again, however desirable, could hardly be made at all but for one circumstance, sole encouragement of the rash attempter. This is the immensely important fact that Wordsworth, especially in his *Prelude*, letting us, more fully, perhaps, than any other poet, into the secrets of the poetic consciousness, has revealed and opened out to us as no one else, however rich in visual imagery, the peculiar function of the eye.²

Critics of the poet have noticed his "eye-mindedness."

¹The author gratefully acknowledges her debt to Professor A. C. Bradley for his invaluable advice in the arrangement of this paper.

²It is not intended here to speak of Wordsworth's interest in such visual perceptions as form, mass, motion, light, and colour, but only to consider his faculty of sight in itself, and the relation in him of physical to poetical or spiritual vision.

M. Legouis³ remarks that "his poems contain practically nothing that did not come to him either through hearing or through sight," and, while not emphasizing the dominance of eye over ear, as does Professor Harper, in his recent *Life of Wordsworth*, he observes that the poet was "entirely wanting in ear for music," was "long unable to distinguish one air from another," and called Coleridge "a perfect epicure of sounds." M. Legouis has also commented on the apparent weakness of another sense: "His flowers have no scent. He did not breathe those 'soul-dissolving odours' so dear to Shelley. Roses are seldom met with in his poetry, their fragrance scarcely once." It has even been said that Wordsworth was entirely without the sense of smell.⁴ It is certain that his poetry has nothing of all those odours of the earth, as of autumn woods, or of breaking sea-spray, or of spring rains on young growing things, which it seems should have been to him, as to so many of her lovers they are, an important part of the joy in Nature. The discovery of the nose as an organ of romance is indeed modern; but it is scarcely credible that the dignities of Wordsworth's period alone could have suppressed every mention of its delights, when we remember that he held spades, donkeys, and even wash-tubs fit subjects of verse. At any rate, "the sumptuous splendour of colour and perfume which ravished Keats and stimulated Shelley," Professor Herford has remarked,⁵ only impeded the imagination of Wordsworth.

³ *The Early Days of William Wordsworth, 1770-1798.*

⁴ It must be noted, however, that in a letter to "Christopher North," he declares that "no human being can be so besotted and debased . . . as to be utterly insensible to the colours, forms, or smell of flowers, the voices and motions of birds and beasts," and many other appearances of Nature.

⁵ *The Age of Wordsworth*, p. 159.

Whether the visible world projected itself more sharply, richly, insistently, upon the eye of Wordsworth than upon that of Dante, Milton, Keats, or Shelley, we cannot know; but from what he tells us we do know that his visual impressions were of a very special intensity, and such as come to few beholders on this earth. "The bodily eye" he calls "in every stage of life the most despotic of our senses," and speaks of "these visual orbs" as "inconceivably endowed." He tells what delight of the eye he knew when, a child of ten, he drank in

a pure
Organic pleasure from the silver wreaths
Of curling mist, or from the level plain
Of waters coloured by impending clouds.

And, when the moon was rising, though a boy, untouched as yet by fancy, or by any association of "peculiar sense of quietness or peace," "yet have I stood," he says,

Even while mine eye hath moved o'er many a league
Of shining water, gathering, as it seemed,
Through every hair-breadth in that field of light,
New pleasure like a bee among the flowers.

In youth, in the days when "the sounding cataract haunted" him "like a passion,"

the tall rock,
The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
Their colours and their forms, were then to me
An appetite, a feeling and a love,
That had no need of a remoter charm,
By thought supplied, nor any interest
Unborrowed from the eye.

And he speaks of the "aching joys," and "dizzy raptures" of that time. Familiar as are these lines, how many readers, even lovers of them, fully realise what they reveal of organic sensibility, of intensity of function, of a state

approaching possession,—a word which the poet himself used for his seeing?

Wordsworth has most fully set forth, in the first book of the *Excursion*, the “power of a peculiar eye,” and its spiritual development, in boyhood; a description which, though professedly of the Wanderer, we cannot doubt to be autobiographical, because Wordsworth confessed the Pedlar to be “what I fancied my own character might have become in his circumstances,” and because it agrees with the poet’s known experiences.

The foundations of his mind laid in solitary communion with Nature, “not from terror free,” while yet a child he had perceived the presence and power of greatness,

and deep feeling had impressed
 So vividly great objects that they lay
 Upon his mind like substances, whose presence
 Perplexed the bodily sense. He had received
 A precious gift, for, as he grew in years,
 With these impressions would he still compare
 All his remembrances, thoughts, shapes, and forms,
 And, being still unsatisfied with aught
 Of dimmer character, he thence attained
 An active power to fasten images
 Upon his brain, and on their pictured lines
 Intensely brooded, even till they acquired
 The liveliness of dreams. Nor did he fail,
 While yet a child, with a child’s eagerness
 Incessantly to turn his ear and eye
 On all things which the moving seasons brought
 To feed such appetite.

This, then, is Wordsworth’s own account of the astonishing origin and development of the visualising faculty which was so remarkable in itself and so strikingly characteristic of him. His power of seeing again in memory what had impressed eye and mind, all his readers have met, in its gentler aspect,—that “inward eye, which is the bliss of solitude,” “seeing by internal light,” reviving

with a flash sights of beauty, forbidding past experience to become "as is a landscape to a blind man's eye." But this power had also its aspect of force and intensity, corresponding to those of the original seeing. He says of a child that a half-hour's roam "through imperial bowers" and pleasure-gardens

Would leave behind a dance of images
That shall break in upon his sleep for weeks.

Of those mourning the beloved dead he writes

Deem not
 that having ceased to see
[With bodily eyes, they are borne down by love
Of what is lost, and perish through regret.
Oh! no, the innocent Sufferer often sees
Too clearly, feels too vividly, and longs
To realise the vision, with intense
And ever-constant yearning: there—there lies
The excess, by which the balance is destroyed.

The scenes and objects Wordsworth saw in childhood and early youth became, through this vividness of visual memory, a lifelong possession. A strong, healthy boy, he delighted in all the boisterous sports of his comrades; fortunately for the world, the rowing, riding, and skating were done amid the society also of the lakes and mountains. Thus, when the "vulgar joy," as he calls it, wore away,

The scenes which were a witness of that joy
Remained in their substantial lineaments
Depicted on the brain, and to the eye
Were visible, a daily sight.

In moments of wildest boyish fun

 the visible scene
Would enter unawares into his mind,
With all its solemn imagery, its rocks,
Its woods, and that uncertain heaven, received
Into the bosom of the steady lake.

Skating at evening, on Esthwaite Water,

When we had given our bodies to the wind,
And all the shadowy banks on either side
Came sweeping through the darkness, spinning still
The rapid line of motion, then at once,
Have I, reclining back upon my heels,
Stopped short; yet still the solitary cliffs
Wheeled by me—even as if the earth had rolled
With visible motion her diurnal round!
Behind me did they stretch in solemn train,
Feebler and feebler, and I stood and watched
Till all was tranquil as a dreamless sleep.

We may believe that the young William was not the only one of that "noisy crew" who experienced something of this visual illusion; but as no other could have given it such expression, on no other, either, could it have descended with the force which causes the poet, perhaps fifteen years later, immediately after recording it, to burst into one of his great apostrophes of wonder and awe toward Nature who has so ministered to him. Another famous episode of his childhood drew its power from a visual impression not strictly, but almost, an illusion. The peak seen from the boat taken stealthily by night, that spectacle which caused his brain "for many days" to work "with a dim and undetermined sense of unknown modes of being," so that "huge and mighty forms, that do not live like living men," "moved slowly through the mind by day, and were a trouble to [his] dreams,"—this "spectacle" appeared as he rowed upon the silent lake:

When, from behind that craggy steep, till then
The horizon's bound, a huge peak, black and huge,
As if with voluntary power instinct,
Upreared its head. I struck, and struck again,
And growing still in stature, the grim shape
Towered up between me and the stars, and still,
For so it seemed, with purpose of its own
And measured motion like a living thing,
Strode after me.

Thus, in the earlier pages of the *Prelude*, Wordsworth is "sedulous to trace"

How Nature by extrinsic passion first
Peopled the mind with forms sublime or fair,
And made me love them.

His mind became indeed a "mansion for all lovely forms." At Cambridge, he took "pleasure quiet and profound" in the study of geometry, because

Mighty is the charm
Of those abstractions to a mind beset
With images, and haunted by herself.

In the ninth book of the *Prelude* is a long passage describing the busy play of fancies in his brain at this period; such fancies as fill the second poem to the daisy (1802), when

wilful Fancy, in no hurtful mood
Engrafted far-fetched shapes on feelings bred
By pure Imagination.

More important than this playfulness of the mind is the habit he describes of bodying forth figures of fancy or romance, with a living force rare even among poets. For

Scarcely Spenser's self
Could have more tranquil visions in his youth,
Or could more bright appearances create
Of human forms with superhuman powers,
Than I beheld, loitering on calm clear nights
Alone, beneath this fairy work of earth—

an ivy-wreathed ash-tree at Cambridge, under which he would stand "foot-bound, up-looking," "beneath a frosty moon." When, at the boy's first going to school, a drowned man was taken from the water of Esthwaite, "a spectre-shape of terror,"

no soul-debasing fear,
Young as I was, a child not nine years old,

Possessed me, for my inner eye had seen
 Such sights before, among the shining streams
 Of faery land, the forest of romance.
 Their spirit hallowed the sad spectacle
 With decoration of ideal grace;
 A dignity, a smoothness, like the works
 Of Grecian art, and purest poesy.

Walking alone on Salisbury Plain, he "saw our dim ancestral Past in vision clear," in "a waking dream, a reverie" of Briton and Druid, so vivid that with "believing eyes" he beheld, all about him, long-bearded teachers with white wands pointing to starry sky and plain below, sweet sounds of music accompanying.

Wordsworth's eye thus created for him a discipline through which he learned to dwell with images of beauty and romance, and experienced the power of art to purify the ugly things of life; a discipline, too, which saved him, by the acquired wealth of that eye, from the sickliness or unreality common to immature poets. For

'mid the fervent swarms
 Of these vagaries, with an eye so rich
 As mine was, through the bounty of a grand
 And lovely region, I had forms distinct
 To steady me; each airy thought revolved
 Round a substantial centre, which at once
 Incited it to motion, and controlled.

But the original keenness, the strong retentiveness, of physical vision which made these benefits possible, were also the foundation of a fuller vision, which was not of the sense alone. The phase of Wordsworth's development now to be treated shows, from his own contrasting of it with former experience, how closely heart and imagination had been involved with the eye's delight.

Wordsworth's bitter disappointment in the results of the French Revolution, on which his opening manhood had

staked its dearest hopes, vitiating all his mind, left an impress upon "imagination and taste," the history of whose impairment and cure forms the subject of the concluding books of his great autobiographical poem. At this period the visual faculty became indeed his tyrant. His imaginative power suffered, he explains, through "presumption"; he was

even in pleasure pleased
Unworthily, disliking here, and there
Liking; by rules of mimic art transferred
To things above all art;—

but still more (and here comes a hint of the jealous eye)
by

giving way
To a comparison of scene with scene,
Bent overmuch on superficial things,
Pampering myself with meagre novelties
Of colour and proportion; to the moods
Of time and season, to the moral power,
The affections and the spirit of the place,
Insensible. . . .

What follows this is most interesting and significant:

Nor only did the love
Of sitting thus in judgment interrupt
My deeper feelings, but another cause,
More subtle and less easily explained,
That almost seems inherent in the creature,
A twofold frame of body and of mind.
I speak in recollection of a time
When the bodily eye, in every stage of life
The most despotic of our senses, gained
Such strength in me as often held my mind
In absolute dominion.

He suggests that Nature, to thwart this tyranny, studiously employs all the senses to counteract one another—

But leave we this; enough that my delights
(Such as they were) were sought insatiably.

Vivid the transport, vivid though not profound;
 I roamed from hill to hill, from rock to rock,
 Still craving combinations of new forms,
 New pleasure, wider empire for the sight,
 Proud of her own enjoyments, and rejoiced
 To lay the inner faculties asleep.

And he adds that "as we grow up, such thralldom of the sense seems hard to shun."^{5a}

If at this point we recall the youth who "like a roe"

bounded o'er the mountains, by the sides
 Of the deep rivers, and the lonely streams,
 Wherever Nature led: more like a man
 Flying from something that he dreads, than one
 Who sought the thing he loved,—

we shall at once feel the change and loss. Yet Wordsworth in this very passage declares that the "appetite" which then possessed him for the colours and forms of Nature had no need of thought, or "any interest unborrowed from the eye." But if anything is true of Wordsworth, it is that in youth, as always, his physical vision was, normally, bound up with spiritual powers. In this same passage, indeed, we must feel them, in its rapture and awe. And he exclaims, at another time, "What visionary powers of eye and soul in youth were mine!" In the apparent contradiction of the *Tintern Abbey* passage, then, the poet re-

"An apt illustration of this saying, from one who has lost the sense of sight, occurs in the *Red Cross Magazine*, April, 1919, p. 60. Sir Arthur Pearson tells his "interviewer": "It is astonishing, really, how much of a man's life is automatic, depending on sight. A man . . . really is active most of his life through his eyes. He lets the other senses use themselves, and the eye suppresses most of them. I might say that he lets the eyes do everything and the mind very little; for he sees without actually perceiving. Well, in a blind man the other senses get a chance to exercise themselves, he has conscious perception through them. And of course, at first, that is a great mental strain."

turned in memory to a phase in which, though thought and feeling were present, they were not distinct to consciousness from the visual impression, which in its ardour and first fine careless rapture, appeared all in all.

That ardour, indeed, is present even in the period of vitiating. The vivid delight, the insatiability of the eye's demand, the despotism of the sense of sight, "proud of her own endowments," all testify to that force in Wordsworth of the visual faculty which it seems clear we do not usually appreciate, since so sympathetic a critic as Professor C. H. Herford refers to this "tyranny of the eye" as "mere observation," which his sister's "exquisite regard for common things . . . helped to transform . . . into imaginative vision."⁶

One more picture of Wordsworth's youthful experience shows him in the character of "the imaginary Scot of the *Excursion*" (*Ex.*, book 1),

o'erpowered
By Nature; by the turbulence subdued
Of his own mind; by mystery and hope,
And the first virgin passion of a soul
Communing with the glorious universe.

Failing to find the repose and peace he asked in thought and intellectual abstraction,

he scanned the laws of light
Amid the roar of torrents, where they send
From hollow clefts up to the clearer air
A cloud of mist that, smitten by the sun,
Varies its rainbow hues,—

"a true picture," says De Quincey, "of Wordsworth attempting to silence the mighty battery of his impassioned heart"; and attempting it by an effort—vain, as the poet

⁶ *The Age of Wordsworth*, p. 150.

tells us—to divert the stream of power to that master-sense of seeing.

Such is, roughly, the history of Wordsworth's eye as a fine and powerful organ; an organ without whose unusual endowment we should undoubtedly have lost more than anyone can estimate of what is most characteristic in his work. Before passing to another view of the subject, let us call up, as well as may be, the physical appearance of his eyes, so strikingly described by several of the contemporaries who were so happy as to see them.

"It is agreed by all who have described Wordsworth," says M. Legouis, "that the expression of his eyes was rather of the seer than of the artist. Hazlitt tells us that there was a fire in his eye as if he saw something in objects more than the outward appearance. De Quincey had seen his eyes 'after a long day's toil in walking, . . . assume an appearance the most solemn and spiritual that it is possible for the human eye to wear. The light that resides in them seems to come from unfathomed depths [; in fact, it is more truly entitled to be held "the light that never was on land or sea," a light radiating from some far spiritual world, than any the most idealising that ever yet a painter's hand created].' So, too, Leigh Hunt: 'Certainly I never beheld eyes that looked so inspired or supernatural. They were like fires half burning, half smouldering, with a sort of acrid fixity of regard. . . . One might imagine Ezekiel or Isaiah to have had such eyes.' " 7

Of the nature of the seeing that was done with those eyes one aspect has been shown; we are now to examine another; to look for the relation in Wordsworth of physical to poetic or spiritual vision.

The period of degradation, of the eye's deliberate quest of its own gratification, was transient. For, says the poet,

⁷ *The Early Days of William Wordsworth*, p. 460.

I had known
 Too forcibly, too early in my life,
 Visitings of imaginative power
 For this to last; I shook the habit off
 Entirely and forever, and again
 In Nature's presence stood, as now I stand,
 A sensitive being, a creative soul.

He became once more as in early youth, when he rejoiced
 with the soul of Nature

before the winds
 And roaring waters, and in lights and shades
 That marched and countermarched about the hills
 In glorious apparition, Powers on whom
 I daily waited, now all eye, and now
 All ear, but never long without the heart
 Employed, and man's unfolding intellect.

This is the true note of Wordsworth's youthful vision; a
 note which sounds again when he cries

Ye Presences of Nature in the sky,
 And on the earth! Ye Visions of the hills!
 And Souls of lonely places! can I think
 A vulgar hope was yours when you employed
 Such ministry, when ye, through many a year
 Haunting me thus among my boyish sports,
 On caves and trees, upon the woods and hills,
 Impressed upon all forms, the characters
 Of danger or desire; and thus did make
 The surface of the universal earth,
 With triumph and delight, with hope and fear,
 Work like a sea?

Through vision, again, he passed at times into a still
 deeper region of experience, transcending this perfect bal-
 ance of heart and eye, and remote by the full circle's
 breadth from the state where the power of the eye "laid
 the inner faculties asleep," a region where the eye's eager
 delight was subdued by a mightier passion, where sense
 was lost in spirit.

For the growing Youth,
What soul was his, when, from the naked top
Of some bold headland, he beheld the sun
Rise up, and bathe the world in light! He looked—
Ocean and earth, the solid frame of earth,
And ocean's liquid mass, in gladness lay
Beneath him: Far and wide the clouds were touched,
And in their silent faces could he read
Unutterable love. Sound needed none,
Nor any voice of joy; his spirit drank
The spectacle; sensation, soul, and form,
All melted into him; they swallowed up
His animal being; in them did he live;
And by them did he live; they were his life.
In such access of mind, in such high hour
Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.

Wordsworth's seeing thus has, besides the morbid, transient phase of deliberate and exclusive pleasing of the eye, three normal "manners"; a passionate absorption in forms and colours which leaves no room for conscious thought; the equipoise of eye's delight with full activity of both thought and feeling; and the attainment, through sense-perception, immediate or remembered, to an impassioned contemplation where conscious thought again disappears, lost in the deepening tide of joy or wonder.

The great visionary hours of the third manner are not always of the same character. They may be hours of stillness, reached through a calm and gradual process,—

that serene and blessed mood,
In which the affections gently lead us on,
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul.

Thus it was when, as a boy, he would go often at dawn, to sit, he says,

among the woods

Alone upon some jutting eminence,
At the first gleam of dawn-light, when the Vale,
Yet slumbering, lay in utter solitude.
How shall I seek the origin? where find
Faith in the marvellous things which then I felt?
Oft in these moments such a holy calm
Would overspread my soul, that bodily eyes
Were utterly forgotten, and what I saw
Appeared like something in myself, a dream,
A prospect in the mind.^{1a}

When he tells of roaming, at Cambridge, "among men and shops," "delighted with the motley spectacle," though in a "loose and careless mood," there is still, in the line

I was the Dreamer, they the Dream,

a trace of this same visionary state.

But not always in this sort was his existence "*possessed*," to use his own emphasised phrase. "Gleams of soul-illumination" would descend upon him with an overwhelming suddenness which he likens to a "flash." "I felt," he says,

Gleams like the flashing of a shield:—the earth
And common face of Nature spake to me
Rememberable things.

The glory and greatness of the human spirit are made known to him in moments of almost paralysing force of onrush,

when the light of sense
Goes out, but with a flash that has revealed
The invisible world.

^{1a}Sir Walter Raleigh (*Wordsworth*, pp. 66-7) says in connection with the above passage, "It was a kind of possession through the eye that became the type of poetic inspiration to him, a possession nowhere better described than in" the lines in question. The whole paragraph from which this sentence is taken bears upon the subject.

Wordsworth's visualising power, we have seen, built up in his brain a world of images, the storehouse of his poetry, the solace of his mind. What we have now to observe is, that his eye was not only passive and receptive, but creative. His habit, already described, of "bodying forth" images of fancy and romance, so vividly that they seemed actually present to the bodily eye, discovers a relation of eye and mind in creative activity. And this relation, of imagination bodying forth the forms of things unknown, the giving of outward life, more or less real, to inward conceptions, would appear to be the more usual path of creative power in poets. Wordsworth's characteristic path was different, it may be said, opposite; for in his most distinctive thinking, as well as in the work which most truly expresses him, what he created entered his mind from without, commonly through the eye. That is, in his "mighty world of eye and ear,—both what they half create, and what perceive," creation grows from perception; it is no extraneous invention, but actually, in the last analysis, an enlarged, illumined perception, bringing out forms or meanings which, though to the ordinary observer invisible, are all the time really there. "A plastic power abode with me," he says; sometimes "rebellious," "a local spirit of his own," but in general "strictly subservient" to the course of the actual external world with which it communed.

Consciously creating, he was conscious, also, that what he created was part of Nature, that the mind's creative power is akin to hers:

I felt that the array
Of act and circumstance and visible form,
Is mainly to the pleasure of the mind
What passion makes them; that meanwhile the forms
Of Nature have a passion in themselves,

That intermingles with those works of man
To which she summons him.

The poet's field is "wherever Nature leads"; he, as seer
and discoverer, is her co-worker—

Nature for all conditions wants not power
To consecrate, if we have eyes to see,
The outside of her creatures, and to breathe
Grandeur upon the very humblest face
Of human life.

Through such seeing does the poet become a creative
power,—“the humblest of this band”

Have each his own peculiar faculty,
Heaven's gift, a sense that fits him to perceive
Objects unseen before
An insight that in some sort he possesses,
A privilege whereby a work of his,
Proceeding from a source of untaught things,
Creative and enduring, may become
A power like one of Nature's.

And of himself, thus “standing by Nature's side,” he
says,

an auxiliar light
Came from my mind, which on the setting sun
Bestowed new splendour; the melodious birds,
The fluttering breezes, fountains that run on
Murmuring so sweetly in themselves, obeyed
A like dominion, and the midnight storm
Grew darker in the presence of my eye.

The creative faculty in Wordsworth was deeply rooted
in the perception of what he calls “analogies,”—relations
between the life of Nature and the life of the mind. With
his worst pedestrian amble, he conducts us into acquaint-
ance with a habit highly poetic in itself, and most im-
portant to be understood:—

I still had loved
The exercise and produce of a toil,

Than analytic industry to me
 More pleasing, and whose character I deem
 Is more poetic, as resembling more
 Creative agency. The song would speak
 Of that interminable building reared
 By observation of affinities
 In objects where no brotherhood exists
 To passive minds.

At the age of seventeen,

whether from this habit rooted now
 So deeply in my mind, or from excess
 In the great social principle of life
 Coercing all things into sympathy,
 To unorganic natures were transferred
 My own enjoyments; or the power of truth
 Coming in revelation, did converse
 With things that really are; I, at this time,
 Saw blessings spread around me like a sea.

And he goes on to say that he had received so much from
 Nature that he was content only

when with bliss ineffable
 I felt the sentiment of Being spread
 O'er all that moves, and all that seemeth still;
 O'er all that, lost beyond the reach of thought
 And human knowledge, to the human eye
 Invisible, yet liveth to the heart;
 O'er all that leaps and runs, and shouts and sings,
 Or beats the gladsome air.

At Cambridge, where he sought and won little of the glory
 reserved for students of the accepted branches of knowl-
 edge, he continued his own pursuit of wisdom:

I was mounting now
 To such community with highest truth—
 A track pursuing, not untrod before,
 By strict analogies by thought supplied
 Or consciousnesses not to be subdued,
 To every natural form, rock, fruits, or flower,
 Even the loose stones that cover the highway,

I gave a moral life: I saw them feel,
 Or linked them to some feeling: the great mass
 Lay bedded in a quickening soul, and all
 That I beheld respired with inward meaning. . . .
 I had a world about me—'twas my own;
 I made it, for it only lived to me,
 And to the God who sees into the heart.

Here was the fuller and more conscious development of the power which in boyhood had enabled him to read in the silent faces of the clouds "unutterable love"; which had grown in him while

many an hour in caves forlorn,
 And 'mid the hollow depths of naked crags
 He sate, and even in their fixed lineaments,
 Or from the power of a peculiar eye,
 Or by creative feeling overborne,
 Or by predominance of thought oppressed,
 Even in their fixed and steady lineaments
 He traced an ebbing and a flowing mind,
 Expression ever varying!

These sympathies worked so strongly in him that when, though rarely, they were betrayed by outward looks and gestures, "some called it madness!" And so it was, he continues,

If prophecy be madness; if things viewed
 By poets in old times, and higher up
 By the first men, earth's first inhabitants,
 May in these tutored days no more be seen
 With undisordered sight.

But what he saw in such moods was neither the figment of a fervid brain, nor a vague fantasy; but something really there to be seen, though invisible to others; something clearly apprehended through the bodily eye, busy with definite forms,—“lines of difference,” as he says;

It was no madness, for my bodily eye
 Amid my strongest workings evermore
 Was searching out the lines of difference

As they lie hid in all eternal forms,
 Near or remote, minute or vast; an eye
 Which from a tree, a stone, a withered leaf,
 To the broad ocean and the azure heavens
 Spangled with kindred multitudes of stars,
 Could find no surface where its power might sleep;
 Which spake perpetual logic to my soul,
 And by an unrelenting agency
 Did bind my feelings even as in a chain.

Thus does Wordsworth himself link his eye, "so richly endowed," with his peculiar creative power, and unmistakably explain the relation between his physical sight and the vision of his soul. And he cries, shaken by a sense of the fateful character of such vision,

O Heaven! how awful is the might of souls
 And what they do within themselves while yet
 The yoke of earth is new to them!

How strong was the power that so moved him is betrayed in a sonnet written in a light and graceful vein,—

How sweet it is, when mother Fancy rocks
 The wayward brain, to saunter in a wood,

where even amid green arbours, and "wild rose tip-toe upon hawthorn stocks" the divine urgency comes upon him with the force even of terror:—

thoughts link by link
 Enter through ears and eyesight with such gleam
 Of all things, that at last in fear I shrink,
 And leap at once from the delicious stream.

The true mystics, we are told, see always in a vivid clearness of detail the sights revealed to them. "A spirit and a vision are not," says Blake, "as the modern philosophy supposes, a cloudy vapour or a nothing; they are organised and minutely articulated beyond all that the mortal and perishing nature can produce. He who does

not imagine in stronger and better lineaments, and in stronger and better light, than his perishing mortal eye can see, does not imagine at all." But such vision has not usually, it would seem, so intimate a connection with the activity of the eye as in Wordsworth. The visions, for instance, which Dante so minutely describes in the *Vita Nuova*, in all their sharp particularity of colour, outline, and gesture, came to him sometimes when his eyes were closed in sleep, and always, apparently, without immediate external stimulus. But Wordsworth's visionary state usually depends on, and directly arises from, something objective, perceived at times by the ear, but far more often by the eye.

His characteristic visionary power, thus, lies not in the seeing of "supernatural" forms, but in the discovery, in natural ones, of an inward and vital spirit, hidden from passive eyes. His Druids, and his Spenserian forms with more than human powers, however vivid, were no such realities to him as the thoughts lying too deep for tears which the meanest flower could give; as the glorified figure of the mountain shepherd, a giant in the fog, or "flashing" forth under a sudden radiance of sunset; or as those "great allies" of the betrayed patriot, powers that shall work for him in earth, and air, and skies, and even in the common wind, whose least breathing shall not forget him.

In Wordsworth's "analogies," "an unrelenting agency," a consciousness "not to be subdued," linked for him material forms with a moral life, an inward meaning, and showed him "the surface of the universal earth with triumph and delight, with hope and fear, working like a sea." Further possessed, he experienced bewilderment and perplexity, troublings of the spirit, passing into awe,—

those obstinate questionings
Of sense and outward things,

Fallings from us, vanishings;
Blank misgivings of a Creature
Moving about in worlds not realized. . . .

Kindled into perhaps a fuller mystic communion (not to imply that this mood either followed in time or surpassed in importance the troubled one, which is especially characteristic of Wordsworth, and lights up for us more of his individual quality) he beheld in man and Nature the original realities, the "ideas" of which material forms are but the passing shows. He "did converse with things that really are." The forms of earth became a transparent veil for the mysteries they obscure. Then it is, he says, that, asleep in body, and become a living soul,

with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.

To see into the life of things! this is indeed the power of Wordsworth. And it is so notwithstanding that he saw, really, more than he was always able fully to convey. For "he attributed," says M. Legouis, "to certain expressions or incidents more emotion than other people could reasonably associate with them." And Sir Walter Raleigh remarks that "to the end of his days Wordsworth, remembering the exuberance of his own delight in the composition of it, was unable to conceive how the *Idiot Boy* should fail to arouse the same feeling in every reader." He returns, in such poems as this and *Peter Bell*, from little-visited regions of the mind, babbling like an inarticulate child of wonders which he seems to himself to be richly describing; his auditors, puzzled, however, too seldom gather from his broken inadequate phrases anything but food for mirth.

But when, in his great hours, insight and expression

are at one, we are caught up, in our own measure, into the vision of him who saw, in rocks and trees, and even the loose stones of the road, life, seeing them linked in the universal chain, bedded in a quickening soul; who in ordinary unnoticed acts of men, or happenings of Nature, lighted by some mysterious flash, or shining through glorified air as harvest of the quiet eye, saw the primal, poetic truth which is indeed of all things their life.

MARIAN MEAD.

XIII.—SPENSER'S IMITATIONS FROM ARIOSTO: SUPPLEMENTARY

In these *Publications*, vol. XII (1897), Professor R. E. Neil Dodge, in an article entitled *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto*, described and commented on a large number of parallels between the two poets. This work was so thoroughly done that no one can expect to add greatly to his lists. Yet one cannot ever be sure of having exhausted the similarities between *The Faerie Queene* and the *Orlando Furioso*, and later gleaners, as Professor Dodge understood, may expect to be regarded with scattered ears. Since our knowledge of the relation of these two poems cannot be too full, I present here a few additional observations.

Ariosto invariably closes his cantos with some remark to the effect that he is now ending the canto. These remarks vary in length from less than one verse to four verses. The same use of a concluding formula is to be observed in Spenser, but not invariably. The Ariosto-like conclusion is found but once¹ in the First Book, and not at all in the Second Book; in the Third Book it appears twice, in the Fourth ten times, out of a possible twelve, in the Fifth but five, and in the Sixth seven times. At the close of a canto Ariosto usually and characteristically says that it now is long enough, and should be concluded; Spenser often follows him closely, as in this instance:

The which for length I will not here pursew,
But rather will reserve it for a Canto new.*

¹ I have not counted the last stanza of the book, which is somewhat in the manner of Ariosto, but concludes the book rather than the canto.

* *F. Q.*, 4, 2, 54.

However, direct address to the reader, which Ariosto frequently employs in ending his cantos, is found but once in Spenser.³ Ariosto shows much variety, sometimes representing himself as hoarse, and desiring rest, and once, with a reminiscence of Dante,⁴ writing:

Poichè da tutti i lati ho pieno il foglio,
Finire il Canto, e riposar mi voglio.⁵

Spenser imitates this, with characteristic modification, as follows:

Which, for my Muse her selfe now tyred has,
Unto an other Canto I will overpas.⁶

Ariosto is always more matter-of-fact than that. A metaphorical close still more foreign to him is this:

And turne we here to this faire furrowes end
Our wearie yokes, to gather fresher sprights,
That when as time to Artegall shall tend,
We on his first adventure may him forward send.⁷

The purpose of these conclusions is to assure the reader that though the canto is ended the story is not, and that his curiosity to know the rest of it will be gratified. They also serve to give the appearance of completeness to the cantos, which—always in Ariosto and sometimes in Spenser—would otherwise appear incomplete and abruptly broken off. In one instance, however, Spenser uses the formal conclusion for the opposite purpose, writing

So ended he his tale, where I this Canto end.⁸

It is, indeed, characteristic of Ariosto's art as a narrator that he never makes the canto a real unit, with which sections of narrative begin or end, but, for the sake of increas-

³ *F. Q.*, 3, 8, 52.

⁴ *Purgatorio*, 33, 139-41.

⁵ Canto 33.

⁶ *F. Q.*, 4, 11, 53.

⁷ *F. Q.*, 5, 3, 40. Cf. 4, 5, 46.

⁸ *F. Q.*, 4, 10, 58.

ing the interest of his reader, chooses to close a canto in the midst of important or lively action, sometimes carrying the narrative but a few stanzas into the next canto. In addition, whenever he gives up for a time one section of his narrative, he does it at such a point that the reader is left in suspense. As a result, the various actions of his poem do not glide into each other, but there is usually an abrupt transition from one set of characters to another. He handles these transitions as he does the concluding lines of the cantos, being not often content with the impersonal "meanwhile" of a classical epic transition, but preferring to say something like the following:

Non più di questo; chè tornar bisogna
A chi Ruggiero invan sospira e agogna.*

Spenser more commonly makes his narratives pass easily into one another, by some such device as a meeting of parties of knights, or he makes a transition without calling attention to it, yet he also uses the method of Ariosto. This appears, as one might expect, most often in the later books; not at all in Book One, twice in Book Two, thrice in Book Three, five times in Book Four, thrice in Book Five, and seven times in Book Six. In Spenser, though not in Ariosto, a transition of this kind sometimes comes at the beginning of a canto. The cantos of *The Faerie Queene* are shorter, and hence more easily made units of narrative than those of the *Orlando*, and their author is less concerned with narrative effect; hence he does not break off his tale at an exciting point so consistently as his predecessor, though he frequently does it. One of his transitions most like Ariosto in this respect, as well as in general manner, runs thus:

* O. F., 30, 75.

But by what meanes that shame to her befell,
 And how thereof her selfe she did acquite,
 I must a while forbear to you to tell;
 Till that, as comes by course, I doe recite,
 What fortune to the Briton Prince did lye,
 Pursuing that proud Knight, the which whileare
 Wrought to Sir Calidore so foule despight;
 And eke his Lady, though she sickly were,
 So lewdly had abusde, as ye did lately heare.¹⁰

A transition which in its figurative language is unlike those of Ariosto is this:

Now turne againe my teme thou jolly swayne,
 Backe to the furrow which I lately left;
 I lately left a furrow, one or twayne
 Unplough'd, the which my coulter hath not cleft:
 Yet seem'd the soyle both fayre and frutefull eft,
 As I it past, that were too great a shame,
 That so rich frute should be from us bereft;
 Besides the great dishonour and defame,
 Which should befall to Calidores immortall name.¹¹

By a second sort of transition, related to those already mentioned, Ariosto frequently, but not invariably, passes from the stanzas with which he usually introduces his cantos to the narrative itself; the narrative is always a continuation of that of the preceding canto. Spenser also uses this transition, which should not be confused with those of the first type appearing near the beginning of a canto which does not carry on the narrative of the preceding canto. To take one of the clearest and most Ariosto-like examples, we see Spenser closing a canto, which deals with Satyrane and Paridell, as follows:

All yfere

Forth marched to a Castle them before,
 Where soone arriving, they restrained were
 Of readie entrance, which ought evermore

¹⁰ *F. Q.*, 6, 6, 17.

¹¹ *F. Q.*, 6, 9, 1.

To errant knights be commun: wondrous sore
 Thereat displeased they were, till that young Squire
 Gan them informe the cause, why that same dore
 Was shut to all, which lodging did desire:
 The which to let you weet, will further time require.

After opening the next canto with two introductory stanzas, Spenser continues:

Then listen Lordings, if ye list to weet
 The cause, why Satyrane and Paridell
 Mote not be entertayned, as seemed meet,
 Into that Castle (as that Squire does tell.)¹²

These clearly marked transitions, especially those of the first sort, serve a useful purpose. In a poem involving so many easily confused characters as the *Orlando*, it is necessary that their deeds be kept distinct, if the reader is to grasp the story. As part of the transition, Ariosto and Spenser usually give a summary of the end of the last part of the story again to be taken up. This aids the reader to recall the last situation, and prepares him for what is to follow, thus greatly increasing the clarity of the poems.

It appears that the adoption by Spenser of these formal signs of the narrative method of his predecessor corresponds with a genuine change in the nature of his work; for the last four books of *The Faerie Queene* are more like the *Orlando* than the first two, being more romantic and less evidently allegorical than they; the Fifth, where the indications of Ariosto's influence I have pointed out are fewer than in the Fourth or the Sixth, is the most plainly allegorical of the four. One would expect the Third Book to have a larger number of formal endings and transitions; in their employment Spenser seems to have yielded slowly

¹² *F. Q.*, 3, 8, 52; 3, 9, 3. Cf. *O. F.*, 4, 72, 7-8; 5, 4, 4-8.

to the influence of his predecessor. The last four books of *The Faerie Queene* resemble the *Orlando* in their narrative method even more than in their tendency to romantic rather than obviously allegorical matter. The narrative of Books Three, Four, and Five reminds one, in its construction, of fifteen cantos or so of the *Orlando*. Almost all of the important characters of these books are found in all three, or in at least two of the three; even Artegal, the hero of the Fifth Book, figures in Books Three and Four. The Sixth Book, however, though it bears a considerable number of the traces of the narrative form of Ariosto which I have spoken of, is not closely connected with the others. All of its important characters (excluding Prince Arthur), except Turpine and the Blatant Beast are confined to it alone. Yet Spenser does not here return to the manner of the first book, but gives much the kind of narrative one would find in some five cantos of the *Orlando*; so this book is in nature like the three preceding. The incomplete state of some of its stories leads one to think that with it Spenser was beginning another series of linked books, similar to Books Three, Four, and Five, in which the methods of Ariosto would have been prominent.

It is appropriate that in the last four books, which are so much in the manner of Ariosto, Spenser should employ the lesser, but characteristic, narrative devices of the Italian. Such imitation strengthens the feeling, already produced by observing the value of these devices, that they are genuine and essential, though minor, characteristics of the form of such works as the *Orlando Furioso*. A further conclusion might be that Spenser's wavering use of these devices shows that his appreciation of form is less developed than that of his Italian master.

Of the following lists, the first gives a few parallels between Spenser and Ariosto not noted by Professor Dodge; the second gives Spenser's conclusions, and the third his transitions, in the manner of Ariosto.

PARALLELS BETWEEN SPENSER AND ARIOSTO

The Faerie Queene, 1

- 12, 42. This, as well as 12, 1, may be compared with *O. F.*, 46, 1 ff.

The Faerie Queene, 3

- 2, 41. Cf. *O. F.*, 25, 36.
 7, 34. More nearly parallel than *O. F.*, 26, 111 is *O. F.*, 40, 31.
 8, 52, 5-9 and 9, 3, 1-4. Cf. the method of *O. F.*, 4, 72, 7-8 and 5, 4, 4-8.

The Faerie Queene, 4

- 6, 20. Cf. *O. F.*, 32, 79, also imitated in *F. Q.*, 3, 1, 43; 3, 9, 20; 4, 1, 13; 5, 5, 12.
 7, 5-7. Cf. *O. F.*, 17, 30. Spenser omits the modified eyes of the Orco from his description of Lust. Lust's conduct towards his female prisoners is the opposite to that of the Orco; Lust violates and devours women, the Orco does not injure them, but devours men.
 8, 45. Cf. *O. F.*, 46, 140.

The Faerie Queene, 5

- 2, 18. Cf. *O. F.*, 46, 140.
 5, 12. Cf. *O. F.*, 32, 79.
 8, 37. Cf. *O. F.*, 10, 107-10; 22, 85-7.

The Faerie Queene, 6

- 1, 13 ff. The "custome lewd and ill" of Briana bears some resemblance to the "costuma ria" of Marganor. She disgraces knights by shaving off their beards, and ladies by cutting off their hair; he disgraces ladies by cutting off their garments (*O. F.*, 37, 42). Cf. 2 Samuel, 10, 4.
- 5, 11, 7. Cf. *O. F.*, 34, 80, 7.
- 7, 24. Cf. *O. F.*, 39, 37. Professor Dodge has remarked that the "salvage man" is something like the mad Orlando. Here they have the same weapon. The exploit of Orlando is somewhat like those of Talus with his flail.
- 8, 50-51. Cf. *O. F.*, 11, 55-59.
- 12, 1. Cf. *O. F.*, 46, 1 ff.

CONCLUSIONS IN THE MANNER OF ARIOSTO

F. Q., 1, 6, 48.—3, 8, 52; 12, 45.—4, 2, 54; 4, 48; 5, 46; 6, 47; 7, 47; 8, 64; 9, 41; 10, 58; 11, 53; 12, 35.—5, 3, 40; 5, 57; 7, 45; 8, 51; 12, 43.—6, 2, 48; 3, 51; 5, 41; 7, 50; 8, 51; 9, 46; 10, 44.

TRANSITIONS IN THE MANNER OF ARIOSTO

F. Q., 2, 2, 11; 11, 4.—3, 6, 54; 8, 43; 11, 3.—4, 4, 2; 5, 2; 5, 28; 7, 2; 11, 1.—5, 1, 3; 9, 1; 11, 36.—6, 5, 11; 6, 17; 7, 27; 8, 31; 9, 1; 12, 14; 12, 22. The following are Spenser's Ariosto-like transitions from the introductory stanzas of a canto to the narrative: *F. Q.*, 1, 3, 2, 2.—3, 2, 3, 2; 9, 3, 1-4.—5, 4, 2-3; 7, 3, 5.—6, 7, 2, 2; 11, 2-5.

ALLAN H. GILBERT.

XIV.—LITURGICAL INFLUENCE IN *THE DREAM OF THE ROOD*

Scholars have long made an earnest search for analogues to *The Dream of the Rood*, but the very remoteness of the parallels thus afforded so far is a unique testimony to the high degree of originality in the poem. Closer in some ways than any of them, in that it gives us a dialogue with the cross, the "Disputation between Mary and the Cross" might have been cited; but here again comparison shows that the *Dream* is a poem standing apart in the unusually fine quality of its inspiration and in its genuine feeling. The poet seems to have had little to work on for a basis, either as a source or as a guide. Yet we know that he was deeply religious and we can be sure that he must have been thoroughly acquainted with those parts of the ecclesiastical service which were devoted to the celebration of the cross. In writing such a poem he could hardly rid his mind of all the echoes of the hymns and responsive utterances and the liturgical offices which he was accustomed to hear at various times during the church year.

No hymn or piece of liturgy seems to have furnished him a model, and nothing could be more different in spirit and manner than his work and the type of hymn probably accessible to him.¹ The poet writes primarily as a narrator; subjective expression in the form of complaint or panegyric comes in only incidentally, although perhaps all the more spontaneously. But he naturally would express

¹ It is worth while to compare the poem with such hymns as those of the West Gothic type, which celebrate Constantine and Helen, and which refer to the *tenebrae* and the harrowing of hell: see Dreves, *Anal. Hymn.*, xxvii, pp. 90 ff.

himself in the idiom of the church. And it is the purpose of this study to trace such resemblances as may be found and to detect allusions which seem to have been deliberate, in order to gain a further knowledge of the poet's working method and to assist in reproducing a sense of the connotativeness of the poem. Its meaning for contemporary readers or hearers will thus be shown deepened; we may arrive at some conclusions regarding its relation to certain other Anglo-Saxon treatments of parts of the theme; and our conclusions may have some bearing on the general problem of the attribution of the poem.

What were the liturgical forms familiar to the poet? We may safely conjecture the general outlines from those of a somewhat later period. In regard to the hymns the difficulty is greater because presumably the hymns follow no traditional scheme. Yet even here, beautiful as the hymns are, the phrases in speech and figure are often stereotyped formulae which were freely passed around; and by reviewing the common stock of a later time we can assume with fair safety that the figures were known in some earlier form. Wholesale borrowing from an early favorite is one of the most striking features in the growth of hymnology. And if the *Dream of the Rood* shows a use of the phrase or formula turning up generally elsewhere, it seems extremely likely that the Anglo-Saxon poet was the debtor. I shall attempt to point out all such borrowings, and in doing so I shall include many slighter reminiscences or casual parallels which I should not mention in a strict category. Since the chief point consists in the number of the parallels, so far as the hymns are concerned, I shall put them in the body of the discussion rather than in the footnotes.

puhte me þæt ic gesawe syllicre treow
 on lyft lædan leohte bewunden,
 beama beorhtost. Eall þæt beacen wæs
 begoten mid golde; gimmas stodon. *DR*, ll. 4-6.

As scholars have noted before,² these lines afford a tantalizing parallel to some similar lines in the *Elene*, which I shall quote, together with the Latin of the *Acta Sanct.*, to see whether any conclusions may be reached in regard to the resemblance.

Geseah he frætsum beorht
 wlitig wuldres treo ofer wolcna
 hrof
 golde geglenged: gimmas lixtan.
 wæs se blaca beam bocstafum
 awriten

Intendens in caelum vidit signum
 crucis Christi ex lumine claro
 constitutum, et desuper litteris
 aureis scriptum titulum.³

Holth., *Elene*, p. 4, § 85.

beorhte and leohte. *Elene*, ll. 88-92.

The parallel to the *Elene* at first seems remarkable and among the points of similarity may be noted the following: "ic gesawe" (geseah he); "syllicre treow" (wuldres treo); "beama beorhtost" (se blaca beam); "begoten mid golde" (golde geglenged); "gimmas" (gimmas). Yet there are certain points in which the *Dream* is closer to the Latin: "on lyft" (in caelum); "leohte bewunden" (ex lumine claro constitutum); the use of "beacen" in this connection (signum). And some of the ways in which it resembles the *Elene* fade in importance when more care-

² Cook notes the parallel here with the *Elene* and also with the *Daniel*, ll. 496 ff.—*The Dream of the Rood*, Oxford, 1905, p. 11, p. xlii. See also Sarrazin in the discussion of ll. 7-9 below.

³ The Anglo-Saxon prose (*EETS*, XLVI, p. 3) reads: "He ða sona beseah up on þære heofenan. 7 þær geseah þat halwænde tacen Christes rode on myceles lichter bryhtnesse ongean him geset." The Irish (Schirmer, *Leabhar Breac*, St. Gallen, 1886, p. 32, l. 60): "Sah er das Zeichen und die Gestalt des Kreuzes Christi am Himmel oben und einen sehr grossen, unerträglichen Glanz darum auf jeder Seite."

fully examined. "Ic gesawe" is necessary in the *Dream* as part of the obvious schematism (see also ll. 21, 33, 51, pointed out by Cook in his edition, p. 17, n. 14^b.) The use of "treow" is natural in either case as an epithet for the cross, since it is the usual gloss for *lignum* and *arbor* of the hymns.⁴

The use of "beama" here may have more significance. But we may note that it is also to be found in a similar passage in the *Riddles*:

Ic seah on bearwe beam hlifan
tanum torhtne. *Rid.*, 54, ll. 1. ff.

One may add *Rid.*, 56, l. 7; and *Crist* (Part III), l. 1089.

It may be objected that "beacen" of the *Dream* cited as a parallel to *signum* in the Latin is also found in the *Elene*, l. 100: "Swa he þæt beacen geseah." But there it is the equivalent of some form of "viso autem signo" and has nothing to do with the lines I have quoted. It is necessary to add that "beacen" is not much evidence either way, since as "signum" it is common enough in the hymns: Mone, I, p. 174, l. 7 (*Crux insignis palmæ signum*); Daniel, IV, p. 276, l. 9 (*Crux est signum, quod est dignum*); IV, p. 185 and Mone, I, p. 145 (*signum salutis*); Daniel V, p. 183 (*triumphale signum*); Dreves, IX, p. 26, No. 25, 1a (*signum Christi triumphale*); XXXIX, p. 21, No. 9, 4a (*signum triumphale*); XLVIII, p. 57, No. 58 (*venerabile signum*).⁵ Most striking of all is the appearance in the

⁴See Cook, p. 12; Wuelcker's *Vocab.*, "iheawen treow"; *Lat. Hymns of the A. S. Church*, Surtees Soc., XXIII, 1851, p. 78, ll. 16-17.

⁵*Signum* is sometimes glossed "tacn": see *Elene*, l. 85; prose, *EETS*, XLVI, p. 3; Napier, *O. E. Glosses*. The collections of hymns referred to in the course of the study are as follows: Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Freiburg, 1853; Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*; Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*; Chevalier, *Poésie Lit. du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1893; Merrill, *Latin Hymns*, N. Y., 1917; Morel,

liturgical phrase: "Hoc signum crucis erit in caelo."⁶ This phrase is an almost sufficient explanation for the entire passage in the *Dream* and with this in mind there is hardly any need to call on Constantine's vision. The way it could be expanded may be suggested by the use of the same idea in the Irish *Altus Prosator*: "Xristo de celis domino descendente celissimo profulgebit clarissimum signum crucis et vexillum."⁷

My conclusions regarding the similarity to the *Elene*, then, are these: the episode in the *Dream* may possibly be based on one having nothing to do with the story of the *Inventio*; the verbal parallels may be due to the general similarity in situation (we have already seen the parallels in the *Riddles* and I shall refer to *Daniel*, ll. 496 ff. later); in at least two expressions the *Dream* is closer to the Latin. The detail of gold and gems in both the *Dream* and the *Elene* is certainly of the highest importance, but I shall reserve that for special study. If anything can be deduced at present it is that if the *Dream* alludes to the episode in the *Inventio*, it went straight to some source approximating the Latin, while the *Elene* utilized both the *Dream* and the *Inventio* story. What version of the *Inventio* may have

Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters, N. Y., 1868; Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, Louvain, 1912; *The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Surtees Soc., xxiii, 1851; Bernard and Atkinson, *Liber Hymnorum*, HBS; Prudentius, ed. Weitzius, Hanoviae, 1613.

⁶ *Hereford Brev.*, HBS, II, pp. 159, 160; *York Brev.*, Surtees Soc., LXXV, II, col. 270, col. 554; *Colbertine Brev.*, HBS, II, pp. 313, 315; *Brev. Sarum*, Proctor and Wordsworth, Cambridge, 1886, III, col. 276; Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Proc. of the Cath. Ch. of Salisbury*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 95. See also the Blickling Homily for Easter, Morris, *EETS*, p. 91, ll. 23. Cf. Cook, p. xlii, drawing attention to the presence of the "heavenly host."

⁷ *Liber Hymnorum*, HBS, I, p. 80, ll. 122; for the tradition see II, pp. 166 ff.

been known to the poet of the *Dream* it is, of course, impossible to say;⁸ but he may have found his source in some form used in the *lectio* for the feast of the *Inventio*. For instance, in the York Breviary (Surtees Soc., II, col. 272, *lectio* ij) we have: "Et intuens in celum: vidit signum crucis Christi."⁹ In a different version the shining of the cross may have been added, which is a regular detail in Constantine's vision.¹⁰

Begoten mid golde; gimmas stodon
fægere æt foldan sceatum, swylce þær fife wæron
uppe on þam eaxlgespanne. DR, ll. 7-9.

On this passage Serrazin bases his argument for the intimate connection with the *Elene*: "Dass aber Constantinus, nach K's Darstellung das Kreuz schon in der kostbaren Verzierung gesehen haben soll, welche ihm erst nach der Auffindung zuteil wurde, ist ein offener Anachronismus, der sich nur dadurch erklärt, dass dem Dichter das visionäre Kreuz Constantins so vor dem geistigen Auge schwebte, wie es dem Traumseher erschienen war."¹¹ Ebert's comment in another connection but on the same general idea is applicable here—that such a conclusion assumes that the poet of the *Dream* or of the *Elene* could see no other passage on the subject and no example of such a cross other than the one first described.¹²

The chief problem is whether there were such crosses in England at the time in question. Ebert cites two allusions,

⁸ One may note the close parallel between "leohte bewunden" and the Irish "einen sehr grossen, unerträglichen Glanz auf jeder Seite."

⁹ See also *Colbertine Brev.*, II, p. 315.

¹⁰ See Holder, *Invent. Crucis*, p. 40, l. 6, "Enituit"; the Syrian "den grossen und herrlichen Lichtschein des Heiligen Kreuzes," *ASNS*, xciii, p. 9; Mone, I, p. 134, st. 25.

¹¹ *Von Kädmon bis Kynewulf*, Berlin, 1913, p. 121.

¹² *Berichte der Königl. Sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 84, n. 4.

both of which are however somewhat inferential: the *Ded. S. Crucis* of the *Pontificale* of the Archbishop of York—here “in splendore cristalli” may well refer to the “*crux de christallo*,” carried in the English Church in Eastertide until Ascension Day, which after all may not have been a jewelled cross;¹³ in Tatwine’s *Riddle* the word “*nitescere*” may describe the shining beryl or merely the light of a gold cross.¹⁴ Supporting evidence is derived from Ebert’s examples of gemmed crosses of the time,¹⁵ but it must be said that the force of the total argument is slight compared with what we should have. If we are to believe that the poet actually saw such a cross, would he not have been so much impressed by such a rarity as to have devoted much more of his description, indeed the whole poem, to its details? Would not a *crux gemmata* have seemed a rarity in England in the eighth or ninth centuries, as we might infer from the material so far adduced?

It seems well worth while to collect the evidence to show that there were many such crosses in the British Isles and that the poet did not need to depend on a vision for the details. Precious stones, possibly jewels, were used in ornamenting the early churches; most interestingly for us in the Priory at Hexham:¹⁶

Porro beatae memoriae, adhuc vivens gratia Dei, Acca episcopus, qui magnalia ornamenta hujus multiplicis domus de auro et argento,

¹³ See Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, London, 1905, iv, p. 290, and i, p. 240; Wordsworth, *The Tracts of Olement Maydeston*, HBS, London, 1894, p. 53; J. D. Chalmers, *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, London, 1877, p. 13; Feasey, *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, London, 1897, pp. 241-2.

¹⁴ Cook, *DR*, p. 19, considers Ebert’s evidence not “quite convincing.”

¹⁵ Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.*, Paris, 1877, p. 216; Zoeckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, pp. 206 ff.

¹⁶ Surtees Soc., XLIV, 1864, i, App. v.

lapidibusque pretiosis et quomodo altaria purpura et serico induta decoravit, quis ad explanandum sufficere potest.¹⁷

Pope Gregory sent the famous cross of Columcille to Iona as early as 590.¹⁸ We may note that the jewelled cross was common in Europe in the early period: still extant are those in the mosaics in Italy, dating from the fourth to the eighth century. They are plain Roman or slightly pattée, and both the crossbeam and the upright are jewelled. Some of them have specifically five jewels on the crossbeam: that in S. Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna;¹⁹ that in the catacomb of Pontianus;²⁰ and that in S. Giov. Laterano in Rome.²¹ The number varies, however, in

¹⁷ See the jewel-adorned church of the apostate Irish priest, *Revue Celt.*, xx, p. 428.

¹⁸ *Liber Hymn.*, i, p. 63, l. 36; ii, p. 24. The cross was called "the great gem." Compare the figure "quam preciosa gemma," *Brev. Sarum*, iii, col. 273; and "thesaurus pectorum," Merrill, *Lat. Hymns*, p. 67. See also Prudentius:

Agnoscas, Regina, libens mea signa necesse est,
In quibus effigies Crucis aut gemmata refulget,

(*Contra Symm.*, p. 274, ll. 465.) See the cross of St. Margaret, Hewison, *Runic Roods*, Glasgow, 1914, p. 7; also *Opera Symeonis Dun.*, Surtees Soc., 1868, i, p. 239; cf. Brandl, *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1905, p. 722. Note the use of jewels on the Pastoral Staff of St. Patrick in the seventh century: F. E. Warren, *The Lit. and Rit. of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881, p. 115.

¹⁹ For the books on the mosaics I am indebted to the kindness of Professor G. G. King of Bryn Mawr for pointing out many useful references. The generosity of the libraries of Harvard, Columbia, and the University of Pennsylvania, has helped me at every turn in the bibliography of this paper. For S. Apollinare in Classe, see Diehl, *Ravenne*, Paris, 1907, p. 71; date, pp. 24, 62. Less accurately, Didron, *Christ, Icon.*, trans. Stokes, Bohn ed., i, pp. 396 ff. Inaccurately, Twining, *Symbols and Emblems*, London, 1852, plate vi, fig. ix.

²⁰ Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, N. Y., 1916, p. 244, fig. 83; Twining, pl. vi, fig. 11, opp. p. 14.

²¹ Bunsen, *Basiliken des christlichen Roms*, pl. 46; Twining, pl. xxxvi, fig. 8, also pl. vii, fig. 9.

other crosses of this type: for example, that in the apse of S. Pudenziana;²² that in S. Paolo fuori le mura;²³ and that in the apse of S. Teodoro.²⁴ The evidence shows that this cross was widely popular. It came from a Byzantine source, apparently, and spread over Europe, not merely in the form of mosaics but in other decorative forms.²⁵ And with the Oriental influence so powerful in Celtic and early English Christianity, it seems more than likely that it penetrated to the British Isles. The form appears in the plain English altar cross,²⁶ and the jewelled type is reproduced in the well-known Cross of Cong.²⁷

²² Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, Freiburg, 1896, frontispiece 1; Lowrie, p. 306.

²³ Kraus, I, p. 182, fig. 144; Lowrie, p. 311. See Kraus, I, p. 324; Lowrie, p. 311; Bunsen, *Basiliken*, pl. XLV.

²⁴ C. R. Morey, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Med. Period*, Princeton, 1915, p. 26. See also the fresco, p. 62, pl. v; and see Twining, pl. LVI; p. 36, pl. xvii; p. 38, pl. xviii; pl. LXXXIX. Also *Asturias y León* by D. José M. Quadrado, Barcelona, 1885, pl. opp. p. 88 (9th cent.); Tavenor-Perry, *Dinanderie*, London, 1910, pl. xvii; Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét. et de Liturgie*, Paris, 1914, III², 3104, fig. 3403, 3411, pl. opp. 3107. Certainly many other examples could be collected with little trouble.

²⁵ For the Byzantine influence see: Diehl, *Ravenne*, pp. 63 ff.; Schnaase, *Gesch. der bildenen Kunst*, III (Im Mittelalter, I), Düsseldorf, 1869, pp. 217 ff.; J. R. Allen, *Early Chr. Symb. in Gt. Bt. and Ireland*, London, 1887, p. 142; compare Hewison, *Runio Roods*, pp. 3, 132; see the ornament of the Lindisfarne Gospels, *Repro. from Illum. MSS.*, British Museum, Series III, 1908, p. 9; G. B. Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, III, plate x, 2, 3, 4, 6. See the Gothic crosses, Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moy. Age*, p. 128; pl. opp. p. 130, a, b, d, e; p. 131, fig. 88; p. 132; p. 141, fig. 95. See also Dennison and Morey, *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art*, N. Y., 1918, pl. xxxiii, fig. 2.

²⁶ *Repro. from Illum. MSS.*, series II, 1907, pl. vi; and Allen, *Early Chr. Symb.*, pp. 253 ff., 261 (fig. 90), 262 (91), 278 (99), 282 (101).

²⁷ Armstrong, *Art in Gt. Bt. and Ireland*, N. Y., 1909, p. 12, fig. 17, gives a generally accessible picture of it. See Coffey, *Guide to R. Irish Acad. Coll.*, Dublin, 1910, p. 56, dating it c. 1123 A. D. Cf. the cross in S. Glou. Lat. to which I have referred.

But what evidence we have indicates that this particular form arrived later than the period with which we are concerned. And even if it were known earlier, one might well question why, if this was the cross the poet had in mind, he laid so much emphasis on the five jewels of the crossbeam and neglected the greater number on the upright. Furthermore, there is no reason for supposing that the number on the crossbeam was likely to have been just five.

But another type of cross was familiar in England at the very time when the poem was probably composed, and it affords a more satisfactory explanation of the passage. I refer to the Celtic cross, which may be most readily recalled in the forms in stone: the arms of equal length and pattée, usually placed in a circle.²⁸ Sometimes in each angle is a dot or small cross, making—with the circle or boss at the center—five units of ornamentation.²⁹ This last characteristic is extremely common in the Celtic cross of English and Scottish territory.³⁰ In the stone representations it will be found that whatever the variation in the arrangement of the dots, crosses, or bosses, importance seems to be attached to the number five.

²⁸ See Armstrong, *Art in Gt. Bt. and Ireland*, p. 7, fig. 8, for the type.

²⁹ Allen, *Early Chr. Symb.*, p. 100, fig. 14, 2, 3, 4, 5; p. 105, fig. 16, 4; p. 114, fig. 20, 1, 2.

³⁰ See G. B. Brown, *The Arts in Early Eng.*, N. Y., 1903, II, p. 211, fig. 127; Rev. W. S. Calverley, *Early Sculptured Stones in the Diocese of Carlisle*, Kendal, 1899, pp. 3, 78, 139, 170, 223. Note the variations with bosses at the end of each beam, p. 8; boss at the end of each beam and one in the center, pp. 34, 223, 263; five bosses in circle in the center, p. 206. See Allen, *Brit. Arch. Journ.*, XXXIV, p. 357; A. G. Langdon, *Old Cornish Crosses*, 1896, pp. 190, 358, 391. See also the English consecration crosses, *Archaeol.*, XLVIII, pl. xxxiii, fig. 7; pl. xxxvii, fig. 9, 10; XLVII, p. 161; XXV, p. 279. Note the fragments of a cross from the priory of Hexham: Surtees Soc., *The Priory of Hexham*, II, 1865, p. xxxi, no. 3.

The significance of these crosses for us may now be clear, and their importance will be greater if we can find any replicas of the type using precious stones. Fortunately there is good evidence that the same type was used in the jewelled cross; and this too maintains the quincunx, sometimes with the jewels in place of the dots or crosses and sometimes with a gem at the end of each beam. The form appears in the ornamentation of the box of St. Molaise;³¹ and in the pectoral cross formerly considered the property of St. Cuthbert.³² Here it is comprehensible what the poet means by the five jewels on the "eaxlgespan," since they would form the chief points of color and decoration. And here we have another link between a "Cynewulfian" poem and Celtic Christianity.

The general explanation of the use of the number five in the bosses has been the symbolism of the five wounds. Thus Stevens³³ and J. R. Allen³⁴ have held this view.

³¹ *Archaeologia* XLIII, pt. 1, p. 149, pl. xxi. For this type see also the MS. illumination in Westwood's *Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of A.-S. and Irish MSS.*, London, 1868, pl. VII, Gospel of Durrow; pl. XII, Lindisfarne Gospels.

³² The attribution is opposed by Archbishop Eyre, *Hist. of St. Cuthbert*, London, 1887, pp. 218-219, 319. See also Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét.*, III (2), p. 3106, fig. 3406. See the similar cross on the altar of St. Ambrose presented by the Archbishop of Milan in 885: Leroux Agincourt, *Hist. of Art.*, II, XXVI, B. See the cross, apparently taken from a MS. illumination, on the title page of the Aelfric Soc. ed. of the *Homilies of the A.-S. Church*, London, 1846. See the quincunx in an enamelled cross in the Hamilton brooch, *A.-S. Review*, Dec. 1900, p. 170 (9th cent.). See the cross with one jewel at the center, *Archaeol.*, XLIV, p. opp. p. 48.; cf. also G. B. Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, III, plate A, 1; plate X, 7; IV, plates CIII, CXLV, CXLVII. For jewelled crosses of another type which appears in the stone: *Arch.*, L, pt. 2, p. 406, pl. XXIII, fig. 1; G. B. Brown, *op. cit.*, II, p. 31, fig. 17 (a); Allen, *Early Chr. Symbolism*, p. 99.

³³ W. O. Stevens, *The Cross in the Life and Lit. of the A.-S.*, Yale Studies, p. 43.

³⁴ *Early Chr. Symbolism*, p. 100; *Brit. Archaeol. Journ.*, XXXIV, p. 357.

Bayley, engaged in propounding another thesis however, glances at it with hostility: "The five knobs or bosses erroneously supposed to represent the 'five wounds of Christ,' are of frequent occurrence."³⁵ For the jewels on the cross, Cook quotes another interpretation from the *Legenda Aurea*: "And in sign of these four virtues the four corners of the cross be adorned with precious gems and stones. And in the most apparent place is charity, and on the right side is obedience, and on the left side is patience, and beneath is humility, the root of all the virtues."³⁶ This suggestion is supported by the use of the same virtues in the ladder figure of the cross in Alanus de Insulis.³⁷ An Anglo-Saxon reading of the significance of such elements, although it does not touch on the number, gives a similar idea:

þurh þæt gold we understandað geleafan and god in gehygd; þurh þæt seolfor riht lice spræce and getingnyse on Godes lare; ðurh þa deorwurðan gymstanes halige mihte.³⁸

The jewels, then, may have symbolized certain virtues.

On the other hand, Durandus tells us in the *Rationale*:³⁹ "Crux in medio altar significat passionem quam Christus in medio tre subsit."⁴⁰ We should expect the wounds to receive special attention since they are given so much emphasis in the hymns and the liturgy.⁴¹ The

³⁵ *The Lost Lang. of Symbolism*, London, 1912, II, p. 129.

³⁶ *DR*, pp. 14 ff.

³⁷ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCX, col. 224.

³⁸ Aelfric Soc., *Homilies*, London, 1846, I², pp. 588-9. See also pp. 590-591.

³⁹ Ed. 1484, p. 10 v°.

⁴⁰ See also Honorius, Migne, CLXXII, col. 587: "Crux ob tres causas super altare erigitur . . . secundo ut passio Christi semper ecclesiae repraesentetur." See col. 559 and 560 (LVI) for interpretations of five.

⁴¹ See Hoskins, *Primers of Sarum and York*, London and N. Y., 1901, pp. 123, 11, 112, 360; Dickinson, *Missale Sarum*, 1861-1883, col. 751 ff.

five crosses cut in the altar stones and the five signs of the cross are taken as similarly symbolical.⁴² With these may be associated the five grains of incense in the liturgy, and the five stones in David's bag.⁴³ And if the symbolism was not a matter of some special study and opinion, but the laity in general was expected to know it and derive benefit from it, the evidence for a symbolism other than that of the five wounds would have to be pretty general. Five is not a steady number for the virtues, which are usually classified as four or seven. It seems fairly safe, therefore, to believe that in the *Dream* the poet mentions the five jewels not only because they were prominent in the actual cross that he knew, but because they represented the sacred wounds, an interpretation of some power.

At this point we may note that the *Elene*, though it mentions jewels, gives no specific number. Here again, then, if there is any relation between the two poems, the *Dream* is probably the earlier, or at least it is not indebted to the *Elene*.⁴⁴ Some difficulties remain in the lines of the *Dream*: the meaning of "fægere æt foldan sceatum" is not quite clear. Perhaps a hint may be found in the passage of the *Daniel* (ll. 500-501):⁴⁵

⁴² Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, I, pp. 74 ff.; I, p. 192. He gives a review of the patristic utterances on the subject.

⁴³ *Blickl. Hom., EETS*, LVIII, p. 31, ll. 16. Note the representation of the five wounds in Twining's *Symbols and Emblems*, p. 40, pl. XIX, fig. 6; see the five jewels in the diadem of God, *ibid.*, pl. XXXIV, p. 70, fig. 3; and the five wounds painted on the red cross of a cross-cloth, Feasey, *Ancient Eng. Holy Week Cer.*, p. 40.

⁴⁴ The jewels in the *Elene* may be simply a device for expressing the radiance of the cross, just as the Anglo-Saxons often compared the sun and stars to jewels. A liturgical echo in an Anglo-Saxon line gives us: "þu scinende rod swiþor þonne tungle" (Aelfric, *EETS*, xciv, p. 150, l. 117. "O crux splendidior cunctis astris," appears among other places in the *York Brev.*, II, col. 275.)

⁴⁵ This passage should be compared with *Riddle* 54, ll. 1 ff.

Ac he hlifode to heofontunglum,
swilce he oferfæðmde foldan sceatas.

The "foldan sceatas" are the corners of the earth, to which the cross reaches as it spreads over the sky.⁴⁶ "Stodon" in the *Dream*, describing the position of the jewels, is fairly strong, possibly meaning something like "stood out."⁴⁷ The whole passage I should then read as follows: "Gems stood out (on the cross) shining fair to the corners of the earth; five of these there were, above, on the shoulder-span." The five, as we have seen, were very likely those of the Celtic cross, grouped in a quincunx at the junction of the beams.

Fracoðes gealga.

DR, l. 10.

Cook notes this expression as "a comparatively infrequent designation of the cross."⁴⁸ But see *Crist and Satan*, ll. 511, 550; *Menologium*, l. 86; A. S. Hymns (Surtees Soc.), p. 78 (*Vexilla regis*), l. 4, "patibulo" glossed "gealgan"; F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, Oxford 1883, p. 141 (*crucis patibulum*); Dreves, ix, p. 27, 5b (*In ligno transverso sacri patibuli*); Chevalier, *Poésie*

* Compare the symbolical interpretation in the gloss on the Trinity College MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*, I, p. 39: "Si enim crux in terra proicitur per .iiii eius cornua, .iiii partes mundi demonstrat. In hoc voluit dominus demonstrare quod non uenit unam partem mundi redimere sed totum humanum genus." Cf. Honorius, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXII, col. 593 (CLX): "Quatuor cornua altaris signavit, dum quatuor partes mundi cruce salvavit"; *ibid.*, col. 946, "Crux si in terra inclinatur, ad orientem, meridiem, septentrionem, occidentem se protendere comprobatur, quia quatuor partes mundi ad regnum Christi signantur."

* The same sense is expressed in the passage in the *Beowulf* (ll. 726-7):

"Him of eagum
lige gelicost leoht stod unfæger."

* DR, p. 16.

Lit. du Moy. Age, p. 176, LVI (152); Prudentius, p. 248, l. 641; *Benedictionale S. Æthelwold* (x cent., ms., *Archæologia* xxiv, p. 108, "per beatae crucis patibulum.")

"Ne wæs þæt . . . fracoðes gealga" might be a reference to the cross of one of the thieves, which would naturally be in the mind of anyone in connection with the *Inventio Crucis*. But "fracoð" is not paralleled in the *Elene*; the two sinners are called "scaðena" in the A. S. prose (*EETS*, XLVI, p. 13), one of them "sceaþæ" in twelfth century prose (*EETS*, CIII, p. 32, l. 25; the gloss of *latro* in Wuelcker's *Vocabularies* is usually *sceaþa*, sometimes *þefe*; and the whole sentence may be simply a case of Anglo-Saxon understatement.

Syllic wæs se sigebeam.

DR, l. 13.

"Sigebeam" occurs several times in the *Elene*, as Cook has noted, but the kenning is familiar in the hymns and the liturgy. "Beam" is usually the gloss of *trabes*;⁴⁹ but the reference to the cross in this compound is so direct that we can hardly be arbitrary in considering it the equivalent of *lignum*. For the hymns we may note the following uses: Mone, I, p. 137 (*Salve lignum trium-*

⁴⁹ See Wuelcker, *Vocab.* In the sense of "timber" it might be a reference to the altar "beam" on which the crucifix hung and on which were images of the saints. See Gasquet, *Parish Life in Med. Eng.*, London, 1909, p. 51, and Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, III, pp. 388 ff. But the reference to the cross is quite direct here, especially in the compound "sigebeam," and the cross conceived as a tree was a figure especially vivid to the people of the early period. For the latter it may be worth while noting the cross represented as a tree with the branches cut off, but still covered with greenish bark, in the stained glass of St. Etienne de Bourges, the St. Chapelle in Paris, and Notre Dame de Chartres. See Didron, *Christ. Icon.*, I, p. 412. See the green cross in the apse of St. Denis, *ibid.*, I, p. 416. See the cross of bright green, Twining, *Symbols and Emblems*, pl. xx, p. 42; and pl. vii, fig. 20. See also the altar cross in J. Tavenor-Perry, *Dinanderie*, p. 123; p. 118, pl. xiv.

phale) ; Daniel, v, 183, st. 3 ; Mone, i, p. 159, ll. 13 (triumphale lignum) ; Morel, *Lat. Hymnen*, p. 27, l. 85 ; Dreves, xxxi, p. 94, No. 74, st. 7 (O crux, lignum triumphale). For the kindred expression, sigebeacen, sigorbeacen, or sigores tacen, found only in the *Elene*,⁵⁰ note the following: Daniel, v, p. 183 (Ave, triumphale signum) ; Dreves, ix, p. 26, No. 25, 1a (Signum Christi triumphale) ; xxxix, p. 21, No. 9, 4a (signum triumphale). Compare Prudentius, p. 38, l. 83 (Dic tropeum passionis, dic triumphalem crucem) ; Mone, i, p. 142, ll. 35 (signum victoriæ) ; *York Missal*, Surtees Soc., ii, p. 103 (signum triumphale). Cook, *DR*, p. 16 (also *Crist*, notes, p. 192) takes the Anglo-Saxon expressions as referring to "the victorious sign seen by Constantine," but the use in the hymns shows that unnecessary.

Geseah ic wuldres treow
wælum geweorðod wynnum scinan. *DR*, ll. 14-15.

Cook (p. 17) compares the *Elene* ll. 88-90, which I have already quoted. Here we may note especially the phrase "wlitig wuldres treo" ("geseah ic" in *DR* I have dealt with in the other connection). Both passages, however, may profitably be compared with one in the *Vexilla regis* with its Anglo-Saxon translation:

Arbor decora et fulgida	treow wlitig ond scinende
Ornata regis purpura.	gefrætewod cynges mid godewebbe. ⁵¹

Purpura is regularly glossed "godewebb" (see Napier, *O. E. Glosses*) which means a purple cloth or any rich material.⁵² "Wædum" may hold some reminiscence of this expression. Certainly it has nothing to do with the *vexillum*, which is glossed "guþfana," and which, it is

⁵⁰ See Cook, *DR*, p. 16, n. 13. ⁵¹ *A.-S. Hymns*, p. 78.

⁵² See *Exodus*, ll. 588 and elsewhere.

interesting to note, did not appear in the Sarum and York use.⁵³ The suggestion offered by Stevens (p. 74) that "wædum" "may be a recollection of the veiling of the rood on Good Friday," although it receives some support from line 22, is rendered doubtful by the context here, which has entirely to do with "wynnum," "golde," and "gimmas." On the other hand, line 22 may be read with the meaning "purpura" for "wædum" and it does not lose in clearness or significance thereby.

Geseah ic þæt fuse beacen

wendan wædum and bleom: hwilum hit wæs mid wætan bestemed,
besyled mid swates gange, hwilum mid since gegyrwed.

DR, ll. 21-23.

We have here what seems one of the clearest allusions to the liturgy, to the method of changing the style of the cross between Lent and Easter. Ebert has noted certain foreign cases of using the blood-red cross⁵⁴ and asserts without evidence that the custom held among the Anglo-Saxons of the eighth century.⁵⁵ He gives this point in another connection and does not deal with "wendan wædum and bleom." Rock, however, has shown the use of the red cross during Lent in England;⁵⁶ in the north the use was apparently general,⁵⁷ and this may be reflected

⁵³ *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, HBS, p. 53.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 84. See for various red crosses, Zoeckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, Gütersloh, 1875, p. 238.

⁵⁵ The reference in the *Crist* (Part III), l. 1101, taken by itself, might easily be explained by the possibility that the cross was gold, and that since gold is often referred to as "red" and the color would be especially appropriate, it was so described. See *Genesis*, l. 2404.

⁵⁶ *Church of Our Fathers*, iv, p. 263. See also Gasquet, *Parish Life in Med. Eng.*, p. 171.

⁵⁷ *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, HBS, p. 49: "Excepta prima dominica differatur crux lignea rubei coloris depicta sine ymagine crucifixi." Stevens refers for evidence to the red crosses in *Archaeol.*, XLVIII, p. 456, but these are consecration crosses and without significance here.

in the Anglo-Saxon "mid wætan bestemed" and part of the reference in "bleom."

This should be supplemented further by the possibility that there is some borrowing from the hymns in the very vividness of the detail in the *Dream*: Mone, I, p. 143, No. 109 (O crux, arbor inclita, Cristi membris praedita et sacrata sanguine); Chevalier, *Poésie Lit.*, p. 181, LXV, 174 (Beata crux cum gloria, Celso sacrata sanguine); Mone, I, p. 142, 43 (crux cruore consecrata); Dreves, XIV, p. 82, No. 72; XXXIX, No. 9, p. 21 (crucem tuo sanguine consecratam colimus); LI, p. 86, No. 81, st. 4; Daniel V, p. 184, st. 3; Merrill, *Lat. Hymns*, p. 67; Daniel, II, p. 101, No. 62; Merrill, p. 19, Pange lingua (Quem sacer cruor perunxit, fusas agni corpore); cf. Anselm, *Pat. Lat.* CLVIII, col. 937, Orat. XLII (Ave crux . . . ejus pretiosissimo sanguine cruentata); Mone, I, p. 140, l. 3 (fulgens Christi sanguine); I, p. 125, No. 99, ll. 25-26 (Per sanguinem sacerrium, rigasti crucis postem; I, p. 186, ll. 30 (Vidit in ara sacram crucis ostiam, Sanguinis undam, laticem de latere, Sancto fluente); Daniel IV, p. 322 (Crux alma . . . torrente Christi sanguinis ebria); Mone I, p. 159, No. 122, ll. 31; Morel, *Lat. Hymn.*, p. 28, No. 45, l. 8; Dreves, IV, No. 46, p. 34; IX, p. 27, 3a (O altitudo atque profundum crucis purpuratae in Christi sanguine); IX, p. 28, No. 29, 1a (Rubens agni sanguine); XV, p. 46, No. 24 (Agni rubens sanguine); cf. *York Missal*, Surtees Soc., II, p. 102 (Fuit haec salutis ara Rubens Agni sanguine); Dreves, XLIII, p. 23, No. 32, st. 2 (Tu decora sic consiste, Lota sacro sanguine); Prudentius, p. 86 (Hinc cruoris fluxit unda, lymfa parte ex altera: Lymfa nempe dat lavacrum, tum corona ex sanguine est).

While such expressions as the above account for "mid wætan bestemed," the change implied in the "hwilum . . . hwilum" clauses needs further explanation. As I

have said, the plain red cross was carried during Lent, but on Palm Sunday a more ornamental cross appeared, as the Tracts of Maydeston tell us (p. 50):

Post distributionem palmarum exeat processio cum cruce lignea. . . . Deinde lectio euangelio feretum cum reliquijs preparatum. in quo corpus Christi in pixide dependat obuiam venientem cum cruce argentea. . . . Statim vero visa cruce argentea recedat crux lignea.

And on Easter day, as I have already had occasion to mention, the "crux de christallo" was used, which was borne until Ascension-tide (Maydeston, p. 53). With this progressive change in mind, we may better understand what the poet means when he says that he saw the cross change in garb and color, sometimes it was stained with the flowing of blood and sometimes adorned with treasure.⁵⁸

* Rock studies the usage with some evidence not without importance for us, *Church of Our Fathers*, iv, pp. 290 ff., citing the description of the cross in the cathedral of York: "Una crux de rubeo jaspide ornata cum argento deaurato, cum petris infixis in pede ligneo depicto. . . . Item una crux de christallo cum pulchro pede bene sculpta." (See *Mon. Angl.*, viii, p. 1204.) See in the ritual of Durham (Surtees Soc., cvii, 1903, p. 10 and p. 105) the processional crosses, one of silver and double gilt, and one of gold. Cf. Chalmers, *Divine Worship*, p. 282; and the prayer, App., p. xviii. Also the Osmund Register lists the ornaments in the hands of the treasurer of Sarum, 1214-1222 (Wordsworth, *Cer. and Proc. of the Catholic Church of Salisbury*, p. 34 n. and p. 169).:

Crux una magna cooperta argento cum ligno crucis beati Petri.

Crux una processionaria bene deaurata cum lapidibus multis.

Crux una processionaria dominicis diebus cooperta argento.

Crux una aurea cum ligno dominico, cum multis lapidibus, cum pede argenti et pomello.

Crux una deaurata ex una parte cum ligno dominico cum pede argenti.

The ceremony may be reflected in *Riddle 56*, ll. 3-4:

Wrætlic wudutreow ond wunden gold,
sinc searobunden, ond seolfres dæl.

See also Gasquet, *Parish Life in Med. Eng.*, pp. 172 ff.

Geseah ic þa Frean mancynnes
 efstan elne mycle þæt he me wolde on gestigan.
 þær ic þa ne dorste ofer Dryhtnes word
 bugan oððe berstan, þa ic bifian geseah
 eorðan sceatas. (DR, ll. 33-37)

gestah he on gealgan heanne. (l. 40)

Bifode ic þa me se Beorn ymbclypte; ne dorste ic hwæðre bugan
 to eorðan,

feallan to foldan sceatum, ac ic sceolde fæste standan.
 (ll. 42-43)

It is hard to believe that these passages have not something to do with the striking lines in the *Pange lingua* of Fortunatus:

Flecte ramos, arbor alta, tensa laxa viscera
 Et rigor lentescat ille, quem dedit nativitas,
 Ut superni membra regis miti tendas stipite,
 (ll. 24 ff.)

The cross explains why it was unable to bend. And the last line of the Latin seems to be echoed in the *Dream* by "Geseah ic weruda God þearle þenian" (ll. 51-52).⁵⁹ Another line from Fortunatus, "Sola digna tu fuisti ferre pretium saeculi," although it was a generally popular sentiment,⁶⁰ seems to appear in the following:

Me þa geweorðode wuldres Ealdor
 ofer holtwudu, heofonrices Weard,
 swylce he his modor eac Marian sylfe
 ælmihtig God for ealle men
 geweorðode ofer eall wifa cynn, (DR, ll. 90-94)

⁵⁹ Cf. A.-S. *Hymns*, p. 78, "Tendens manus vestigia" glossed "aþenigende handa fot-swaþu." Cook refers to *Ben. Off.*, p. 73: "Crist wæs on rode aþened."

⁶⁰ Cf. Cook, *DR*, pp. 21, 41, referring to "arbor una nobilis"; also Brandl, *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1905, p. 721. The line quoted above seems to be more to the point. The *Pange lingua* is almost entirely incorporated in the antiphons for the adoration of the cross in Gregory's *Liber Antiphonarius*, §§ 684-5, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII. Cf. also Chalmers, *Divine Worship*, App., pp. xxix ff. See the same sentiment in the hymns: Chevalier, *Poés.*

The figure in ll. 34 and 40 is paralleled in *Crist and Satan* (ll. 549 ff.) and in the hymns: Chevalier, *Poés. Lit.*, p. 176, lvi, 152 (Cum ascendisset Dominus Super crucis patibulum); Prudentius, p. 248, ll. 641 (Crux illa nostra est, nos patibulum ascendimus); *Liber Hymnorum*, i, p. 85, l. 22. The figure of l. 42 is paralleled: Mone, i, p. 181, st. 7 (O virtus crucis mundus attrahis amplexando tuis hinc inde brachiis); Dreves, ix, p. 27, 5b:

transverso sacri patibuli
docemur
expansis manibus
crucifixi
dextros et sinistros
amplecti.

The most interesting parallel of all, however, is found in the third reading for the feast of St. Andrew in the York Breviary (Surtees Soc., vol. II, col. 88, lectio iij):

Cum pervenisset beatus andreas ad locum ubi crux parata erat: videns eam a longe exclamabat voce magna dicens: salve crux: que in corpore Christi dedicata es: *et ex membris ejus tanquam margaritis ornata*,^a p̄s. Omnes gentes, añ. *Antequam te ascenderet dominus noster o beata crux: timorem terrenum habuisti: modo vero amorem celestem obtinens pro voto susciperis.* p̄s. Exaudi deus deprecationem. añ. Amator tuus semper fui: *et desideravi te amplecti.* o bona crux. p̄s. Exaudi deus orationem.

The Italics are mine. The passage affords us another con-

Lit., p. 181, LXV (174), 2 (Electa cunctis credulis); Daniel, v, p. 183 (Quod solum fuisti dignum sustinere Dominum); Dreves, VII, p. 105, No. 91, 8a (quae sola fuisti digna portare regem). In the liturgy: *York Brev.*, II, col. 275 (que sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi); col. 551 (que digna fuit portare precium hujus seculi); *Brev. Sarum*, III, col. 274.

^a Cf. Anselm, *Pat. Lat.*, CLVIII, col. 942: "Salva me, sancta crux, quae in corpore Christi dedicata es, et ex membrorum ejus compage tanquam margaritis ornata; quae praetium nostrum portare digna fuisti et vitam aeternam nobis attulisti." Cf. with this *York Brev.*, II, col. 551 (que digna fuit portare precium hujus seculi).

nection with the northern liturgy and also one with the story of St. Andrew.

Gyredon me golde and seolfre.

DR, l. 77.

This line has been taken as a reference to the story of the *Inventio*. We may note, however, that "golde and seolfre" is not paralleled in the *Elene* (ll. 1023 ff.), where we have "golde and gimcynnum." In the Latin (*Acta Sanct.*, Holth., *Elene*, p. 40) we have gold and jewels with a silver box, and also in Eusebius (see Cook, *Crist*, notes, p. 190). But the Anglo-Saxon Prose, which may indicate the Irish original,⁶² tells us: "bewyrcean het mid golde 7 mid seolfre 7 mid deorwurpum gimum." ⁶³ At this point, then, the *Dream* is again closer to a possible common original than to the *Elene*.

Is me nu lifes hyht
þæt ic þone sigebeam secan mote.

DR, ll. 126-7.

The Christian "hope" is common in hymns of the cross, although not exactly in these terms: Daniel, iv, p. 185 (*Crux sancta . . . vera spes nostra*), Mone, i, p. 145, *A. S. Hymns*, Surtees Soc., p. 156; Daniel i, p. 225, No. cxcvii, 2 (*Spes et certa redemptio*): Chevalier, *Repert.*

⁶² Although the details are not in the Irish abridged version; see Schirmer, *Leabh. Breac*, p. 46.

⁶³ *EETS*, XLVI, p. 15. Cf. Durandus, *Rationale*, p. 138 ro, "lapidibus et preciosis adornatam." It may not be out of place to note here, however, that the *Elene* seems to have a special predilection for jewels: the nails after the crucifixion are described as shining like jewels (ll. 1114 ff.), while the analogues give them as shining like gold (*ASNS*, cxxv, p. 87; *ZDPhil*, xxxvii, p. 18), and in the *Dream* (l. 46) at the time of the crucifixion they are "deorcan," (note the parallel here in the *Dream* to the *Crist*, Part III, ll. 1107-9.) For the *Elene* see also note 44 above. It should be added that "golde and seolfre" of *DR* may have reference merely to the ceremony described in the discussion of ll. 21 ff. above.

Hymnolog., iv, p. 88, No. 36454 (Crux, ave, spes unica inventionis); No. 36462 (Crux sancta . . . spes nostra); Dreves, ix, p. 26, No. 25, 1a (spes et nostra gloria); No. 26, 2a (sanctae crucis, spes nostra); xv, p. 46, No. 24 (spes praeclara); xv, p. 47, No. 25 (spes mihi viventi); xxi, p. 22, No. 15 (spes unica); xlviii, p. 57, No. 58 (unica spes hominum). See also the liturgy: *York Brev.*, col. 552 (crux, ave, spes unica), also col. 270; *Hereford Brev.*, *HBS*, xl, ii, p. 159. See a late hymn, Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Leipzig, 1864, i, p. 252, No. 428 (magna spes credentium). See Anselm, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, clviii, col. 939 (Tu es enim spes mea).

Incidentally it may be worth noting in relation to these lines and to l. 138 that the *lignum vitae* figure is extremely common: Mone, i, p. 181, st. 6 (Crux vitae lignum, Vitam mundi portans); i, 174, l. 8; Dreves, ix, p. 26, No. 25, 1b (lignum vitae); xv, p. 46, No. 24 (arbor vitae); xxi, p. 22, No. 15 (arbor vitae); xxxi, p. 94, No. 74, st. 6 (lignum vitae); xxxiv, p. 28, No. 24 (arbor ave vitae); xxxix, No. 9, p. 21, 3b (vitale lignum); xl, p. 33, No. 14 (lignum vitae).

And ic wene me
daga gehwylce hwænne me Dryhtnes rod,
þe ic her on eorðan ær sceawode,
of þyssan lænan life gefetige,
and me þonne gebringe þær is blis micel.

DR, ll. 135 ff.

Stevens cites these lines (p. 74) as indicating that the poet deifies the cross: "In endowing the cross with personality, the poet of the *Dream of the Rood* outstrips any other writer." While we may agree with this comment in part (although we have noted how the poet borrows details and utilizes allusions), the opinion should be modified by observing the frequency of the figure in the hymns: compare Mone, i, p. 181, st. 7:

O excelsa crux,
ima perforans,
vinctos, quos absolvis,
ad summa erigis.

Also: Mone, I, p. 140, ll. 53; I, p. 142, ll. 43 (Per te nobis . . . sempiterna gaudia det superna gratia); Daniel, v, p. 183, st. 3 (Tu nos hinc per modum scalae Ducas ad coelestia); v, p. 304, No. 608, ll. 3 (Qui fidelis introducis Ad coelestem Patriam), l. 8 (Nos transfer ad gloriam); Dreves, xv, p. 47, No. 25 (In te confisum me ducas ad paradisum—addressed to Christ). See Anselm, *Pat. Lat.*, CLVIII, col. 942 (et vitam aeternam nobis attulisti); *Greg. Sac., HBS*, p. 275 (per crucis lignum ad paradisum gaudia redeamus). See also the “lignum vitae” figure discussed above, especially Mone, I, p. 145, also in *A. S. Hymns*, Surtees Soc., p. 156; and cf. *DR*, l. 148 with *A. S. Hymns*, p. 83 (Redempta plebs captivata Reddita vitae praemio).

Most of the conclusions given in the foregoing discussion need not be repeated. Many of them are extremely tentative, hardly more than shadowing as they do possible influence, and not attempting to arrive at the actual source. But to draw the matter together we may note the following points which seem to have received general support in the investigation: in the *Dream of the Rood* there are several clear allusions to the liturgy; even the phrases at times seem to be borrowed, especially from the hymn *Pange lingua*; we have observed several parallels in the *Dream* to Part Three of the *Crist*; ⁶⁴ if there is any connection between the *Dream* and the *Inventio*, it exists between the

⁶⁴ Cook has noted many of the parallels. See note 63 above and Cook, *DR*, p. 30; *DR*, ll. 110, 117, and *Crist*, ll. 999, 1376 ff., and Cook, *DR*, p. 42. Others have been mentioned in the course of the study.

former and some document approximating the source of the *Elene* rather than the *Elene* itself. If the results of our search for liturgical influence are surprisingly small, the study has served to show all the more how little the poet of the *Dream* has relied on the conventional material accessible to him and yet with what effectiveness he has brought in reflections of the ecclesiastical services which he knew.

HOWARD R. PATCH.

XV.—THE BLACK-LETTER BROADSIDE BALLAD

I

In actual practice the English *broadside* ballad did not exist before the introduction of printing; but it is not accurate to assert that "street ballads begin about 1540,"¹ or even to call Skelton's ballad on Flodden Field (1513)—said to be the earliest printed street ballad extant²—the beginning of the *genre*. Undoubtedly the ballad had begun to play an important rôle before 1500, and in its origin runs much farther back, far antedating the art of printing. To all intents the street ballad was matured as early as 1500; while satirical poems, invectives, lamentations, and short jocular and religious stanzas of a still earlier period have many of the features that characterize printed broadside ballads and unquestionably prepared the way for them. Early in the fifteenth century, writers of such ballad-poems tried to circulate them on manuscript broadsheets. Naturally, therefore, the advent of printing merely facilitated and increased the production of rimed broadsides, until, in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, they came to be the chief publications of the London press and the works most dear to the common people.

Ballads were printed and circulated in enormous num-

¹ Gummere, *Popular Ballad*, p. 4. Percy seems to have originated this idea, and it is everywhere accepted.

² The "Nut-Brown Maid," which is older than Skelton's ballad, can hardly be called a ballad at all. Perhaps the best edition of Skelton's work is that made (in facsimile) by John Ashton, London, 1882; it is also reprinted in Ashton's *Century of Ballads* (Boston, 1888), pp. xiii ff.

bers. In 1520 John Dorne, a bookseller of Oxford, sold from his shop more than one hundred and ninety unnamed "ballets."³ In 1543 an "Act for the Advancement of True Religion and for the Abolishment of the Contrary" was promulgated to restrain the publication of "printed books, printed ballads, plays, rimes, songs, and other fantasies";⁴ while in the same year thirty printers and booksellers were ordered by the Privy Council to furnish lists of all the books and ballads published by them within the past three years.⁵ These restrictions proved ineffectual. Six years later, in 1549, Sternhold, groom of the chamber to Henry VIII, versified fifty-one of the Psalms, that they might be sung "in private houses, for godly solace and comfort, and for the laying apart all ungodly songs and ballads";⁶ and John Baldwin wished to God that his own *Canticles or Balades of Solomon* (1549) "might once drive out of office the bawdy ballads of lecherous love, that commonly are indited and sung of idle courtiers in princes' and noblemen's houses."⁷

Many balladists of the reigns of Edward and Mary are known by name and are represented by not a few extant

³ See his *Day-Book*, ed. F. Madan, Oxford Hist. Society, *Collectanea*, 1st series, pt. III (1885).

⁴ *Statutes of the Realm*, III, p. 894.

⁵ Duff's *Century of the English Book Trade*, 1905, pp. xxiv-xxv. Nine so-called ballads (which were really libels and not intended for singing) dealing with Lord Cromwell († 1540) are preserved. They are described with lavish extracts in the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII, XVI, pp. 212-14, and in Lemon's *Catalogue of Printed Broad-sides in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 1866, pp. 2-5. Seven of them are reprinted in Hazlitt's *Fugitive Tracts*, 1st series, 1875, nos. VI-XII; eight are reproduced in facsimile in Kingdon's *Incidents in the Lives of Poynts and Grafton*, p. 84.

⁶ Quoted in Chappell's *Popular Music*, I, p. 54.

⁷ Quoted in Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, 1829, I, p. lxxxi.

ballads. Of these John Heywood, epigrammatist and playwright as well as ballad-monger, is the most distinguished. A dozen or more of his ballads have been preserved.⁸ Important, too, were John Redford, the talented musician and teacher of poor Thomas Tusser;⁹ Richard Sheale, long thought to be the author of the older version of "Chevy Chase"; William Forrest, Queen Mary's chaplain, a skilled musician, and translator of many of the Psalms into verse;¹⁰ John Wallis and Henry Spooner, balladists known only by their work preserved in a Bodleian manuscript.¹¹

During the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign at least forty publishers of ballads are mentioned in the records of the Stationers' Company, while on extant copies are found the names of some thirty men who printed ballads in London before 1580 without registering them at Stationers' Hall.¹² Perhaps nearly two hundred Elizabethan ballad-writers are known by name, the most important being William Elderton, Thomas Churchyard, Anthony Munday, William Birch, Leonard Gibson, Thomas Deloney, and Richard Johnson. At one time or another, however, practically every great poet and playwright of the period wrote a ballad or two.

The popularity of the black-letter ballad never wavered.

⁸ See especially those reprinted from Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 15,233, by Halliwell-Phillipps, in the Old Shakespeare Society's volume for 1848 (xxxvii).

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See Lemon's *Catalogue*, p. 16, no. 46. For printing Forrest's epitaph-ballad on Mary without license, Richard Lant "was sente to warde" (Arber's *Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers' Company of London*, I, p. 101).

¹¹ MS. Ashmole 48 (ed. Thomas Wright, *Songs and Ballads, etc.*, Roxburghe Club, 1860).

¹² Cf. Bryant, *History of English Balladry*, p. 169.

About 1625, according to George Wither, there were "thousands of vain songs and profane ballads stored up in the Stationers' warehouses," and printers had "many muses perpetually employed for the composing of new strains."¹³ In 1642 "halter and ballad-makers" were "two principal trades of late: ballads being sold by whole hundreds in the city, and halters sent by whole barrels full to Berwick, to hang up the rebels with."¹⁴ At this time the ballad-mongers formed "an indifferent strong corporation: twenty-three of you sufficient writers, beside Martin Parker."¹⁵ Parker was incomparably the greatest (if the word "great" may be used) of the ballad-mongers, and with his death (*circa* 1656) the best part of balladry passed away.¹⁶ His chief rival was Laurence Price, two of whose productions have crept into Mr. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.¹⁷ Few writers of prominence appeared after 1660, but there was no diminution in the output of ballads.

But if the term broadside ballad is strictly confined to a rimed composition written by a professional versifier, printed on one side of a single sheet and intended to be sung in the streets, then few ballads earlier in date than the reign of Edward VI have survived, and of the innumerable ballads published from that time until about 1700—

¹³ *Schollers Purgatory*, c. 1625 (*Miscellaneous Works*, ed. Spenser Society, I, p. 31).

¹⁴ *The Scots Scouts' Discoveries*, 1642 (*Phoenix Britannicus*, 1732, I, p. 466).

¹⁵ *The Downfall of Temporizing Poets*, 1641, sign. A 3 b.

¹⁶ Parker's "True Tale of Robin Hood" (Child, no. 154) is of course well known, but few persons know that William Elderton wrote "King James and Browne" (Child, no. 180).

¹⁷ These are "The Famous Flower of Serving-Men" (no. 106, and cf. *Roxburghe Ballads*, VI, p. 570) and "Robin Hood's Golden Prize" (no. 147).

the approximate date at which black-letter type was abandoned—only some ten thousand copies have come down to us, and perhaps at least half of these are duplicates. The largest and oldest collection is that of 1376 ballads begun by John Selden, completed by Samuel Pepys, and now preserved at Magdalene College, Cambridge.¹⁸ Other famous collections are the Roxburghe at the British Museum, begun by Robert Harley and in recent years augmented until it now includes over fourteen hundred broadsides; the Bagford, of 355 ballads, in the British Museum; the Wood, Rawlinson, and Douce, containing 279, 218, and 877 ballads respectively, in the Bodleian; the London Society of Antiquaries, containing fifty-six ballads printed before 1603; and the so-called Suffolk collection of Elizabethan ballads, some ninety of which are in the library of Mr. Christie-Miller, at Britwell Court, and about seventy of which, formerly owned by Mr. Henry Huth, are now in the British Museum.¹⁹ By far the majority of extant ballads date from the reign of Charles II.

Few changes were made in the mechanical form of ballads from 1550 to 1700. They were printed on coarse paper, usually of folio size, in black-letter type, and were

¹⁸ Counting white-letter ballads, the Pepys collection contains over 1700 copies, of which 964 are said to be unique. The best accounts of all these collections are given by Chappell and Ebsworth in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, pp. i ff., and VIII, pp. 739 f.

¹⁹ The Suffolk ballads are reprinted in H. L. Collmann's *Ballads and Broadsides*, Roxburghe Club, 1912, and in *A Collection of 79 Black-Letter Ballads and Broadsides*, London, 1867 and 1870. The Bagford, Roxburghe, and about 500 Pepysian ballads are reprinted in the Ballad Society's *Bagford Ballads* and *Roxburghe Ballads*. The ballads in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries are, for the most part, reprinted in Collier's *Old Ballads*, Percy Society, vol. I; the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. X; and W. C. Hazlitt's *Fugitive Tracts*. Many ballads, too, have survived in MSS., most of which have at one time or another been edited.

customarily ornamented with one or more woodcuts. Typographically the ballads were not attractive. The author's responsibility evidently ended when he had turned in his manuscript; he had no wish to read proof, and the necessity of doing this seems seldom to have occurred to the printer, who was concerned only about the money he could make.²⁰ Accordingly, the broadsides abound in typographical errors hardly less grotesque and absurd than the amazing woodcuts that embellished the sheets. Since the demand for these pictures always exceeded the supply, printers bought old collections of worn-out or worm-eaten cuts, and put them, regardless of their fitness or unfitness, at the head of whatever ballads they happened to be printing.²¹ A cut originally belonging to Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, for example, was afterwards used for any broadsheet that lamented deaths by fire, no matter whether they were accidents or legal executions.²² By no means, however, did the scarcity of woodcuts prevent a lavish use of them. Elderton's "Philosophers' Learnings" was issued with a row of five at the top of the sheet!²³ Sometimes ballads were printed on waste paper, often on proof-

²⁰ When Heywood wished to list the errata in his *Troia Britanica*, the printer answered him, "hee would not publish his owne dis-workemanship, but rather, let his owne fault lye upon the necke of the author" (*An Apology for Actors*, 1612, Old Shakespeare Society, 1841, p. 62).

²¹ Collier's *Broadside Black-Letter Ballads*, 1868, p. iv. Thus, "A mournfull Dittie on the death of certaine Judges and Justices of the Peace" (*A Collection of 79 Ballads*, 1867, p. 197) had a woodcut representing two men exclaiming at a baby in a dish placed before them by a servant. See also Ebsworth's discussion of woodcuts in the publications of the New Shakspeare Society, series VI, no. vi (1879), pp. 17 ff.

²² Collier's *Broadside Black-Letter Ballads*, p. v.

²³ *A Collection of 79 Ballads*, pp. 138, 297.

sheets that had been "pulled" and cast aside;²⁴ and, since Tudor printers tried to give as much for one's money as they could, it was no unusual thing to find as many as three or four ballads on one broadside. In 1565-66 Alexander Lacy printed in double columns on one sheet four ballads, two of which he had abstracted without credit from *Tottel's Miscellany*.²⁵ As the ballad-trade developed, more than one production rarely appeared on a single sheet; but after 1700, especially in the early days of the nineteenth century, as many as five or six ballads were regularly published on a folio sheet, while those that were issued separately were often printed in single columns on narrow slips of paper. Although enormous numbers of these slip ballads and white-letter folio ballads are extant,²⁶ they have never been highly valued by collectors, probably because to a large extent the fascinating woodcuts went out of use with black letter.

A history of the black-letter ballad would require far too much space for a short paper, for it would of necessity involve an account of the literature and politics and domestic life of the period. In this article, therefore, an attempt will be made merely to give, and to give as far as possible by quotations from contemporary writers, a general idea of the nature of ballads, of the methods by which they were published and distributed, of their authors and printers, and of the classes to which they appealed. Comparatively unimportant in themselves, it is yet doubtful whether any other one thing throws so much light on the

²⁴ For one that was printed on the back of an old prognostication, see *ibid.*, pp. 101, 292.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 147 ff., 299.

²⁶ The Harvard College Library has several thousands of them. Collectors like Lord Crawford make no effort to catalogue any but black-letter ballads.

literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as do the ballads.²⁷

II

The very phrase "broadside ballad" instantly calls up in one's mind the thought of a rimed account of some monstrosity or of the execution of a criminal,—of frankly journalistic ballads, instead of those which purpose to be songs and which for that reason have a fairer claim to the title. This confusion cannot be avoided, yet it is hardly fair to lump all ballads under the general description, "mere shreds and tatters of sensation." One scholar who does so is shocked to find in the Stationers' Registers an entry of a ballad on a "monsterus pygge."¹ No doubt a pig affords a poor theme for poetry (though donkeys have been known to suffice); but it is a subject thoroughly adapted to journalism, and perhaps the best way in which to judge the broadside ballad as a whole is frankly to compare it with the modern newspaper. Viewed from that angle, there is nothing in the ballads that cannot be duplicated today, and it is a comfort to discover that twentieth-century journalism is an inheritance.

Jack Drum—who was a bit modern in his point of view—thought it impossible "to find wit in ballading";²

²⁷ Attention should here be called to Professor C. H. Firth's excellent chapter on "Ballads and Broad-sides," in *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1916), II, pp. 510-538.

¹ Gummere, *Old English Ballads*, p. xxiv, n. 4. Mr. Gummere's reference to Arber is incorrect. It appears, indeed, that no *ballads* on pigs were licensed. Three broadsides on monstrous pigs (at least two of them registered in 1562) are printed in *A Collection of 79 Ballads*, pp. 45 ff., 112 f., 186 ff.; all three describe the pigs in prose, but the first and last also moralize briefly in verse. In the Registers they are simply called "pictures of monstrous pigs."

² *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, 1601 (Richard Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, II, p. 165).

but the ballad-monger who wrote "A Merry Rime concerning Butchers, Grocers, Schoolmasters, and Tankard Bearers" was surely a clever wag.³ He and his successors, like modern reporters, never lacked a "subject to write of: one hangs himself today, another drowns himself to-morrow, a sergeant stabbed next day; here a pettifogger a' the pillory, a bawd in the cart's nose, and a pander in the tail; *hic mulier, haec vir*, fashions, fictions, felonies, fooleries;—a hundred havens has the balladmonger to traffic at, and new ones still daily discovered."⁴ Indeed, scarce a cat could look out of a gutter but out started "a halfpenny chronicler, and presently a proper new ballet of a strange sight" was indited.⁵

Is there a newspaper in the land that would decline to publish a story on monstrous pigs so unique and so delightful as those decribed by the ballad-mongers?

It hath a head contrary to all other of that kynd; it hath a face without a nose or eyes, sauing a hole standing directly between the two eares, which eares be broad and long, lyke the eares of a bloudehound, and a monstrous body, like vnto a thing that were flean, without heare. It hath feet very monstrous with the endes of them turning vpwards, lyke vnto forked endes.⁶

In 1562-63 monstrous pigs, calves, and children were making Englishmen tremble for their sins,—at least if they believed in the fearful warnings deduced by the

³ Licensed by John Tysdale in 1562-63 (Arber's *Transcript*, I, p. 214). Compare Nicholas Breton's remark in his *Figure of Four*, 1597 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, II, f., p. 5): "There be four especial poor scholars in the world: Pettifoggers, Quacksalvers, Ballad-makers, and A. B. C. Schoolmasters."

⁴ Middleton's *World Tost at Tennis*, 1620 (*Works*, ed. Bullen, VII, p. 154).

⁵ Quoted from *Martin Mar-Sixtus*, in Chappell's *Popular Music*, I, p. 106. A similar remark is made in *Lingua*, 1607, sign. D 4.

⁶ *A Collection of 79 Ballads*, p. 112.

ballad-mongers. But Stowe, Holinshed, and other historians also devoted considerable space to descriptions of these monstrosities, Bishop Jewell alluded to them in his private correspondence,⁷ and the most remarkable specimens were brought to the court to be admired by the queen and her lords and ladies.⁸ Whether they were there looked upon as warnings from heaven or as an unusual form of amusement, the record telleth not; but it is unjust to blame balladists for writing on a subject that interested rich and poor, high and low, alike. Besides, as a matter of fact they customarily described the pig, calf, or child in prose, with much the same detail as would a reporter today, and then added several stanzas of verse pointing out the lesson to be extorted from the freak of nature presented. They were not trying to write poetry, or even ballads; they were writing news-stories and editorials. Should not the ballad-monger be congratulated on his enterprise?

It is, of course, possible that American dailies would not publish "A Wonderful and Strange News which happened in the Counties of Suffolk and Essex the first of February [1583], being Friday, where it rained Wheat the space of six or seven Miles compass,"⁹ or an account of a "Maid now dwelling at the Town of Meurs in Dutchland, that hath not taken any Food this sixteen Years, and

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 304; Henry Machyn's *Diary*, Camden Society, 1848, pp. 389-390.

⁸ "The iiij day of June [1562] ther was a chyld browth to the cowrte in a boxe, of a strange fegur, with a longe stryng commyng from the navyll,—browth from Chechester" (Machyn's *Diary*, p. 284). For other monstrosities brought to London in 1562, see *ibid.*, pp. 280, 281, 389-390; for a particularly "monstrous" child born in Oxfordshire in 1552, and for some "grett fysses" taken that year, see p. 23.

⁹ Arber's *Transcript*, II, p. 420. This is not called a ballad in the entry, and it may have been a prose pamphlet; but in the present connection the point is not material.

is not yet neither Hungry nor Thirsty.”¹⁰ But murders, hangings, thefts, matrimonial troubles, all these and more called forth lamentable ditties or woeful songs which, except that the ballads show a more well-bred vagueness of detail, can be duplicated in any newspaper. There is some advantage in getting one's news in rime and to a merry new tune, although the ballads are often marred by an intolerable smugness. Says Mr. George Mannington shortly before he “suffered,”

I wail in woe, I plunge in pain,
With sorrowing soba, I do complain,
With wallowing waves I wish to die,
I languish sore whereas I lie,
In fear I faint, in hope I hold,
With ruth I run, I was too bold,
As luckless lot assigned me
In dangerous dale of destiny;

and he goes wailing on through seventy-two more verses without telling the nature of his offense!¹¹ Thanks to Ben Jonson, however, we know that among other crimes George cut off the horse's head “at a blow.”¹²

With no fixed rules for writing news-stories, naturally the balladists in their narratives fell below the standard of our reporters. Instead of telling the main facts in the first paragraph and devoting the rest of the space to a threefold elaboration of them, the ballad-monger always wrote a curiously attenuated story with no climax, and always tacked on superfluous verses of conventional and jejune moralizing. Furthermore, he was always imploring his readers to believe his story, always insisting on its

¹⁰ *Shirburn Ballads*, p. 55; Rollins's *Notes on the Shirburn Ballads*, 1917, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxx, pp. 370-377.

¹¹ The ballad is preserved in *A Handfull of Pleasant Delights*, 1584, sign. G.

¹² *Eastward Ho*, v, v, 110.

truth, instead of making belief inevitable by a careful choice of details and by vivid, realistic narration.

Printers and writers early perceived the psychological and commercial value of headlines. Ballads published about 1550, and even later, had such brief and uncommunicative titles as "A New Ballad";¹³ but competition in the trade, a gradual perception of the value of attracting instantaneous attention, and the success of the singers in advertising and selling ballads led to an expansion of titles, until, especially after 1640, they became enormously long and satisfactorily told everything that the ballad itself contained. In this respect they are worthy of an emulation which some modern journalists have not seen fit to give; for the ballad-writer always lived up to the promise of his title, and fully described everything which it mentioned.

The aims and methods of the balladists were painfully modern, anticipating those of our reporters. John Wolfe, for example, registered "A Joyfull Ballad of the Royal Entrance of Queen Elizabeth into her City of London the — Day of November, 1588,"¹⁴ before her entry took place! On March 28, 1604, Thomas Pavier secured a license for his "New Song of the Triumphs of the Tilt before the King, the 29th of March, 1604, to the Tune of *Braggendarty*."¹⁵ Balladists fully understood the value of quick action, of dispensing news while it was news. If an earthquake frightened London on one day, the next morning saw the publication of at least one ballad mournfully describing that calamity and exhorting England to repent before another quake arrived,—the typical combi-

¹³ *A Collection of 79 Ballads*, p. 30.

¹⁴ *Arber's Transcript*, II, p. 506.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, p. 257.

nation of news and sermonizing editorial,¹⁶—and every day following brought similar warnings with lurid variations.¹⁷ Printers, too, commissioned ballad-writers to “cover” entertainments and public meetings of importance, as when in 1582 Edward White sent William Elderton to write up the archery contest that two earls were holding at York. Elderton wrote a well-narrated story, and apparently before leaving York despatched it to London.¹⁸

England has never taken kindly to interviewers; but Elizabethan ballad-mongers and their successors had the interviewing mania, and, if denied the privilege of a personal conference, did not scruple to draw upon their imaginations. It is amusing to find William Kemp, the low comedian famed for his acting in the rôle of Dogberry, denying (as in modern parlance we should call it) the authenticity of an interview. After he had performed his celebrated morris dance from London to Norwich, he found that “filthy ballet-makers” had filled the country “with lies of his never done acts.” One of them had written “*Kemp’s farewell* to the tune of Kerry, merry, buff”; another, “His Desperate Dangers”; a third, “His Entertainment to Newmarket,” “which town,” he declared, “I came never near by the length of half the heath.” When, therefore, Kemp informed the world that he was about to set out again, but whither he himself knew not, he took care to warn the ballad-mongers tartly, “I

¹⁶ Somewhat like editorials also are the “Looking-glass” ballads, as “A Looking Glass for Cornhoarders by the example of John Russell, a farmer dwelling at St. Peter’s Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, whose horses sunk into the ground the 4 of March, 1631” (Pepys Collection, I, p. 148).

¹⁷ Arber’s *Transcript*, II, pp. 367 ff. (April, 1580).

¹⁸ *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, pp. 1 ff.

would wish ye, imploy not your little wits in certifying the world that I am gone to Rome, Jerusalem, Venice, or any other place at your idle appoint."¹⁹

Curiously like the modern reader's horror at the monstrous pig is John Davies's slur at the balladists and pamphleteers:

And if a brick-bat from a chimney falls
When puffing Boreas ne'er so little brawls:
Or else a knave be hanged by justice' doom
For cutting of a purse in selfsame room;
Or wanton rig, or lecher dissolute
Do stand at Paul's Cross in a sheeten suit;
All these, and thousands such like toys as these,
They clap in chronicles.²⁰

But such things make up our own papers: we wish to know about them, and so did our forefathers. It is nonsense, however, to suppose that news-ballads were always inaccurate and sensational.²¹ Although invariably ridiculed for their obvious absurdities of style and oftentimes for their startling subjects, they nevertheless usually dealt with actual events in an accurate fashion, and no doubt performed their purpose as well for the man of the streets as modern newspapers do for the man of education. As a general thing, they were far more trustworthy and far less absurd than the pamphlets exclusively devoted to news that sprang up in the last years of James I.

¹⁹ See his *Nine Days' Wonder*, 1600 (ed. A. Dyce, Camden Society, 1840), *passim*.

²⁰ *Paper's Complaint*, 1611, *Works*, ed. Grosart (Chertsey Worthies Library, 1878), II, k, p. 77.

²¹ "The details of ballad-mongers can seldom boast much historical value. The object of the tribe is to place events before their audience in the most picturesque way possible. To this object details must courtsey" (*Percy Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, I, p. 127).

We cannot have a cause of any fame,
But you must have scurvy pamphlets and lewd ballads
Engendered of it presently,

complained the poets.²²

Practically every ballad on current happenings finds its counterpart in the sedate chronicles of Stowe or Holinshed or Sir Richard Baker. One is tempted to believe that Stowe made use of ballads in compiling his *Annals*, for how else he could have kept in mind the legion of insignificant facts there chronicled is hardly conceivable. The balladists are, indeed, almost invariably more conservative than he. Timothy Granger, for instance, printed a broadside (in prose, as it happens) on "Seventeen Monstrous Fishes, taken in Suffolk";²³ Holinshed corroborates the number, but Stowe describes eighteen.²⁴ And what balladist has told a story that will compare with Stowe's account of a fish caught at Ramsgate in 1574, one of whose eyes, "being taken out of his head, was more than six horses in a cart could draw; a man stood upright in the place from whence the eye was taken."²⁵ No sensationalism in Stowe! The value of ballads for the study of history is really so great that from extant printed copies, supplemented by entries in the Stationers' Registers of non-extant ballads and by manuscript collections, one could compile a history of Tudor and Stuart England

²² Webster's *Devil's Law-Case*, iv, ii.

²³ Reprinted in Collmann's *Ballads and Broad-sides*, no. 52.

²⁴ *Annals*, sub anno 1568.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, sub anno 1574. Evidently Stowe stopped at nothing in the shape of a fish story; for, under years 1187 and 1322, he tells fables of fishes shaped like men and women who were taken to church and were even "taught to spin very orderly," but who "spied" their time and, when "not well looked to," stole back to the sea and more congenial employments.

that would be of extreme importance and of surpassing interest.

There is danger, however, of over-stressing, as almost every writer has done, the purely news-ballads. Many other kinds were written. If one cared for so-called comic pictures of the "Mutt and Jeff" order, where could one find more real satisfaction than in the ballad woodcuts? Those that adorn Henry Gosson's "Fill Gut and Pinch Belly" (1620)²⁶—pictures of two strange animals, "one being fat with eating good men, the other lean for want of good women"—cannot be surpassed by the funny pictures in any Sunday supplement!²⁷ Literary criticism, too, was offered freely and abundantly in ballad form. Whether we can follow "R. B." intelligently through all the lines of his "To Such as Write in Metres,"²⁸ we are nevertheless edified, like the Elizabethan reader, to see broadsides that he describes as

Your balades of loue, not worth a beane,
A number there be, although not all;
Some be pithie, some weake, some leane,
Some doe runne as round as a ball,

weighed in the balance with Horace and Lucilius, and to hear his final injunction to ballad-mongers to

folow Chawcer, a man very rare,
Lidgate, Wager, Barclay, and Bale.

Lyrics diversified the ballad-output somewhat more frequently than they appear in our modern newspapers,

²⁶ Reproduced in Lemon's *Catalogue*, p. 53.

²⁷ They seem to be our old friends Chichevache and Bycorne; but compare William Butler's entry of "A Picture of the Fat Monster and the Lean, the one called Bulchim and the other Thingul, graven by Reynold Elstrak," July 10, 1620 (Arber's *Transcript*, III, p. 676).

²⁸ *A Collection of 79 Ballads*, p. 205.

and many of them had real merit. Every ballad-monger could cry love's "idle foppish humour" ²⁹ almost as well, often quite as well, as did the noble authors of *Tottel's Miscellany*. Elderton's "Pangs of Love" and his "Gods of Love" were memorized and sung by Shakespeare (or at least by Mercutio and Benedick), as well as by Jonson, Marston, and Heywood, and are quoted in many plays and pamphlets. "Mary Ambree," probably Elderton's work, has remained a favorite from his day to George Meredith's. In "The Armenian Lady's Love" Wordsworth openly imitated one of Deloney's ballads, others of which are still in circulation. "Love will Find out the Way," a ballad sometimes (but perhaps mistakenly) attributed to Martin Parker, ornaments Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, where, under the title of "The Great Adventurer," it appears to such advantage in the company of lyrics by Milton, Jonson, and Herrick that scarcely a reader has a suspicion of its bourgeois origin; and Parker's "Sailors for my Money" is sung every day, in a slightly modernized form, as "Ye Mariners of England." All these men could write a good-night, describe a monstrous pig or fish, and turn out pleasant lyrical or romantic-narrative ballads with equal ease. Their point of view was commercial; they instructed, informed, amused, or edified people with various kinds of ballads, but they wrote always to suit public taste and to make money. It is worthy of note, however, that professional ballad-mongers either edited or contributed ballads to *A Handfull of Pleasant Delights*, *A Paradise of Dainty Devices*, *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, *Tottel's Miscellany*, and other volumes of "songs and sonnets." Rivalling these books in popularity

²⁹ Marston, *What You Will*, 1607, I, i, 66 f.

were the "Garlands" published by Thomas Deloney, Richard Johnson, and Martin Parker.⁸⁰

Just as we seldom take seriously the poems that appear in the pages of newspapers, but usually pass them by unread, so, but with less reason, many critics devoutly believe that individual broadside ballads are indecent, puerile, or ridiculous, while collections of broadsides, if made during Elizabeth's reign, become "poetical miscellanies" worthy of serious study and high praise. An editor of the *Handfull of Pleasant Delights* describes that volume as "one of the most prized of the poetical book gems of the Elizabethan period,"⁸¹ and another deems it "a work of considerable merit, containing some notable songs."⁸² Apply the same yard-stick to Collier's *Old Ballads*, and this collection, too, will be found to have poetical gems. As a matter of fact, the *Handfull* is composed of nothing whatever but broadside ballads, which had previously circulated in the streets,⁸³ and so is Collier's *Old Ballads*. Almost the only difference between the two is that the *Handfull* was brought together in 1566 by a ballad-monger (who, it is said, did not scorn to write rimed accounts of a monstrous fish⁸⁴), while the *Old Ballads* was compiled some three hundred years later by an English scholar. One who knows the subject will readily admit

⁸⁰ But Parker's *Garland of Withered Roses*, registered on July 2, 1632, and November 9, 1633 (Arber's *Transcript*, iv, pp. 280, 308), is lost.

⁸¹ Spenser Society's ed., p. v.

⁸² Charles Crawford, editing *England's Parnassus* (Oxford, 1913), p. xix.

⁸³ See Rollins's paper on "The Date, Authors, and Contents of A *Handfull of Pleasant Delights*," in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, January, 1919.

⁸⁴ W. C. Hazlitt, *Handbook to Early English Literature*, 1867 (s. v. "Clement Robinson"), p. 515.

that poems equal to almost any of those printed in the English miscellanies, from *Tottel's* to the 1584 edition of the *Handfull*, can be found in the "Garlands" of Deloney and Johnson and the ballads of Martin Parker.⁸⁵

"Pitiless publicity" and "yellow journalism" are modern phrases, but the state of mind and the activities which they connote were well known to the early ballad-mongers. Then, as now, many persons thought that appearance in the newspapers was the acme of bliss, while others, shuddering at the very idea, deemed such publicity the nadir of ignominy. Sir John Falstaff, determined to secure commendation for his capture of Sir John Coleville of the Dale, a most furious knight and valorous enemy, threatens Prince John, "Let it be booked with the rest of this day's deeds; or, by the Lord, I will have it in a particular ballad else, with mine own picture on the top on't, Coleville kissing my foot."⁸⁶ Elizabethan journalism could go no farther. Sometimes an eager person would flirt with the reporter, assuming an air of indifference, yet wildly hopeful that the interview-ballad would duly

⁸⁵ Many poems from *Tottel's* (e. g., Arber's ed., pp. 16, 137, 138, 205, 220) were printed as ballads: "In Winter's Just Return," "If Care do Cause Men Cry," "Who Loveth to Live in Peace," "Philida was a Fair Maiden," "The Phantasies of a Troubled Man's Head" (Arber's *Transcript*, I, pp. 76, 263, 271, 313). It has not been previously observed, I believe, that an epitaph on William Gray, himself a balladist, which Furnivall dated about 1551 and printed for the Ballad Society in his *Ballads from MSS.*, I, p. 435, is included in *Tottel's* (p. 211). Two ballads by John Thorne (preserved also in Brit. Mus. MS. 15,233, ed. Old Shakespeare Society, XXXVII, pp. 102, 110) are printed in the *Paradise*. For ballads in the *Gorgeous Gallery*, see Collier's reprint, pp. 36, 49, 105. "Crabbed Age and Youth cannot Live Together" appeared in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, which was published by William Jaggard in 1599 as the work of Shakespeare and is still included in Shakespeare's works, though it may have been written by Thomas Deloney.

⁸⁶ *2 Henry IV*, IV, iii, 50 ff.

appear. Such a coquette, one presumes, was Anne Jeffreys, who in 1696 was fed for six months by the fairies, but who at first coyly refused to tell of her adventures because, if she should discover them to you, "you would make either books or ballads" of them, and she would not have her name "spread about the country in books or ballads" if she might have five hundred pounds for it.⁸⁷ In this case, as it happened, a book was made instead of a ballad, and it is a safe guess that Anne was pleased because the book gave her more space. Other persons frankly desired publicity. Executed criminals, Adorni observes,

are sure
Ere they be scarce cold, to be chronicled
In excellent new ballads, which being sung
In the streets 'mong boys and girls, colliers and carmen,
Are bought as great memorials of their fames,
Which to perpetuate, they are commonly stuck up
With as great triumph in the tippling-houses,
As they were 'scutcheons.

Ravished at the mere thought of this vicarious immortality, his companion cries out,

I'd give
A hundred ducats to be chronicled
In such a historical canto.⁸⁸

But persons of rank or cultivation thought that to be made the subject of ballads sung up and down the streets was one's final and deepest disgrace. Falstaff at Gadshill can think of nothing worse to say to Prince Hal than, "If I be ta'en, I'll peach for this. An I have not ballads made on you all and sung to filthy tunes, let a cup of sack

⁸⁷ Moses Pitt, *An Account of Anne Jefferies*, London, 1696; reprinted in *Phoenix Britannicus*, I, pp. 545 ff.

⁸⁸ Henry Glapthorne, *The Ladies' Privilege*, 1640 (*Plays*, ed. Pearson, II, pp. 128 f.).

be my poison." ³⁹ "O to think," cries the Insatiate Countess, "whilst we are singing the last hymn, and ready to be turned off, some new tune is inventing by some metre-monger, to a scurvy ballad of our death!" ⁴⁰ More than one person could say, "I'm sorry for one thing . . . that I made not mine own ballad: I do fear I shall be roguishly abused in metre." ⁴¹ "Scald rhymers," Cleopatra tells her maid, will "ballad us out o' tune"; and, unaware that the ballads could not be written for a thousand years, she eagerly submits her breast to the aspic's tooth. Elizabethan and Stuart drama is crammed with such passages. Let Chamont, in a filthy play, threaten,

I will have thee
Pictured as thou art now, and thy whole story
Sung to some villainous tune in a lewd ballad;
And make thee so notorious to the world,
That boys in the streets shall hoot at thee,

and, to escape this horrible fate, his victim in a palsy of apprehension will grant anything, even to the half of his possessions.⁴² Afraid of being balladed, Monsieur Brisac

³⁹ *I Henry IV*, II, ii, 47 ff.

⁴⁰ Marston, *The Insatiate Countess*, 1613, v, ii, 60 ff. Even the Latin university play of *Hispanus* (1595) refers to the custom: "Dum ex ædibus exeat tibicinem iterum incipe vel hominem in desperatione vel Doctorem Faustum vel Doctorem Lopezium, vel Labandalashottum" (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXIV, p. 300). For one of these well-known "hanging tunes," see Chappell's *Popular Music*, I, p. 163; for another, cf. no. 29 in Rollins's paper on *A Handfull of Pleasant Delights*, in *Journal of English and German Philology*, 1919, p. 15. Sometimes ballads and libels were scratched upon the tombs of dead enemies: cf. Thomas Nabbes, *The Bride*, 1640 (*Works*, ed. Bullen, II, p. 9); *Much Ado*, v, i, 291 ff.; and Thomas Killigrew's *Parson's Wedding*, 1663 (Dodsley-Hazlitt's *Old Plays*, XIV, p. 442: "Now they wear out their youth and beauty, without hope of a monumental ballad, or trophy of a libel that shall hereafter point at such a lord, and cry, that is the royal son of such a one!").

⁴¹ Webster, *The Devil's Law-Case*, v, iv.

⁴² Massinger's *Parliament of Love*, 1660, IV, v.

returns to Andrew the farm he has wrongfully seized, and even adds "an hundred acres more, adjoining to it."⁴³ With less success Ursula reminds Nan, the faithless fiancée of young Bateman, "'Twould grieve thee to have ballads made on thee, to the tune of the Inconstant Lover, and have thy perjuries pinned on every post."⁴⁴ Life is thorny and youth is vain; but it is only reasonable to suppose that, had Nan foreseen that she would be the subject not only of a ballad but of a play too, she would not so lightly have disregarded Ursula's warning.⁴⁵

Nor were such threats purely imaginary. All criminals and all state prisoners were, of course, balladed from morning to night; but nobody was safe. A distinguished person sometimes hardly dared to go out in the streets for fear of being stared at and pointed out as the subject of a sensational news-ballad.⁴⁶ Dr. Corbet, dean of Christchurch, having once preached before James I at Woodstock and bored that devout monarch almost to distraction, then planned to amuse his majesty and regain his favor by offering him a sugar-coated pill in the form of a comedy on the "Marriage of the Arts." But, although the king condescended to sit through the three-hour performance, his disgust and boredom were so apparent to the entire audience that the unlucky Corbet found himself flouted with ballads sung through the streets by boys and young children.⁴⁷ In the same way, when, some two hundred years later, Countess Fanny eloped with the Bold Buccaneer, the escapade gave rise to "songs and ballads

* Fletcher's *Elder Brother*, 1637, iv, iv.

* Sampson, *The Vow-Breaker*, 1636, i, iv.

* For the ballad, see *Rowburghe Ballads*, III, p. 194.

* Libels should be distinguished from these ballads: they were not confused by contemporaries.

* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1619-23, x, p. 346 (no. 101).

out of number"; and later, after her daughter had made her amazing marriage, the new countess was celebrated by Dr. Glossop and his comrades in Seven Dials in innumerable ballads, in one of which "the connubially inclined young earl and the nation in turn beseech the countess to resume her place at Esslemont, and so save both from a terrific dragon's jaw, scarlet as the infernal flames"! ⁴⁸

In 1703 Andrew Fletcher observed that "the poorer sort of both sexes" were "daily tempted to all manner of lewdness by infamous ballads sung in every corner of the streets"; but he was just enough to add—what most critics of the broadside ballad forget—that "in this city the dramatic poet no less than the ballad-maker has been almost wholly employed to corrupt the people, in which they have had most unspeakable and deplorable success." "I knew a very wise man," said he, "that . . . believed if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." ⁴⁹ A similar sentiment had before this been expressed by John Selden,⁵⁰ and English history affords many instances of its truth. Thus, Martin Parker's "When the King Enjoys his Own Again," called by Ritson the most famous and popular song ever written in England, is said not only to have hastened the Restoration but on several occasions to have come near restoring the crown to the Pretenders. When James II, then Duke of York, went to Scotland, where he was not popular, he was accompanied by a ballad-writer whom he had hired to sound his praises, and the

* George Meredith, *The Amazing Marriage*, chs. i, xlv.

* *Account of a Conversation*, etc., 1704 (*Political Works*, Glasgow, 1749, p. 266).

* "More solid Things do not shew the Complexion of the times so well, as Ballads and Libels" (*Table Talk*, 1689, ed. S. W. Singer, 1847, p. 114).

ballad of "Lilliburlero" was partly responsible for his downfall. It had, said Bishop Percy, "a more powerful effect than either the Philippics of Demosthenes, or Cicero."⁵¹ Small wonder that people dreaded being "balleted!"

III

The officers of the Stationers' Company had general supervision over the publication of ballads, which were all required by law to be licensed at Stationers' Hall. For the license a fee of fourpence was charged until March, 1588,¹ when it was changed to sixpence, the regular fee for a book. The justice of the increased charge could hardly have been disputed; for not only were far more ballads than books sold, but it was much more difficult to keep track of their ownership. They seem usually to have been licensed while still in manuscript, and the warden sometimes wrote his permission for the printing on the "backside of the written copy."² In spite of the laws requiring all publications to be licensed, however, perhaps half of the ballads that have been preserved were not registered in the Company's books. Not that the absence of registration is in itself proof of surreptitious printing, for sometimes licensed ballads were not entered in the registers³; but as a matter of fact many unlicensed ballads were printed.

⁵¹ *Reliques*, ed. Wheatley, II, p. 358.

¹ Occasionally a higher fee seems to have been required, as when in 1565-66 (Arber's *Transcript*, I, p. 304) Richard Scerle had to pay eightpence for his ballad called "A Communication between a young man and a maid who greatly lamenteth the Loss of her Lover"; but this may have been a pamphlet.

² Arber's *Transcript*, II, p. 440 (*anno* 1585).

³ Sometimes the entry was made after the ballad had been printed: cf. Lambert's eleven ballads entered on December 11, 1639 (Arber's *Transcript*, IV, p. 493).

Registration was designed to protect the publisher,—the author himself had no claim to the ballad and no share in its profits,—and for almost one hundred and fifty years included, besides the title of the work itself and a statement of the fee charged,⁴ only the name of the publisher and that of the warden under whose hand the license was granted. The official licenser appointed by the government was not regularly named in the entry⁵; more rarely still the author and the tune of the ballad are indicated.⁶ In 1663 Sir Roger L'Estrange was appointed sole licenser of ballads, a position which he held until 1685. He charged a shilling per sheet for licenses.⁷ L'Estrange was succeeded by Richard Pocock, 1685-88, J. Fraser, 1689-91, and then by Edmund Bohun, upon whose retirement in 1694 the system was dropped. Meanwhile, according to a law passed December 6, 1682, to go into effect on February 27 following, the clerk of the Stationers' Company was required to have the entry signed in the register by the licensers in the presence of witnesses⁸; but this practice was discontinued after March 31, 1687.⁹

After Mary had granted the charter to the Stationers' Company, persons were appointed, at the direction of the

⁴ A ballad was licensed sometimes under its full title, sometimes under an abbreviated one. Up to 1640, however, it was perhaps more common to register it by all or a part of its first line.

⁵ The name of the licenser, usually the bishop of London, occurs with some frequency after 1569: cf. Arber, II, pp. 352-5, 364-5, 368-70, 391-2, 470-71, etc.

⁶ Elderton is mentioned as the author of eight or nine ballads; Deloney is only once named in the registers; Parker's name appears comparatively seldom with the entries of his ballads, though often with the records of his "books." For mention of a tune, see Arber, III, p. 567 (and see the ballad itself in the *Shirburn Ballads*, p. 64).

⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1661-62, II, p. 44 (no. 94).

⁸ Eyre's *Transcript*, III, p. 129.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

High Commissioners, with power to find out just what every London printer had published and how many copies of each work, to report how many presses he kept, and in general to enforce the laws against unlicensed printing. Judging from the annual list of fines, the searchers seem to have performed their duties with energy and dispatch. When, as often happened, they were set upon a specific trail by orders from the Privy Council, which had been offended by the publication of some obnoxious ballad, the Company was obliged to pay the expenses incurred by the spy during his search.¹⁰ All subsequent legislation, like the two severe Star Chamber decrees of 1586 and 1637, provided for more effective inspection; and under the Protectorate searchers and spies were so numerous that for a time the production of ballads almost ceased. But unlicensed publication still went on.

The temptation to print without license must have been strong, for the fine inflicted upon detection was usually not severe, while there was always a chance of evading the law. The fines varied considerably, according to the nature of the offense. In the same year, for example, Owen Rogers was fined two shillings for printing a ballad on Lord Wentworth (who had created a furore in England by his surrender of Calais), but only twenty pence for printing "half a ream" of ballads owned by another stationer,¹¹—a mere violation of the law in the latter case, whereas in the former Rogers had been guilty of issuing a political ballad displeasing to the queen and her advisers! Sometimes searchers would force offending printers to

¹⁰ In 1591 the Company paid tweldepence for a link and a boat-trip found necessary by a searcher whom the lord treasurer had sent out to investigate the source of certain ballads (Arber's *Transcript*, I, p. 555).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

license ballads that had already been published secretly. Richard Jones was thus charged two shillings sixpence for his appropriately named "Doleful Song," and on another occasion he was fined three shillings fourpence, sixpence of which was given to the beadle who had discovered his guilt.¹²

Infringing on another printer's copyright often entailed severe fines, although the amounts varied considerably. In 1564-65 Alexander Lacy was fined twelvepence "for that he printed ballads which was other men's copies";¹³ but in 1597 Thomas Millington, for having printed a ballad owned by Thomas Crede, was fined two shillings sixpence and forced to pay Crede three shillings fourpence "for amends for the said wrong."¹⁴ Still more grievous was the case of Valentine Sims, who in 1603 was fined thirteen shillings fourpence for printing a ballad owned by Mrs. Alde.¹⁵ Printers did not always steal ballads outright: a more insidious practice was to borrow two or three stanzas from a popular ballad and insert them in a new one. When Henry Carr thus appropriated three "staves" from a ballad owned by Edward White, he was fined twelvepence.¹⁶

If, as often happened, the clerk was undecided whether or not a certain ballad should be licensed, he usually ended by registering it with the proviso that it should remain unprinted until considered by other members of the Company or by the licensers appointed by law. From the large number of entries opposite which were later inserted the words "Not printed" or "Never printed,"¹⁷ it appears

¹² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 334, 840.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 826.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 274.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 836.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 848.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 317, 318, 327, 328, 401, etc.

that during Elizabeth's reign the entry of a book or a ballad without these qualifying words may usually be taken as proof that the book or the ballad was printed. The frequent occurrence of the words also shows that a comparatively rigid censorship was maintained. The uncertainty which the clerk experienced led to the use of the word "tolerated," which for a time after 1580 caused the substitution in many cases of the phrase "tolerated unto him," or "tolerated for his copy," instead of "entered for his copy."¹⁸

The clerk and the wardens made an effort to censor all ballads and to exclude those that were ribald and indecent, but the results of their censorship (they found many ballads "intolerable") were curious. The annual list of fines always records a number inflicted on the publishers of indecent ballads. For example, on August 30, 1578, one stationer was fined for printing "The Jocund Joy of the Meeting of two Lovers, without license and it being an indecent ballad";¹⁹ and Thomas Gosson's "Ballad of a Young Man that went a-Wooing" was licensed only with the proviso "that before the publishing hereof the indecentness be reformed." Presumably Gosson wanted the ballad indecent and intact or not at all, for the entry was soon "cancelled out of the book, for the indecentness of it in divers verses."²⁰ Abell Jeffs brought disaster upon himself by printing ballads and books that were alleged to be indecent; for the Stationers' Company, finding that he had "disorderly" (that is, surreptitiously) printed a lewd

¹⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 370, 371, 377, 378, 384, 385, 455, etc. Cf. the entry of a fine paid on June 15, 1579 (*ibid.*, p. 849): "*Ric Jones* Receaued of him for printinge a ballad without Lycence the ballad not toller-able iij^s iiij^d."

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 576.

book and "divers other lewd ballads and things very offensive," ordered on December 3, 1595, that his press and types, which had previously been seized, should "be defaced and made unserviceable for printing."²¹ In 1600 Edward Alde and William White were fined five shillings apiece for publishing a "disorderly ballad of the Wife of Bath," the copies were ordered to be confiscated and burned, and Edward White, "for his offense and disorder" in selling the ballad, was fined ten shillings. All three men were threatened with imprisonment.²²

Such entries as these, combined with the universal contemporary condemnation of "filthy ballets," are perhaps enough to mislead modern readers. If not, there is the testimony of John Hall, author of a sort of "puritanical parody" called *The Court of Virtue* (1565), who remarked of the notorious *Court of Venus* (a collection of "many proper ballads" published in 1558), "No filthy mind a song can crave, but therein he may find the same;"²³ and there is Henry Chettle, who in a prefatory letter to Munday's *Gerileon of England* (1592) announced severely, "I should hardly be persuaded, that any professor of so excellent a science [as printing] would be so impudent to print such ribaldry as *Watkins' Ale*, the *Carmen's Whistle*, and sundry such other."²⁴ In his *Kind Heart's Dream* (1593) Chettle specifies "Watkins Ale," "The Carman's Whistle," "Chopping-Knives," and "Friar Foxtail" as lascivious and lewd songs.²⁵

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 825.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 831.

²³ Collier's *Extracts from the Registers*, I, pp. 13, 103, and cf. p. 165.

²⁴ The letter is signed T[homas] N[ashe]; but in his note "To the Gentlemen Readers" prefixed to his *Kind Heart's Dream* Chettle admits that he was the real author.

²⁵ Ingleby's edition, in *Shakspeare Allusion-Books* (New Shakspeare

Even the ballad-mongers themselves helped to emphasize the indecency of ballads. Thomas Brice in 1562 wrote a poetical broadside "Against Filthy Writing and such like Delighting,"²⁶ which has been cited not only as proof of the actual filthiness of the ballad, but also as evidence that contemporary critics detested the broadside.²⁷ Yet Brice was attacking balladists only because they glorified Venus over God, a fault unpardonable by this Puritan minister, but one of which many real poets seem to be guilty. Thinking only of prospective customers, ballad-mongers did not hesitate to write "Godly Admonitions for Men of each Degree to Use, whereby we are admonished then Vain Ballads to Refuse."²⁸ When one writer produced a ballad "Reproving all Ribald Songs," another quickly followed it with one entitled "All Ribald and Vain Songs whereof much Hurt to you daily doth come."²⁹ Every printer also took pains to publish ballads of irreproachable piety, a circumstance that accounts for such titles as "Lo, here I lie Sinner, with a Prayer to the same," "An Exhort and eke I pray that God His Spirit will send," "A Godly Ballad declaring by the Scriptures the Plagues that have insued Whoredom."³⁰

Moralizations abounded, parodies that followed the

Society, 1874), I, p. 48. "The Carman's Whistle" may be read in the *Rowburghe Ballads*, VII, p. xiv, and in Ouvry's Collection, I, p. 59. Shallow, it will be remembered, "came ever in the rearward of the fashion, and sung those tunes to the over-scutched huswives that he heard the carmen whistle, and sware they were his fancies or his good-nights" (2 *Henry IV*, III, ii, 339 ff.). In *Twelfth Night* Sir Toby quotes "Peg a-Ramsey," a most indecent ballad that can be seen in *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1712, III, p. 219.

²⁶ Collier's *Old Ballads* (Percy Society, vol. I), p. 49.

²⁷ Gummere, *Old English Ballads*, p. xxiv, n. 5.

²⁸ Arber's *Transcript*, I, p. 330.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 233, 237.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 261, 327; *A Collection of 79 Ballads*, pp. 101, 166.

original ballad closely in diction and exactly in metre and stanza-form, but gave to the subject-matter a pious and religious twang. As early as 1525 John Skot had printed "The New Nut-Brown Maid upon the Passion of Christ,"³¹ and with the publication in 1561-62 of "The Country hath no Peer, newly Moralized,"³² the practice of moralizing sprang into instant and lasting popularity. On a large scale it is best seen in the Scottish *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* of 1567,³³ but every ballad-monger tried his hand at it. "Row Well, ye Mariners" was published in 1565-66 by William Peking, who in 1567 issued "Row Well, ye Mariners Moralized"; this Alexander Lacy followed in a few months with one moralization and in the next year with another, "Row Well, God's Mariners"; while at the same time John Alde published a moralization of the original ballad and, a few days later, "Row Well, ye Christ's Mariners." John Awdeley's concluding ballad of the series, "Row Well, ye Mariners, for those that Look Big," 1569-70, was evidently satirical rather than moral.³⁴ In 1596 Thomas Nashe characterized the *Divine Century of Spiritual Sonnets*, by Barnabe Barnes (who in the opinion of Sir Sidney Lee was Shakespeare's rival poet), as "such another device . . . as the

³¹ Reprinted by Rimbault for the Percy Society (*Publications*, vol. VI).

³² Arber's *Transcript*, I, p. 181.

³³ Not all of the original ballads here moralized have been identified by the editors. For example, Elderton's "Pangs of Love" is the original of two of the ballads (see A. F. Mitchell's ed., 1897, pp. 209 ff., 213 ff.); and "The Paip, that Pagane full of pryde" (pp. 204 ff.) is a moralization of "The Primrose in the Green Forest," registered in 1563-64 (Arber's *Transcript*, I, p. 237) and preserved in Bodelian MS. Ashmole 48 (ed. Thomas Wright, *Songs and Ballads*, etc., 1860, no. 76).

³⁴ Arber's *Transcript*, I, pp. 305, 340, 360, 362, 401.

godly ballad of *John Careless*, or the song of *Green Sleeves* moralized." ³⁵

Mr. Bryant, after commenting on "the general contempt for ballads," concludes, "We should grant freely that the Elizabethans had good cause for their hostility to current balladry. Enough specimens have survived, and among them . . . Watkins Ale, to show that their censure was not much too strong. We would not allow many of the pieces to be sung on our streets today." ³⁶ Possibly this is true, for our streets are notably dainty; yet in our theatres, which are less squeamish, we should not allow one Elizabethan play out of four to be performed. If one wishes to test the soundness of Mr. Bryant's decision, one may read "Watkins Ale" in *A Collection of 79 Ballads and Broad-sides*. True, the ballad is hardly suited for a Friday afternoon recitation; but it is certainly no coarser than "Crow and Pie," "The Baffled Knight," "Kempy Kay," and "Our Goodman," which are included in Mr. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.³⁷ It may be that this horrible example of the Elizabethan highbrow is the most risqué early ballad extant; ³⁸ but, compared to Middleton's *Chaste Maid* or *The Family of Love* or even to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wild-Goose Chase*, it is harmless. Probably the entries in the Stationers' Registers about indecent ballads may in the main be disregarded; for, since the clerk's stomach was entirely too strong to be turned by actual lewdness, it is likely that in most cases

³⁵ *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, p. 104.

³⁶ *History of English Balladry*, p. 191. Gummere (*Popular Ballad*, pp. 5-6) also describes the broadside ballad as "scurrilous and lewd."

³⁷ Nos. 111, 112, 33, 274.

³⁸ Others of dubious morality will be found in the *Shirburn Ballads*, and in *Loose and Humorous Songs from the Percy Folio MS.*, ed. Furnivall, 1868.

he censored a ballad because it offended some other than the moral sense. Thus, "The Wanton Wife of Bath," which is not so coarse as Chaucer's tale but the publication of which brought severe penalties to its printers and sellers, was suppressed because of its unorthodox and sacrilegious description of heaven! ³⁹

There is, as Scott remarked anent Fletcher's *Custom of the Country* and some of Dryden's work, small profit in comparing filth; but it would be well to remember that evidence of the kind produced by Mr. Gummere and Mr. Bryant could "prove" that all the poems of the Elizabethan period are unfit to read. A writer who is describing *The Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon* (1622) remarks: "And well do they manifest the abundance of idleness that is in them, when at sundry times, playing upon their instruments for their father's recreation, they sing him ribaldrous songs and jigs; as that of *Bonny Nell*, and such other obscene and scurrilous ballads as would make a chaste ear to glow at the hearing of them." This is all very well; but the chaste ear is presently compelled to glow at a poem from a more exalted pen, for "after supper it is usual for him to read a little of *Venus and Adonis*, the *Jests of George Peele*, or some such scurrilous

³⁹ On June 21, 1632, Henry Goskin was summoned before the Court of High Commission for printing a ballad "wherein the histories of the Bible are scurrilously abused." Goskin pleaded that the ballad was written and printed before he was born, that he had merely reprinted it, and that it had been duly licensed. But Laud contemptuously dismissed his defense. "There was a parish clerk chosen to view all the ballads before they were printed," he remarked, "but he refuseth to do it; let it be ordered that he shall undertake it by commandment from this Court. This is not worth the sentence of the Court." Thereupon Goskin was sent to Bridewell. See J. S. Burn's *High Commission*, 1865, p. 47; S. R. Gardiner's *Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission*, Camden Society, 1886, p. 314.

book; for there are few idle pamphlets printed in England which he hath not in the house." ⁴⁰ The Elizabethans had no hostility to current balladry; or at least nobody objected to it except the great poets, who ridiculed traditional ballads and broadside ballads alike, and the second-rate writers, who envied the popularity of the ballad-mongers. The common people loved ballads; and the Puritans damned "Adam Bell" and "Robin Hood" along with the "witless devices of *Gargantua*, *Howleglas*, *Æsop*, . . . *Friar Rush*, the *Fools of Gotham*, and . . . our songs and sonnets, our *Palaces of Pleasure*, our unchaste Fables and Tragedies, and such like sorceries." ⁴¹

Coarse, even obscene, ballads sometimes were; but on the whole they were not so indecent as a great part of the Elizabethan and Stuart drama. I hold no brief, however, for the morals of the ballad-mongers or the decency of their verses, and do not attempt to deny that just before and just after the Restoration the ballads were often warm enough to heat the most callous ear! ⁴² But can anything better be said for the morality of the stage or of the times? Mrs. Behn, Shadwell, and Dryden, to name no others, wrote plays quite as gross as any ballad that has survived.

IV

The average printer had a reputation almost as unsavory as that of his ballads. In giving the "character" of a dishonest stationer, about 1625, George Wither was pre-

* *Phoenix Britannicus*, I, pp. 332, 334.

^a See *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XL, p. 229.

^a See, e. g., *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, pp. 537, 564, 604, 648; VI, p. 157; VII, pp. 445, 536; and the *Loose and Humorous Songs from the Percy Folio MS.* Much of the odium attached to the ballads is due to the various editions of *Pills to Purge Melancholy*; but most of the coarse songs in the *Pills* were written by men of prominent literary or social rank, not by ballad-mongers.

sumably describing a person whom he thought typical. "He scarcely reads over one page of a book in seven year, except it be some such history as the *Wise Men of Gotham*." He praises only the books that sell well. "He will fawn upon authors at his first acquaintance, and ring them to his hive, by the promising sounds of some good entertainment; but as soon as they have prepared the honey to his hand, he drives the bees to seek another stall." As long as his work has the appearance of being well done, he cares not how poorly it be printed, for the faults will be charged to the author. "He makes no scruple . . . when the impression of some pamphlet lies upon his hands, to imprint new titles for it, and so take men's moneys twice or thrice, for the same matter under divers names." His religion is as variable as the wind: "to a Papist he rails upon Protestants; to Protestants he speaks ill of Papists; and to a Brownist, he reviles them both." He prefers "profane ballads before hymns praising God."¹

In this last clause Wither's real grievance comes to light, for when he wrote he was having much trouble and expense in a quarrel with the Stationers' Company over the publication of his *Godly Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. From purely commercial reasons the Stationers' preference was justified; for, while profane ballads (in the composition of which "many muses were constantly employed") met with a ready sale, hymns and spiritual songs only filled up the bookstalls, and sometimes at a loss to both printer and bookseller. Poets despised printers for their share in popularizing ballads.

When one press turned out a ballad that met with popu-

¹ *Schollers Purgatory*, ed. Spenser Society, pp. 127 (119)ff. Equally uncomplimentary is Samuel Butler's character of "a stationer" (*Characters*, ed. A. R. Waller, 1908, pp. 261 f.).

lar approval, rival printers, eager to share in the profits, at once imitated, moralized, answered, or attacked it. William Elderton's "Gods of Love," nothing of which has survived to our time but a few lines quoted in *Much Ado About Nothing* and in William Birch's "Complaint of a Sinner, moralized after W. E.," was the subject of innumerable parodies, imitations, and replies. It had been out only a few days when "The Answer to the *Fourth* Ballad made to the Gods of Love" appeared; it was imitated in a poem by George Turberville, and it is quoted in plays and pamphlets out of number. Printers often contented themselves with ordering balladists to write replies, devoid of piety or moralizing, to some ballad issued by a rival. The transaction was swift and business-like. If Griffith's ballad, "An New Instruction to Men of such Wills that are so Ready to Dig up Malvern Hills," was sweeping in the pennies, Lacy would direct one of his men to compose an answer immediately, and Griffith would promptly order and print a reply to Lacy.² Occasionally a wide-awake stationer would print both a ballad and its answer, as when on the same day Hugh Singleton licensed "Though Fondly Men write their Minds, Women be of Gentle Kind" and "I will Say as I do Find, my Wife to me is nothing Kind."³ Nor was it the common people alone who were interested in these quarrels. Richard Jones's ballad of "O Sweet Oliver, Leave me not behind Thee," printed in 1584, was followed two weeks later by Henry Carr's "Answer of O Sweet Oliver"; two years from then Edward White printed "O Sweet Oliver altered to the Scriptures";⁴ shortly afterwards English comedians carried the ballad to Holland, where it was translated

² Arber's *Transcript*, I, pp. 270, 273, 293.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 434, 435, 451.

in a still extant Dutch version;⁵ and a dozen years later Shakespeare immortalized "O Sweet Oliver" by quoting from it in *As You Like It*. Shakespeare also knew, and several times refers to, the Green Sleeves ballads, over which, in 1582, many of the printers and ballad-writers of London were engaged in a spirited contest. In one case the clerk of the Stationers' Company, tired of these never-ending disputes, violated his neutrality by noting that John Charlewood had paid for his license "to printe A ballade intituled *Twinkle Downe Davie* made touchinge the former fryvolous ballade that goeth vnder the same Tytle."⁶ Unfortunately, not all the answers to ballads were so harmless as these; many were dictated not by commercial motives but by jealousy and spite. But of the libellous ballad-flytings participated in by William Gray, Thomas Churchyard, William Elderton, and others, this is not the place to speak.

Often printers made impudent attempts to corner news, to "scoop" their rivals. Master Stirrop registered (August 22, 1597) a pamphlet of 'The Victory against Rynebeck, the 20th of August, 1597,' and stole a march on his competitors by licensing at the same time "any ballad that shall be made thereof."⁷ This scheme John Danter (whose "scare-crow press" Harvey abhorred) followed constantly. Thus, in 1594 he registered simultaneously his copy of the play *Titus Andronicus* and "the ballad thereof,"⁸ and in 1600 his widow sold to William

⁵ See Bolte's *Singspiele der Englischen Komoedianten*, p. 4.

⁶ Arber's *Transcript*, II, p. 427. It is of course probable that the clerk was merely copying the title that he found on the broadside and was not expressing his opinion. Arber's italics, however, would not give that impression.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, p. 89.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 644.

White her rights to Heywood's *Edward IV* and to "the ballad of the same matter that was printed by her husband."⁹ Even *Jack of Newbury*, a novel by the ballad-monger Thomas Deloney, when licensed in 1597 by Thomas Millington, was soon followed by a ballad of the same title from Millington's press.¹⁰

It is probable that ballads were sometimes used to advertise books and pamphlets. To one person who visited the book-stalls there were of course hundreds who heard ballads sung; naturally, then, if a song awakened sufficient curiosity or interest in its hearers, an immediate demand for a book which contained a fuller account would follow. Martin Parker's ballad on a monstrous fish (1635) concludes with the remark, "There is a book to satisfie such as desire a larger description hereof"; but it is hard to see how any person *could* desire more of this! There is reason to believe, too, that his rimed account of "The Two Inseparable Brothers" (1637) was written for an advertising poster at the bidding and in the pay of the manager of the monstrosity.¹¹ Occasionally a ballad preceded and suggested a book. In March, 1615, for example, John Trundle published a ballad "of a murder in Lancashire revealed by a calf," and in the following September decided to give more details about this thrilling subject in a book.¹²

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 173.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 87, and cf. p. 84; for other examples, see pp. 512, 545, 580, 596; IV, p. 467, etc.

¹¹ For these two ballads, see the Old Shakespeare Society's volume for 1846 (XXXI), p. 95, and *Roxburghe Ballads*, VIII, p. 26.

¹² Arber's *Transcript*, III, pp. 564, 572. The book was called "News out of Lancashire, or the Strange and Miraculous Revelation of a Murder by a Ghost, a Calf, a Pigeon, etc.," but was "not to be printed without further lawful authority."

V

As far back as the London trade can be traced, ballads sold regularly for a penny.¹ "For a Penny," said Henry Peacham about 1641, "you may have all the news in England and other countries, of murders, floods, witches, fires, tempests, and what not, in one of Martin Parker's Ballads."² A quarto edition of a play brought sixpence;³ but whether *Troilus and Cressida* was worth to the man of the streets six times as much as Elderton's "Pangs of Love" is to be doubted. Yet even a penny, some five or six times as valuable in Elizabeth's day as now, may have put ballad-buying out of the reach of many people. No doubt that explains why they listened so eagerly to ballad-singers.

Perhaps ballad-writers were paid higher in proportion than were dramatists. A catch-penny pamphlet, offered for sale at two, three, or four pence, brought the writer about forty shillings;⁴ and, if the evidence of *The Return from Parnassus* may be trusted, forty shillings was also the remuneration for balladists. In this play, the London printer John Danter comes on the stage and offers Ingenioso the customary price of "forty shillings and an odd pottle of wine" for his "Chronicle of Cambridge Cuckolds." Ingenioso is indignant: "Forty shillings? a fit reward for one of your rheumatic poets that beslavers

¹In the year 1520, however, John Dorne, a bookseller of Oxford, sold more than 190 "ballets," charging a halfpenny for each but making concessions on lots—as seven ballads for threepence, twelve for fivepence. See his *Day-Book*, ed. F. Madan, Oxford Hist. Society, *Collectanea*, 1st series, pt. III (1885).

²*The Worth of a Penny*, Arber's *English Garner*, VI, p. 271.

³See prefaces to *Troilus and Cressida* and Massinger's *Bondman*.

⁴Phæbe Sheavyn, *Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, p. 72.

all the paper he comes by and furnishes the chandlers with waste paper to wrap candles in." When Danter learns that the "Chronicle" is a libel (and libels were verse broadsides), he is so pleased that he agrees to buy it, "whatsoever it cost";⁵ and very likely he did the same thing when the leading balladists (who also wrote many tracts and pamphlets) offered him their wares. Distinguished writers like Deloney, Elderton, Laurence Price, and Parker may not improbably have received forty shillings for their works; for nearly every printer in England dealt in ballads, the demand for them never failed, and balladists whose names had a distinct commercial value were few in number. But the evidence is conflicting. Massinger says that there were "ten-groat rimers about the town" who wrote goodnights and news-ballads;⁶ Sharpham puts the fee of "a puny clerk" at "a penny a sheet."⁷ A tract of 1641 seems to imply that balladists might expect half-a-crown,⁸ while the sub-title of the ballad of "The Prodigal Son Converted" informs us,

You can't command a Poet with a frown
To write new Songs: but he's yours for a Crown.⁹

To Mr. Courtwell, who was remarkably successful with his lugubrious songs, a lady remarks: "I do not think but you can make me a jointure of four nobles a year in ballads, in lamentable ballads; for your wit, I think, lies

⁵ *The Return from Parnassus*, ed. Macray (Oxford, 1886), pp. 88-89.

⁶ *The Bondman*, v, iii.

⁷ *Fleire*, act III, sign. F 3: "Faith my fees are like a puny Clarkes, a peny a sheet."

⁸ *The Downfall of Temporizing Poets*, sign. A 3 b: "You [ballad-writers] are very religious men, rather than you will lose half a crown, you will write against your own fathers."

⁹ *Roeburgh Ballads*, iv, p. 49.

tragical.”¹⁰ In 1597, however, Philip Henslowe paid only six shillings eight pence for two jigs,¹¹—brief farces written in ballad-measure, sung and danced on the stage to ballad-tunes, and published under the title and in the form of ballads; and this may have been the usual payment. After all, three shillings fourpence was no small sum. William Kemp intimates that ballad-mongers received starvation wages: “I know the best of ye, by the lies ye writ of me, got not the price of a good hat to cover your brainless heads.”¹² Perhaps the price of a good hat, or anything near it, might not have been poor payment for one ballad, but Kemp’s remarks must be largely discounted because of his prejudice and animosity. Nicholas Breton, writing in the same year as Kemp, was better informed when he declared that “penny ballads make a better sale” than poetry or fiction.¹³ After receiving the initial payment for his ballad the author lost all claim to it,—he got nothing whatever for re-issues; but surely writers of prominence had business sense enough to take advantage of their own popularity so far as to see that some of the money from the sale of the ballads came into their own pockets.

Not many of these writers, however, can have been in a very prosperous condition. John Earle, indeed, pictures them all as clad in rags and patches and as always in debt; he admits, however, that when ballads had a good sale the

¹⁰ *Captain Underwit*, c. 1640 (Bullen’s *Old English Plays*, 1884, II, pp. 349 f.).

¹¹ *Diary*, ed. Greg, II, p. 189.

¹² *Nine Days’ Wonder*, 1600 (ed. Dyce, p. 20).

¹³ *Pasquil’s Madoap*, 1600 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, I, e, p. 12):

Goe tell the Poets that their pidling rimes
Begin apace to grow out of request. . . .
And tell poore Writers, stories are so stale,
That penny ballads make a better sale.

printer maintained the balladist in ale for a fortnight.¹⁴ Sometimes a listener, delighted by the ballad-singer's ditty, would enthusiastically cry out, "Tell the poet that made it, if he'll come to me, I'll give him a quart of sack to whet his muse";¹⁵ and it is not improbable that ballad-mongers, "base rogues that maintain a faint Saint Anthony's fire in their noses by nothing but two-penny ale,"¹⁶ regarded this as the most satisfactory part of their salaries. They are invariably classed as reprobates and drunkards, able to compose only when their muse is stimulated and cajoled with ale. Deprive the balladist of ale, and, like Deloney, he will lose his jocularly and be able to pen nothing but lamentable strains of "Repent, England, Repent," "The Strange Judgments of God," or "The Thunderbolt against Swearers":¹⁷ what else could be expected from one whose "verse runs like the tap, and his invention as the barrel ebbs and flows at the mercy of the spigot?"¹⁸ Parker's rivals declared that only by bathing his beak in ale was he able to surpass them; but they admitted that, when thus fired, he could emulate Orpheus and by his melodious strains animate trees and stones.¹⁹ Luckless openly charges ballad-mongers with extorting money by blackmail. "I marvel she [Constance] was left out of Cupid's Muster," he exclaimed; "sure she bribed the ballad-maker; one that I have paid at all times too."²⁰

¹⁴ Earle's *Microcosmography*, 1633, no. 45 ("A Pot-Poet").

¹⁵ Glapthorne, *Wit in a Constable*, 1639 (*Plays*, ed. Pearson, I, p. 234).

¹⁶ Dekker's *Honest Whore*, 1604, I, i.

¹⁷ Nashe's *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, p. 84.

¹⁸ Earle, *Microcosmography*, no. 45.

¹⁹ S. F., *Sportive Funeral Elegies*, 1656, sign. B.

²⁰ Brome's *Northern Lass*, I, iv.

Although ballad-mongers were not seldom men of education,—a number of them, like Leonard Gibson and Clement Robinson, had attended Oxford or Cambridge,—yet by the literati they were held in supreme contempt.

I had rather be a kitten and cry mew
Than one of these same metre ballad-mongers,

sneers Shakespeare through the mouth of Hotspur;²¹ and Jonson flatly declares that “a poet should detest a ballet-maker,”²² an injunction that Thomas Nashe echoed almost as positively, though with less justification. If one “love good poets he must not countenance ballad-makers,” he pronounced;²³ and he practised his preaching with many slurs and gibes at Elderton and Deloney, though he professed to love Churchyard’s “aged Muse,” prophesied immortality for his poem on Jane Shore, and saw in him nothing of the balladist.²⁴ His chief satisfaction, however, came from comparing Harvey with the broadside crew and in depicting him as the balladist *par excellence*. “Scarce nine years of age he attained to,” says Nashe, “when, by engrossing all ballads that came to any market or fair thereabouts, he aspired to be as desperate a ballad-maker as the best of them; the first fruits of his poetry being a pitiful ditty in lamentation of the death of a fellow that, at Queen Mary’s coronation, came downward, with his head on a rope, from the spire of Paul’s steeple, and broke his neck.” Afterwards, he says, Harvey “capitulated on the births of monsters, horrible murders, and great burn-

²¹ *I Henry IV*, III, i, 129 f.

²² *Conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden*, in *Works*, ed. Gifford-Cunningham, IX, p. 404.

²³ *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, p. 351.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

ings."²⁵ No words seemed to be strong enough to show the contempt of the "good poets" for ballad-writing. Francis Beaumont expressed a fear lest unkind reception of his plays should drive him to balladry,²⁶ and other writers felt that "the hated fathers of vile balladry" with their bastard rimes made all poetry hateful.²⁷ To call a poet "ballad-maker" was the deadliest of insults.²⁸

Ballad-makers are invariably, too, described as men of loose morals. Sitting comfortably in brothels, they would unblushingly write their most scathing denunciations of vice and imprecate God's judgment upon sinners;²⁹ and in such resorts Parker's work seems to have found admirers.³⁰ But much of this abuse must be taken *cum*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 63-64, 69. Compare with this Harvey's account of Nashe's supposedly impending death and the ludicrous ballad, "The Trimming of Thomas Nashe," 1597, in Harvey's *Works*, ed. Grosart, 1885, III, p. 70, and pp. xxix ff.

²⁶ Letter prefixed to Jonson's *Folio Works*, 1616. His words seem to be consciously borrowed by Crambo, in William Cavendish's *Triumphant Widow*, 1677, p. 22: "I fear my days of ballating draw near."

²⁷ "J. C.'s 12th Epigram," ed. Ingleby, *Shakspeare Allusion-Books* (New Shakspeare Society, 1874), I, p. 122.

²⁸ Cf. Farquhar's *Love and a Bottle*, 1698, III, ii (*Works*, ed. Ewald, I, p. 67).

²⁹ Earle, *Microcosmography*, no. 45.

³⁰ According to Humphrey Mill's *Night's Search*, 1646 (see *British Bibliographer*, II, p. 432), one lady of pleasure possessed

A boxe of salve, and two brasse rings;

With Parker's workes, and such like things.

Another, Thomas Cranley's "Amanda," owned "Songs of love and Sonets exquisit," but also *Venus and Adonis*, Marston's *Pigmalion*, and Beaumont's *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus* (see Ouvry's reprint of *Amanda*, 1869, pp. 46-47). Thomas Lodge writes of a typical hypocritical harlot, "She will reckon you up the story of Mistress Sanders, and weep at it, and turn you to the ballad over her chimney, and bid you look there, there is a goodly sample" (*Wit's Misery*, 1596, sign. F. iii b, *Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, IV, p. 44); and

grano salis: on evidence like this every writer of the period would be convicted of gross immorality. Even granting the truth of the attacks, ballad-mongers do not appear to have been more dissolute than Marlowe, Peele, or Greene.

Ridicule and abuse may have annoyed the balladists, but it certainly did not put a stop to their work. Bishop Hall speaks caustically of a man—in all probability Deloney—who

sends forth thraves of ballads to the sale,
Nor then can rest; but volumes up bodged rimes,
To have his name talked of in future times.²¹

But why should not the ballad-mongers have worked for the applause of posterity? Had they not been assured that

Who makes a ballad for an ale-house door,
Shall live in future times for evermore?²²

A keen sense of their own importance and of the dignity of their profession they undoubtedly had,—so keen, indeed, that they might be found disputing precedence with a *valet de chambre* in the pride of his lord's cast-off suit:²³ "I am in some choler with this ass-headed age, where the honorable trade of ballad-making is of such base reckoning," protested one ballad-monger, disgusted with continual abuse; "but so it hath been in ancient time, when

Congreve's infatuated "Old Bachelor" soliloquizes on his way to Silvia, "I shall be the jest of the town. Nay, in two days I expect to be chronicled in ditty, and sung in woeful ballad, to the tune of 'The Superannuated Maiden's Comfort,' or 'The Bachelor's Fall'; and upon the third I shall be hanged in effigy, pasted up for the exemplary ornament of necessary-houses and cobblers' stalls" (*Old Bachelor*, III, ii).

²¹ Joseph Hall, *Poems*, ed. Grosart, 1879, p. 131.

²² *The Return from Parnassus*, ed. Macray, p. 83.

²³ One of Thomas Rawlins's characters (*Tunbridge Wells*, 1678, p. 10) "kicked a valet de chambre in the pride of his lord's cast suit, disputing precedence with a ballad-maker."

Homer first set up his riming-shop, one of the first that ever was of my trade. . . .³⁴ Blind he was indeed, and that is the only difference betwixt us. . . . Seven countries strove about him when he was dead, and I doubt not when I am made tapster of the lower countries, and the works of my wit left behind me here upon earth, many a town will challenge unto itself the credit of my birth." This was the philosophical attitude; and the speaker must have been greatly confirmed in his opinion when his boy-companion replied: "Indeed, Sir, no doubt but that countries will miss you when you are gone; when they shall have a calf with five feet, see a hare at a crossland, hear a pie chatter or a raven sit upon the top of a new kitchen, they shall want their old poet to impart it to the world. . . . The maidens shall want sonnets at their pails, and the country striplings ditties to sing at the maids' windows; the cart-horses will go discontented for want of their wonted music, and the cows low for the want of their Luxurio."³⁵

Few writers depended solely on ballads for support. *Histriomastix* (1610) tries to give the impression that it was not unusual for balladists to turn to play-making. All ballad-mongers, it declares, are, when bolstered by the "windy froth of bottle-ale" (which, according to the universal cry, meant always), so puffed up with pride that they

Swell in conceit, and load the stage with stuff
Raked from the rotten embers of stall jests.³⁶

William Gray, the favorite of two kings, received from their majesties many gifts of money. Elderton supple-

³⁴ In the preface to *A Collection of Old Ballads* (1723) Homer is called the first of the ballad-mongers.

³⁵ *The Return from Parnassus*, ed. Macray, pp. 72-73.

³⁶ *The School of Shakspeare*, ed. Richard Simpson, II, p. 51.

mented his ballad-income by dabbling in the law, coaching the boy-actors of Eton and Westminster, and begging favors from the ladies of the court. Parker, most prolific of balladists, also wrote innumerable pamphlets, tracts, and romances, and he may have been an ale-house keeper. Deloney was a silkweaver and the author of four justly popular novels; yet he died in poverty. He was decently buried, however,—so much does William Kemp grant him, adding that decent burial is more than most ballad-writers can expect. As a rule, John Earle tells us, they were dumped in potters' field. Nor can they have become any more prosperous as time went on, for towards the end of the seventeenth century ballads began to be sold for a half-penny, and this price continued.

But before the Restoration printers must surely have shown every possible favor to the best ballad-writers. A play of Shakespeare's or Jonson's could be picked up readily enough; but, as ballad-writing was an art not often mastered and good writers were scarce, printers were eager to publish the work of those whose names had a distinct commercial value. The ballads of these men were regularly signed, either with their full names or with their initials. Deloney's broadsides were usually marked "Finis, quod Thomas Deloney," or "T. D."; Elderton's name or initials appeared on most of his productions; and Martin Parker held unsigned publications in such abomination that he left no room for doubt about his own:

What ever yet was published by mee,
Was knowne by *Martin Parker*, or M. P. . . .
For no man that's the authour of a booke
But sets his name whereon all easly looke
Upon the frontispeece (or title page)
Vnlesse he be proposterous (like the age).²⁷

²⁷ *The Poet's Blind Mans Bough, or Have among you my Blind Harpers*, 1641, sign. A 4, B 3.

But, whether authors were preposterous or not, ballads published anonymously multiplied after the Restoration, and comparatively few signed ballads appeared after 1700.

Printers who monopolized the work of men like Elderton, Deloney, Price, and Parker may well have congratulated themselves; for the ballads of these favorites not only appealed to courtiers and poets as well as to oyster-wives and carmen, but continued in favor for many decades. Whether or not a formal contract existed between printer and writer, each balladist had his favorite printer whose press turned out most of his work. Elderton's chief publishers were Thomas Colwell and, after Colwell's retirement, Richard Jones. Thomas Lambert was Parker's favorite; but, after Lambert ceased to publish, Francis Grove was a close second, and occasionally one of eight or nine other enterprising printers secured a tract or a ballad from Parker's pen.

A ballad that made a hit was re-issued over and over again. Printers who owned the copyright of a street song like "Jane Shore," "Mary Ambree," or "The Constancy of Susanna" might well boast of having made a good bargain; for such favorites were reprinted for almost three hundred years, successive publishers revising the spelling, recasting the verses (or ordering a ballad-writer to make them over), and coolly altering the dates so that the ballad-singer might go forth and swear conscientiously to his audience that the ballads were "absolute new." A remarkable example of a long-lived ballad is "The Dumb Wife," which tells the story immortalized by Rabelais. Popular in Scotland in the fourteenth century, the story was put into the *Hundred Merry Tales* (1525) a number of years before Rabelais acted in his *comédie*, and was constantly reprinted in chap-books and ballads during the next three

centuries. Four white-letter slip-ballads of "The Dumb Wife" are in the Harvard College Library.³⁸

VI

The distribution and sale of ballads were effected with enterprise and ingenuity. Chettle tells us just how it was done. A "worthless" printer, he says, having first provided himself with apprentices, "after a little bringing them up to singing brokery, takes into his shop some fresh men, and trusts his old servants of a two months' standing with a dozen groats' worth of ballads. In which if they prove thrifty, he makes them pretty chapmen, able to spread more pamphlets by the state forbidden, than all the booksellers in London." But this was not sufficient. There was, furthermore, "a company of idle youths, loathing honest labour and despising lawful trades," who betook themselves "to a vagrant and vicious life, in every corner of cities and market towns of the realm singing and selling

³⁸ The Scotch "Ballet shewing how a Dumb Wyff was maid to speik" is printed in Laing's *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland* (II, p. 28), and elsewhere. A prose tale "of hym that married the domb wyfe" is no. 62 in *A C. Mery Talys*. Rabelais claimed to have acted a part in "the Moral Comedy of him who had espoused and married a Dumb Wife," at Montpellier in 1530 (see his *Gargantua et Pantagruel*, 1533, bk. III, ch. 34); and on the model of this tale M. France wrote his delightful *Comédie de celui qui épousa une femme muette* (1912). In English the story occurs also in *The Scholehouse of Women*, 1541 (Utterson's *Select Pieces*, II, pp. 73-75), in *Pasquil's Jests*, c. 1650, and elsewhere. A Roxburghe ballad of "The Dumb Maid, or the Young Gallant Trapann'd" (*Roxburghe Ballads*, IV, p. 357) is also reprinted in Ashton's *Century of Ballads*, p. 319, and in *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719, III, p. 276; and a variant of this occurs in Robert Ford's *Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland*, 1899, p. 30. The Harvard slip-ballads are found in folios shelf-marked 25242.2, p. 111; 25242.4, vol. I, p. 97; 25242.23, p. 6. I have met with the story in many other places.

of ballads and pamphlets," which were "full of ribaldry and all scurrilous vanity, to the profanation of God's name and withdrawing people from Christian exercises, especially at fairs, markets, and such public meetings."¹

Most of the singers are described as suffering from some physical or mental defect: they were hideous,² blind,³ one-legged, even noseless.⁴ In 1625 the Stationers' Company refused to publish George Wither's *Hymns and Songs*, and 'the better to express what opinion they had of their pious use, were pleased to promise that they would procure the roaring ballad-singer with one leg, to sing and sell them about the city.'⁵ Sir George Etherege knew an old man with a paper lantern and cracked spectacles who sang woeful tragedies to kitchenmaids and cobblers' apprentices.⁶ No doubt an occasional blind or wooden-legged man did sell ballads, but most singers were normal physically and alert mentally. The one sketched by Inigo Jones⁷ was a decent-looking fellow, much like the singer Chettle describes: "an odd old fellow, low of stature, his

¹ *Kind Heart's Dream*, ed. Ingleby, I, pp. 49, 47.

² Chapman's *Ball*, 1632, II, i, 55 f.:

There is a hideous woman carries ballets,
And has a singing in her head.

³ The blindness of ballad-singers, like that of beggars, was proverbial. In Fletcher's *Maid in the Mill*, 1623, II, i, Gerasto disguises himself "as a blind ballad-singer."

⁴ A "noseless ballad-woman" is mentioned in Abraham Holland's *Continued Inquisition against Paper-Persecutors*, in John Davies's *Works*, ed. Grosart, 1878, II, k, p. 81.

⁵ *Schollers Purgatory*, ed. Spenser Society, p. 41 (33).

⁶ "Expect at night to see the old man, with his paper lantern and cracked spectacles, singing your woeful tragedy to kitchenmaids and cobblers' 'prentices" (*Love in a Tub*, 1664, *Works*, ed. Verity, p. 85).

⁷ About 1636. The sketch is reproduced in Collier's *Book of Row-burghe Ballads*, p. xxix, and in the Old Shakespeare Society's volume (xxxix) on Inigo Jones, 1848.

head was covered with a round cap, his body with a side-skirted tawny coat, his legs and feet trussed up in leather buskins, his gray hairs and furrowed face witnessed his age, his treble viol in his hand. . . . On which (by his continual sawing, having left but one string) after his best manner, he gave me a hunts-up.”⁸ During the period of the Civil War and after the Restoration, women singers became more prominent. Often a man and a woman worked together, and made the welkin ring with their doleful ditties.⁹

The ballad-singer corresponded to our newsboy. Instead of being followed with the hoarse cry of “Extra! Extra!” from early morning to late evening, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Englishmen were greeted by the shrill voice of a ballad-woman urging them to “Buy new Ballads, come!”¹⁰ or they heard a wide-awake Nightingale calling briskly, “Ballads! my masters, ballads! Will ye ha’ any ballads o’ the newest and truest matter in all London? I have of them for all people, and of all arguments too. Here be your story-ballads, your love-ballads, and your ballads of good-life; fit for your gallant, your nice maiden, your grave senior, and all sorts of men beside. Ballads! my masters, rare ballads! Take a fine new ballad, Sir, with a picture to’t.”¹¹ Starting out with his arms and his pack full of broadsides, the singer would go to the doors of theatres, to markets, fairs, bear-baitings, taverns, ale-

⁸ *Kind Heart’s Dream*, ed. Ingleby, p. 43.

⁹ For a picture of such a pair, see the sketch by Marcellus Lauron reprinted in Ashton’s *Century of Ballads*, p. xix.

¹⁰ Brome’s *Antipodes*, iv, viii.

¹¹ “The Exchange in its Humours: being an unperfect Draught of all that is extant of a Comedy, designed to have been written, by B. J.,” in *A Garland for the New Royal Exchange*, 1669, no. xiv (reprint of 1845, pp. 44-45). The “Exchange” is a delightful burlesque of Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair*.

houses, wakes, or any other place where a crowd could gather, and begin his song. One such eighteenth-century singer thus describes his daily round, after he has been to the printer's for his stock of ballads:

Thence I receive them, and then sally
 Strait to some market place or alley,
 And sitting down judiciously
 Begin to sing. The people soon
 Gather about, to hear the tune.
 One stretches out his hand, and cries
 Come, let me have it, what's the price?
 But one poor halfpenny, says I,
 And sure you cannot that deny.
 Here, take it then says he, and throws
 The money. Then away he goes,
 Humming it as he walks along,
 Endeavouring to learn the song.¹²

Like the Salvation Army or the hurdy-gurdy, the balladman never failed to attract a crowd of listeners. Quickly grew "the ballad-singer's auditory":

First stands a porter; then an oyster-wife
 Doth stint her cry, and stay her steps to hear him;
 Then comes a cut-purse ready with a knife,
 And then a country client passeth near him;
 There stands the constable, there stands the whore,
 And, listening to the song, heed not each other;
 There by the sergeant stands the debtor,
 And doth no more mistrust him than his brother.¹³

As the song proceeded, the "auditory of clowns" gaped, nodded, and laughed. "A goodly matter," one of them would cry; another, "Bravely wanton"; and a third,

¹² *The Weekly Register*, January 9, 1731, quoted in M. Percival's *Political Ballads* (*Oxford Historical and Literary Studies*, vol. VIII, 1916), pp. xxix-xxx.

¹³ Sir John Davies, *Epigram* 38 (*Complete Poems*, ed. Grosart, 1876, II, pp. 36 ff.).

"Commend the sweet master."¹⁴ On news-items "wide-mouthed oyster wives" formed a jury to which the foreman, "a one-legged ballad-singer," opened "tunably the merry case."¹⁵

The singing itself seems to have been a painful performance, as men of prominence who loved to watch the singer and his public often testified. Sir Philip Sidney dismissed the "blind crowder" of "Chevy Chase" with casual mention of his rude voice; but William Browne declared that these men sang with "as harsh a noise as ever cart-wheel made,"¹⁶ and Holland thought nothing could be more ridiculous than

To hear the noseless ballad-woman raise
Her snuffing throat to his ill-penned praise:
Or the oft-beaten fellow make his moan,
Who in the streets is wont to read Pope Joan."

On the outskirts of the crowd there always stood some fine gentleman who sardonically adventured his ears for the mere recreation of seeing how thoroughly the bystanders were affected by the singer, what strange gestures came from them and what strained stuff from their poet, what shifts they made to "stand to hear," what extremities he was driven to for rimes, how they risked their purses and he his wits, how well the pains of both were recompensed—the crowd with a filthy noise, the singer with a pitiful penny!¹⁸

Ignoring these unamiable persons, the singer exerted himself to please the other listeners. He did not trust

¹⁴ *The Return from Parnassus*, ed. Macray, p. 51.

¹⁵ Thomas Nabbes, *The Bride*, 1640 (*Works*, ed. Bullen, II, p. 31).

¹⁶ *Britannia's Pastorals*, 1613, bk. II, song I, ll. 389 f.

¹⁷ *Continued Inquisition*, etc., p. 81.

¹⁸ Sir William Cornewaleys, *Essayes*, 1600, essay 15.

solely to his titles to allure the country gentleman,¹⁹ but tried to find out what type of ballad each liked and always produced one which he claimed was of this type. "Has it a fine picture?" is Mrs. Overdo's only inquiry.²⁰ "Oh ballets, fine ballets," cries Gervas in ecstasy; "Oh I love a ballet but even too well. Heaven forgive me, for being so given to the love of poetry. What are the contents of this? for I scorn to read." "Marry, Sir, a most lamentable business," rejoices the ballad-singer. "Oh, it's no matter," interrupts Gervas, "so it be a fine ditty"; and Cicely chimes in, "Oh I love a melancholy ditty, I can weep at a ballet so sweetly."²¹ "Is it true?" asks Mopsa. "Very true, and but a month old," answers Autolycus; "here's the midwife's name to't, one Mistress Tale-porter, and five or six honest wives that were present. Why should I carry lies abroad? . . . Here's another ballad of a fish, that appeared upon the coast on Wednesday the fourscore of April, forty thousand fathom above water, and sung this ballad against the hard hearts of maids: it was thought she was a woman and was turned into a cold fish for she would not exchange flesh with one that loved her: the ballad is very pitiful and as true." "Is it true too, think you?" asks Dorcas, who like Mopsa has only one simple test to apply before buying. Says Autolycus, "Five justices' hands at it, and witnesses more than my pack will hold." The sale is then quickly made.²²

Other hearers demanded more coaxing. "Have you the ballad of the *Unfortunate Lover*?" inquires Mr. Budget, the tinker. Undisturbed in those days by any crusade

¹⁹ John Earle, *Microcosmography*, no. 45.

²⁰ *Bartholomew Fair*, III, v.

²¹ Cavendish's *Triumphant Widow*, 1677, p. 6. Gervas is of course repeating the words of the clown in *Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 188.

²² *Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 269 ff.

against substitution, Ditty promptly responds: "No, but I have *George of Green, or Chivy Chase, Collins and the Devil, or Room for Cuckolds*: I have anything but that." "I like the song well," says Budget after listening to Ditty's rendition, "but I would have a picture upon it like me." "Look you here," instantly rejoins that clever salesman; "here's one as like you as if it had been spit out of your mouth; your nose, eye, lip, chin; sure, they printed it with your face! and the most sweetest ballad that ever I sung."²³

A singer would always offer to teach the tunes to his customers, perhaps in order to show them the proper method of screwing one's countenance in singing lamentable ballads;²⁴ but his services were seldom required, for, like Dorcas and Mopsa, most persons before they bought or heard a ballad "had the tune on 't a month ago" and were more than willing to sing a duet or a trio with him. The tune was always specifically named along with the title;²⁵ and all tunes were familiar, not only from their constant use in ballads, but also because they were played by the "infinite poets, and pipers, and such peevish cattle" who haunted London and dogged a man's footsteps so that he could not sit down at a tavern-table without finding two or three fawning at his heels and begging him to listen to a fit of mirth.²⁶ Sometimes the mere tune was

²³ *The London Chanticleers*, 1659 (Dodsley-Hazlitt's *Old Plays*, XII, pp. 329 f.).

²⁴ See Glapthorne's *Albertus Wallenstein*, 1640 (*Plays*, ed. Pearson, II, p. 34).

²⁵ At least, this is true of most ballads. Early in Elizabeth's reign they were sometimes printed with only brief titles followed by the refrains (see *A Collection of 79 Ballads*, pp. 1, 9, 30, 33, 231, etc.); but possibly the refrain itself and the measure gave a sufficient clue to the tune.

²⁶ Stephen Gosson, *School of Abuse and Apology of the School of Abuse*, ed. Arber, pp. 27, 70.

as offensive to the authorities as a "scandalous" ballad. "There's a piece of treason that flies up and down the country in the likeness of a ballad, and this being the very tune of it you whistled," was the excuse offered by one zealous officer for arresting a man who was caught "whistling treason."²⁷ Ballad tunes were also used for dances. The much-reviled "Watkins Ale" was, its author declares, written only because a dance of the same name and matter was popular throughout England. Nashe records that after Richard Harvey had preached all the morning against dancing, in the evening, while his "wench or friskin was footing it aloft on the green, with foot out and foot in, and as busy as might be at *Rogero, Basilino, Turkelony, All the flowers of the broom, Pepper is black, Green sleeves, Peggie Ramsey*, he came sneaking behind a tree and looked on "longingly, and even sent her money to pay the fiddler."²⁸ Whatever may be thought of the truth of this story, it is certain that popular ballad-airs served for dances. Perhaps even the choral throng did not disdain to sing the choicest productions of the ballad-mongers!

The number of available tunes was not especially large, but buyers were sometimes perplexed by the name given on the broadside. A writer customarily named his tune after the first line or the title of his own ballad.²⁹ Parker's "Hold your Hands, Honest Men" was to be sung to the tune of "Keep a Good Tongue in your Head," and the

²⁷ The old *Richard II*, III, iii (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXV, p. 88).

²⁸ *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, p. 122.

²⁹ This had long been the custom. Sir Thomas Elyot wrote in 1531, "The names of dances were taken, as they be now, either of the names of the first inventors, or of the measure and number they do contain, or of the first words of the ditty, which the song comprehendeth, whereof the dance was made" (quoted by Chappell, *Rowburghe Ballads*, I, p. xii).

singer had to explain that this was equivalent to the tune of "The Milkmaids"; his "Man's Felicity and Misery" was written to the tune of "I have for all good wives a song"; but, as this was the first line of his ballad called "A Merry Dialogue between a Married Man and his Wife," a glance at that ballad or an explanation from the ballad-singer was necessary before a purchaser could properly sing "Man's Felicity." Very likely Parker's object in naming his tunes thus was to draw attention to his older ballads in the hope of selling those too. A few ballads were written to two or more tunes, and hence in two or more measures.³⁰

The tunes themselves are often attractive;³¹ yet by the literary men of the period they are almost invariably spoken of as vile,³² perhaps because these men felt an instinctive repugnance to countenancing anything connected with the ballad trade. Even they, however, occasionally admitted hearing "a godly ballad, to a godly tune too."³³ But many a country gentleman, like Squire Western, "never relished any music but what was light and airy; and indeed his most favorite tunes were Old Sir Simon the King, St. George he was for England, Bobbing Joan, and some others"; and perhaps many daughters were as complaisant as the fair Sophia, who, though she "would never willingly have played any [music] but Handel's, was so devoted to her father's

³⁰ For a ballad to three tunes, see *ibid.*, p. 249; for one to fifty or more, see "The Four-legg'd Elder . . . to the tune of *The Ladies Fall*, or *Gather your Rose Buds*, and 50 other tunes," in *Rump Songs* (1662, reprinted 1874), I, p. 350.

³¹ William Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time* is the standard work on ballad tunes.

³² In Massinger's *Duke of Milan*, II, i, Graccho offers to sing "a scurvy ditty to a scurvy tune."

³³ Fletcher, *Monsieur Thomas*, III, ii.

pleasure, that she learnt all those tunes to oblige him."⁸⁴ Other persons naïvely believed that the music of the spheres was nothing but "Fortune my Foe," and that "the first tune [the planets] sang was Sellenger's Round."⁸⁵

Ballad-singing affected ballad-writing. Responding quickly to the exigencies of the trade, writers would insert lines or even whole stanzas to help the singers, and many of these insertions eventually became a part of ballad-technique. For one thing, all ballads were made to insist upon their newness, and for obvious reasons. People were so well aware of the printers' habit of re-issuing old ballads that the first question they asked the singer was usually, "Is it new?" It was no rare thing for a ballad-vender who entered a street crying, "New Ballads, New!" to be greeted with the crushing retort,

There you lie, boy.
I doubt it is some lamentable stuff,
O' the swine-faced gentlewoman, and that you'll grunt out
Worse than a parish boar when he makes love
Unto the vicar's sow; her story's stale, boy;
'T has been already in two plays.⁸⁶

To meet such taunts, therefore, ballad-mongers hastened to announce in their opening stanzas that their ballads *were* new:

Come buy my new ballet, I have't in my wallet,
But 'twill not, I fear, please ev'ry pallet.
Then mark what ensu'th, I swear by my youth
That every line in my ballad is truth:
A ballad of wit, a brave ballad of worth,
'T is newly printed, and newly come forth.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ *Tom Jones*, bk. iv, ch. v.

⁸⁵ *Lingua*, 1607, sign. G 3b.

⁸⁶ Glapthorne, *Wit in a Constable*, 1639 (*Plays*, ed. Pearson, I, p. 232).

⁸⁷ "The Ballad of the Cloak," *Roeburghe Ballads*, iv, p. 605.

To compare such a beginning as this with the *in medias res* method of the traditional ballad is nothing short of ridiculous. This form came about solely through the peculiar conditions attendant on the distribution of ballads, and, if criticised at all, should be judged only like newspaper headlines and bill-posters: all are forms of advertising. Especially from the reign of Charles I to 1700 do the ballads reflect the conditions of ballad-singing. When a song, like "The Countryman's Delight," had a sub-title of ten riming lines,³⁸ probably only this complete title was sung by the ballad-singer,—just as newsboys reiterate one or two headlines,—and the prospective purchaser had to buy the ballad before he could tell what it contained. William Browne heard a singer mumbling the words of his ballad, "Tom the Miller with a Golden Thumb":

Half part he chants, and will not sing it out,
But thus bespeaks to his attentive rout:
"Thus much for love I warbled from my breast,
And, gentle friends, for money take the rest!"³⁹

It seems likely, too, that the custom of dividing a ballad into two parts, usually with separate headings, came from a purpose to make people pay before they heard all the ballad. Presumably only one part was publicly sung.⁴⁰

But not every singer was so mercenary and so unobliging. As his most attentive audience often consisted of

³⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p. 593.

³⁹ *Britannia's Pastorals*, bk. II, song 1, ll. 393 ff.

⁴⁰ Only a few ballads earlier than 1600 are in two parts (examples will be found in *A Collection of 79 Ballads*, pp. 66 ff., 157 ff., and in Arber's *Transcript*, II, pp. 86, 172). From the latter part of James I's reign, however, practically every ballad was so divided. In the eighteenth century ballads in four or five parts, printed on large folio sheets and called "Garlands," were common. See the list of "Garlands" given by Ebsworth in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, VIII, pp. 179 ff.

common people who could not, and ironical gentlemen who would not, give a penny for the ballad, the shrewd vender, on the watch for buyers, not infrequently offered them a chance to read the ballad through. Hence such opening lines as,

Give ear, my loving countrymen,
that still desire news,
Nor pass not while you hear it sung,
or else the song peruse.^a

In some cases the offer came at the conclusion of the song.

The relations between ballad-singer and ballad-writer were close and amicable. Fully realizing the pinch of necessity, especially in "dear" years when they were forced to eke out a miserable existence on a penny-a-quart,⁴² writers willingly inserted lines and stanzas to aid the singer in making sales. William Elderton, too wise to sneer at the very men on whose success his fame and fortune largely depended, courteously refers to the singers as "musicians":

And many a song will I bestow
On all the musicians that I know,
To sing the praises, where they go,
Of the city of York, in London.^a

This courtesy probably did not add much to their purses; but occasionally, since the singer, content with the commission he received from the printers, demanded no money of his hearers, and indeed gave his voice and his aid with no expectation of a fee, a ballad-writer would provide a concluding stanza which announced that a penny would be acceptable:

^a *Roxburghe Ballads*, II, p. 367.

^a Cf. Nashe's *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, p. 84.

^a *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, p. 8.

Thus to conclude my verses rude,
 would some good fellows here
 Would join together pence apiece,
 to buy the singer beer."

Chettle may have been right in saying that ballad-singing was the last refuge of the miserable aged except beggary; but the wonder is that, in view of the fortunes made by young ballad-singers, everybody did not wish to enter the profession. Singers came from all trades. Autolycus, before he married a tinker's wife and settled down to singing and thievery, had been a bailiff. A more notable career is that of Thomas Spickernell, of Maldon, who in 1594 was listed by the town clerk among those disaffected to Puritanism and described as "some-time apprentice to a book-binder; after, a vagrant pedlar; then, a ballad-singer and seller; and now, a minister and alehouse-keeper."⁴⁵ More respectable ministers could also, it seems, sing ballads on occasion. As Aubrey tells the story, Dr. Corbet and some of his comrades were at the tavern one market-day at Abingdon. "The ballad-singer complained he had no custom—he could not put off his ballads. The jolly Doctor puts off his gown, and puts on the ballad-singer's leathern jacket, and being a handsome man, and had a rare full voice, he presently vended a great many, and had a great audience."⁴⁶

The singers are said to have made large sums of money. Although they probably had but a small commission, they sometimes got generous tips from pleased auditors. The pretended ballad-singer in Fletcher's *Beggars' Bush* (1622, III, i) received "twopence apiece" from three or four boors after his first song, "threepence apiece" after

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

⁴⁶ *Shirburn Ballads*, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁷ *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark, I, pp. 184 f.

a coarser one, and finally a groat apiece.⁴⁷ Perhaps other singers were "like the blind beggars of Bolonia; a man must give 'um a halfpenny to sing, and twopence to hold their tongues."⁴⁸ The two Barnes brothers boasted that they got twenty shillings a day by singing at fairs. A boy named Cheeke and nicknamed "Outroaring Dick" gave up his mechanic's trade to sing ballads, and often made twenty shillings in Essex. His chief rival, Wat Wimbars, celebrated for singing doleful tragedies throughout Essex and its neighboring shires, also made his twenty shillings.⁴⁹ Even the highest nobles let themselves be amused by ballad-singers. According to Bishop Percy, "Mat Nash," whose forte was border ballads, notably "Chevy Chase," delighted Lord Burghley with his singing and was so liberally rewarded by that nobleman that he was enabled to retire from the profession.⁵⁰ Deloney pretends that "The Fair Flower of Northumberland" was sung before the king and queen;⁵¹ and so it may have been, for, when the gypsy Alice Boyce paid her way to London by singing ballads, she was allowed to sing "O, the Broom" and "Lady Green Sleeves" before Queen Elizabeth.⁵² Other ballad-singers, less talented perhaps or less fortunate, lived "on half-penny alms that idiots give in every street."⁵³

But whether they made much money or little, the singers received their full share of abuse. Although himself

⁴⁷ A groat, later sixpence, was the regular "fiddler's money" (see Chappell, *Popular Music*, I, p. 252).

⁴⁸ John Wilson, *The Cheats*, 1664 (*Works*, 1874, p. 44).

⁴⁹ See Chettle's *Kind Heart's Dream*, ed. Ingleby, p. 50; Warton-Hazlitt's *History of English Poetry*, IV, p. 428.

⁵⁰ Percy's *Reliques*, ed. Wheatley, I, p. xxxiv.

⁵¹ *Jack of Newbury*, 1630 (Richard Sievers's *Thomas Deloney*, p. 195).

⁵² Percy's *Reliques*, I, p. xxxiv.

⁵³ *Pimlyco, or, Runne Red-Cap*, 1609, sign. D 2b.

the author of an atrocious ballad on "God's Just Judgment executed upon a Lewd Fellow who usually accustomed to Swear by God's Blood,"⁵⁴ Philip Stubbs called them "drunken sockets and bawdy parasites," declaring that "there is no ship so balanced with massy matter, as their heads are fraught with all kind of bawdy songs, filthy ballads, and scurvy rimes."⁵⁵ Perhaps they really were a bad lot! Autolycus was a "snapper-up of unconsidered trifles," a nifty hand at picking pockets; and others, like Nightingale, allied themselves with professional thieves and, going into the revels of Bartholomew Fair, sang mournful "Caveats against Cut-Purses" to hold the attention of the crowd while their confederates worked.⁵⁶ Robert Greene, who had no contempt whatever for ballad-mongers, thought this was the habit of all ballad-singers. They "draw many together," he declares, "who listening unto an harmless ditty, afterward walk home to their houses with heavy hearts." That their methods were modern enough, Greene's description of one particular robbery shows.⁵⁷ "A rogueing mate, and such another with him," he says, "were there got upon a stall singing of ballads," while the pickpockets mingled with the crowd and "noted where every man that bought put up his purse again; and to such as would not buy, counterfeit warning was sundry times given by the rogue and his associate, to beware of the cut-purse, and look to their purses, which made them often feel where their purses

⁵⁴ Collier's *Broadside Black-Letter Ballads*, p. 42.

⁵⁵ *Anatomy of Abuses*, 1583 (ed. Furnivall, New Shakspeare Society, I, p. 171).

⁵⁶ Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, III, v. There is a similar case in Fletcher and Shirley's *Night-Walker*, 1633, III, v.

⁵⁷ *Third Part of Conny-Catching*, 1592 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, X, pp. 161-164).

were." Many persons were fleeced. The crowd became furious. Although the singers raised a loud complaint that they too had been robbed, they were seized, roughly handled, and dragged before a justice, where they were compelled to confess a secret partnership with the thieves.

But, honest or dishonest, ballad-singers continued to enrich their purses without molestation until Cromwell and the Puritans came into power. Thenceforward the Long Parliament harassed and persecuted the profession, till, in 1649, when magistrates were instructed to flog and imprison ballad-singers at sight and to confiscate their stock,⁵⁸ the trade fell into complete desuetude for eight or ten years. At the Restoration, however, it was promptly revived. About 1675 Charles Killegrew, master of the revels, who was charged with the licensing of ballad-singers, rented the privilege to a London bookseller, John Clarke, who exercised it until 1682, when his term expired.⁵⁹ Singing now came to be largely given up to women; in the eighteenth century one could often find an aged crone who would sing him a ballad and give him a dance all for the price of a halfpenny.⁶⁰ But with the passing of years the singers became no less light-fingered. In 1716 John Gay raised the warning,

Let not the ballad-singer's shrilling strain
Amid the swarm thy list'ning ear detain:
Guard well thy pocket; for these Sirens stand,
To aid the labours of the diving hand;

⁵⁸ Cf. *Journals of the House of Commons*, 22 Car. I, v, p. 73; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, iv, ii, pp. 824 f.; Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 337; *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, ed. Firth and Rait, 1911, II, p. 252.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ebsworth's quotations in *Bagford Ballads*, II, p. 1117.

⁶⁰ ". . . the old Ballad Woman, who gave you a Song and a Dance, and all for the Price of a Halfpenny" (*Round about our Coal Fire*, London, 1730, p. 5).

Confed'rate in the cheat, they draw the throng,
And cambric handkerchiefs reward the song; ^a

and in 1732 "an Irish ballad-singer, who used to entertain the good people of England with a song, while his companions were picking their pockets, was . . . committed to Bridewell." ⁶² Even if a singer was not suspected of stealing he was usually accused of something else, especially of causing mobs and riots with his political ballads. ⁶³ In 1716 the Middlesex grand jury denounced the singing of "scandalous" ballads in the street as a common nuisance; and in July, 1763, two women were sent to Bridewell, by Lord Bute's order, for singing political ballads before his lordship's door. ⁶⁴

Pedlars, it should be added, generally carried ballads in their packs, and were always credited with 'an obscene vein of balladry which made the wenches of the green laugh, and purchased them, upon better acquaintance, a posset or a syllabub.' ⁶⁵ The titular character of *The Pedlar's Prophecy* (1595) could sing pleasantly, and had "ballad-books truly pricked with your rests and where you shall come in." ⁶⁶ Lurcher and Alathe, pedlars in Fletcher and Shirley's *Night-Walker* (III, iii), sold ballads "of the maid was got with child," "of the witches hanged at Ludlow," "of wronged maids," besides various books. Conversely, many ballad-singers were supplied with chap-

^a *Trivia*, bk. III (*Works*, ed. Underhill, I, p. 152).

⁶² *Fog's Weekly Journal*, July 22, 1732, quoted in Percival's *Political Ballads*, p. xxx.

⁶³ Cf. Percival, *Political Ballads*, p. xxx.

⁶⁴ Percy's *Reliques*, ed. Wheatley, I, p. xlii.

⁶⁵ *A Cater-Character*, 1631 (reprinted in Halliwell-Phillipps's ed. of *Whimzies*, 1859, p. 138). Cf. Mrs. Behn's *Round-Heads*, v, iv (*Plays*, 1871, I, p. 358): "Enter Wariston, drest like a pedlar, with a box about his neck full of ballads and things."

⁶⁶ *Pedlers Prophecies*, sign. D 3 b.

books and news-pamphlets.⁶⁷ Ditty, a ballad-singer, offered for sale with his ballads *The Famous History of Tom Thumb*, and *A Hundred Merry Tales*, and *Scoggin's Jests*, and *A Book of Prayers and Graces for Young Children*. "Come, new books, new books," he would cry; "newly printed and newly come forth! All sorts of ballads and pleasant books!"⁶⁸

VII

The most efficacious method of selling ballads was undoubtedly by the employment of ballad-singers; but a constant supply of broadsides was kept in every book-stall, in the provincial cities as well as in London, and they were prominently displayed. In 1625 Paul's Churchyard was so full of stalls that it was

no wonder

That Paul's so often hath been struck with thunder:
'Twas aimed at these shops, in which there lie
Such a confused world of trumpery.¹

Many stalls were open for inspection as early as seven o'clock.² As delinquent printers and balladists were not infrequently required to attend seven o'clock sessions of

⁶⁷ "Then will I turn ballet-singer," says Eleazer, in Heming's *Jew's Tragedy* (1662, ed. H. A. Cohn, Louvain, 1913, p. 68); "you shall carry my pack."

⁶⁸ *The London Chanticleers*, 1659 (Dodsley-Hazlitt's *Old Plays*, XII, pp. 329 ff.).

¹ Holland, *Continued Inquisition*, etc., p. 80.

² In 1514 Thomas Symonds testified in a lawsuit that he was "standing before his stall" at 7 a. m. (Duff's *Century of the English Book Trade*, p. xvii). The Stationers' Registers contain many notes of fines inflicted on stationers who kept their stalls and shops open on Sunday. For this offense Norton and Waterson were each fined twenty pence on August 30, 1559, and Peperell was fined two shillings (Arber's *Transcript*, I, pp. 123 f.).

the Privy Council,³ it may be presumed that even at this early hour men and women were abroad, poring over the stalls and fingering the ballads. That they would read and read and then depart without purchasing anything, seemed to be no less annoying to the veteran ballad-monger Thomas Churchyard than it is to twentieth-century news-dealers.⁴

The keepers of stalls were sometimes the stationers themselves, but more often they were apprentices, who united the functions of salesman and ballad-singer. "What lack ye?" they would cry. "What is't ye lack? What lack ye? Come along, and buy. . . . Fine ballads! new ballads! What lack ye?"⁵ The Barnes boys kept a stall, where "the one in a squeaking treble, the other in an ale-blown base," caroled out "such adulterous ribaldry as chaste ears abhor to hear." Their father's ears, alas, were impervious to chastity. Breaking out into admiration, he would send straggling customers to buy his sons' lewd songs. "'O brave boys,' sayeth Barnes Maximus"; but "the father leaps, the lubbers roar, the people run, the devil laughs, God lowers, and good men weep," is Chettle's withering comment.⁶

For full three centuries the stall and its attendants changed but little. Silas Wegg, a picture of the nineteenth-century ballad-man as Dickens saw him, kept a stall, or push-cart, containing all sorts of articles, chief and honored among which was an assortment of the halfpenny ballads.

³ See *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII, xvi, no. 366 (Dec. 30, 1540); *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. Nicolas, vii, pp. 103, 105.

⁴ See his *Mirror of Man, and Manners of Men*, 1594, "To the generall Readers."

⁵ *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, 1590 (Dodsley-Hazlitt's *Old Plays*, vi, p. 404).

⁶ *Kind Heart's Dream*, ed. Ingleby, pp. 48-49.

Wooden-legged, raucous-throated, shifty and thievish by nature, Mr. Wegg is an exact counterpart of the ballad-singers described by Tudor and Stuart men of letters. With remarkable forbearance, however, he sold his ballads by intoning instead of singing them, and his most effective innovation was to include the hearer's name in the lines of the ballad, thus making that privileged person feel a keen interest in the characters mentioned in the rimes.

Ballads were advertised in still another way,—by putting them in cleft sticks erected for the purpose in prominent places, or by pasting them on public posts, walls, or church doors.⁷ Of course nothing but the title, or at most a fragment, of the broadside was so posted, for otherwise it would have been read and memorized or even stolen.⁸ Jonson, who bitterly objected to this form of advertising, begged his printers to grant that his work

thus much favour have,
To lie upon thy stall, till it be sought;
Not offer'd, as it made suit to be bought;
Nor have my title-leaf on posts or walls,
Or in cleft-sticks, advanced to make calls
For termers, or some clerklike serving-man,
Who scarce can spell th' hard names.⁹

No attention was paid to his plea, however; and years

⁷ A favorite place for the posts, as innumerable references prove, was Paul's Churchyard. "Ere long not a post in Paul's Churchyard but shall be acquainted with our writings," prophesies Madido in *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* (ed. Macray, p. 8). In *The Elder Brother*, iv, iv, Fletcher informs us incidentally that ballads were "pasted upon all the posts in Paris." See also note 11 below.

⁸ Then have the copies of it pasted on posts,
Like pamphlet-titles, that sue to be sold,

says one of the characters in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Honest Man's Fortune*, 1613, III, ii.

⁹ *Epigram III* (*Works*, ed. Gifford-Cunningham, VIII, p. 146).

later, according to Michael Drayton, the works of the great poet were still "oft printed, set on every post."¹⁰ So far as Jonson's request was concerned, it might readily have been granted with no attendant loss, for the theatres were creating a demand for his work; but in the ballad-selling business the competition was altogether too strong for such passive measures. So many printers dealt in ballads that it behooved each to advertise his wares in every possible way, and what bill-board so good as the doors of Paul's, always "pasted and plastered up with serving-men's supplications," beneath which those who wished to engage servants wrote their names and addresses?¹¹ "I have been posted to every post in Paul's Churchyard *cum gratia et privilegio*," was the gleeful boast of Ingenioso.¹² What with ballad-singers, cleft sticks, and posts and walls covered with broadsides, therefore, the Londoner, go where he would, found the ballad staring him in the face with much the relentless persistency of a modern bill-poster.

This method of advertising helped bring about the gradual extension of ballad-titles to enormous lengths—titles so specific and voluble that a mere glance could inform the passer-by whether the ballad was a lamentable ditty, a merry new song, or a strange and miraculous piece of news, while a moment's inspection would give him a fair indication of the actual contents.¹³ That the results of the method were satisfactory seems to be beyond doubt;

¹⁰ *Minor Poems*, ed. Cyril Brett, p. 112.

¹¹ Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*, 1609 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, II, p. 235); Nashe, *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, p. 194; IV, pp. 119 f. See also Dekker and Webster's *Westward Ho*, 1607, II, ii, sign. C 3; Marston's *What You Will*, 1607, III, iii, 60; and note 7 above.

¹² *The Return from Parnassus*, ed. Macray, p. 30.

¹³ For a ballad of 500 words, the title of which runs to 230 words, see *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, p. 340; and cf. Kuehner, *Litterarische Charakteristik der Roxburghe- und Bagford-Balladen*, p. 25.

for in 1603 Nicholas Breton declared, "Verses are so common, that they are nailed upon every post,"¹⁴ and twenty years later lamentable, lachrymable rimes were besmearing every wall, public post, and church door in London.¹⁵

VIII

As soon as bought, ballads were memorized, sung when occasion arose, and often written down in manuscript anthologies. This last practice accounts not only for strange collections of ultra-sensational and pious ballads, like the *Shirburn Ballads*,¹ but also for the more famous, and more worthy, Percy Folio manuscript. It would be illuminating to know what class of ballad-readers made these compilations; but, be that as it may, it is certain that every red-nosed fiddler had at his finger's end, every ignorant ale-knight breathed forth over the pot, as soon as his brain waxed hot, "babbling ballads" and "new-found songs and sonnets."²

Thomas Lodge thought that magistrates would do well "to root out those odd rimes which runs in every rascal's

¹⁴ *A Dialogue full of Pith and Pleasure*, in *Works*, ed. Grosart, II, j, p. 6.

¹⁵ Holland, *Continued Inquisition*, etc., p. 81:

To see each Wall and publike Post defil'd
With diuers deadly *Elegies*, compil'd
By a foule swarme of *Cuckoes* of our Times,
In Lamentable Lachrymentall Rimes. . . .

To see such *Batter* euerie weeke besmeare
Each publike post, and Church dore, and to heare
These *shamefull lies*, would make a man in spight
Of Nature, turne *Satyr*ist.

¹ Edited by Andrew Clark, Oxford, 1907.

² Nashe's *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, pp. 23-24.

mouth,"—those foolish ballads, savoring of ribaldry;³ but perhaps the magistrates realized the impossibility of the task, even had they been disposed to attempt it. A dissolute husband might know, as one wife somewhat disloyally told her five friends,

The hugest number of such bawdy songs,
You even would wonder (gossips, this is plain)
That any man could bear them in his brain.⁴

Kind Kit of Kingstone, carrying his fishwives westward for smelts, would amuse them, when they began to nod, by singing a ballad "which neither punk, fiddler, or ballad-singer had ever polluted with their unsavory breath."⁵ And that old prose ballad-monger John Taylor, "Poeta Aquaticus," sailing down the Thames in his merry, ferry, wherry boat, would sing with equal gusto broadside ballads written by Sir Edward Dyer, Christopher Marlowe, and the newest balladist in London. Impecunious gallants sometimes ventured to "bestow a crown in ballads, love-pamphlets, and such poetical rarities," to send down to their lady grandmothers, knowing well that in return they would receive enough country food to 'keep their chambers' all winter.⁶ For ballads were great favorites in the country. Every poor milkmaid would "chant and chirp" them under her cow, using them "as a harmless charm to make her let down her milk."⁷ Many a Miss Tabitha Bramble was disturbed because her maids kept

³ *A Reply to Stephen Gosson*, c. 1580 (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, I, p. 20).

⁴ Samuel Rowlands, *A Crew of Kind Gossips*, 1609 (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, II, p. 19).

⁵ *Westward for Smelts*, 1620, ed. Halliwell-Phillipps, Percy Society, XXII, pp. 7-8.

⁶ Brome, *The Antipodes*, III, v.

⁷ *Whimzies*, 1631, no. 2 ("A Ballad-monger").

singing "profane ballads," and yet many an old grandame sang them herself "by the fireside o'er a black pot."⁸ Sometimes a lover tried to win his sweetheart by singing a moving ditty to her,⁹ or he would express his feelings in "a woeful ballad made to his mistress' eyebrow."¹⁰ One love-sick swain was warned against paying court to a woman who was herself "a kind of poetess" and would "make ballads upon the calves of your legs!"¹¹ There was hardly a person in England who was not touched by the ballad in one way or another.

Only the vulgar, however, were deeply influenced. Mr. Stopford Brooke's belief that the ballad did "the work of the modern weekly review," that it "stimulated and informed the intellectual life of England,"¹² is beside the mark. To the uneducated or the half-educated the ballad was a weekly, nay a daily, review; but cultivated readers scorned it, poets would not write in ballad-stanza,¹³ and one of them, Drayton, could hardly force himself to apply even the French word *ballade* to his own composition.¹⁴ Lyrical ballads met with a more kindly reception in England and even on the Continent, where some thirty or forty, carried abroad by English comedians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are still preserved in translations;

⁸ Sir Aston Cokain, *The Obstinate Lady*, 1657, III, ii.

⁹ John Day, *The Blind Beggar*, 1659, IV, iii (Bullen's ed., pp. 90-91).

¹⁰ *As You Like It*, II, vii, 147 ff.

¹¹ John Cook, *Green's Tu Quoque*, 1614 (Dodsley-Hazlitt's *Old Plays*, XI, p. 194).

¹² *Primer of English Literature*, 1889, p. 73. In his *English Literature*, 1897, p. 100, Brooke repeats this remark *verbatim*, save that he inserts the word "popular" before "intellectual life."

¹³ Chappell, *Popular Music*, I, p. 105.

¹⁴ See his "Epistle to the Reader," *Poems Lyrick and Pastorall*, 1606? (*Poems*, ed. J. P. Collier, Roxburghe Club, 1856, p. 382).

but they can hardly have affected the intellectual life of their readers.

In general ballad-readers were extremely gullible, believing every broadside true if only for Mopsa's reason—because it was in print;¹⁵ and ballad-writers took pains to make belief easy. Just as the sheet sold by Autolycus had five justices' hands to it, so that describing "the form and shape of a monstrous child, born at Maidstone in Kent," October 24, 1568, is vouched for by the names of three eye-witnesses;¹⁶ while "A most Miraculous, Strange, and True Ballad, of a Young Man of the Age of nineteen Years, who was wrongfully Hanged at a town called Bonn in the Low Countries," not only has a wonderful woodcut showing the complacent youth (who by God's mercy had survived five days of hanging) in the process of being taken down from the gallows, but ends with the couplet,

The truth of this strange accident men need not far to look,
For 'tis confirmed by good men's hands, and printed in a book."

¹⁵ When Richard Atkyns, in an epistle to Charles II prefixed to his *Original and Growth of Printing*, 1664 (Hazlitt's *Prefaces*, 1874, p. 402), remarked that the common people "believed even a ballad, because it was in print," he was probably not giving his own opinion, but was borrowing Mopsa's words (*Winter's Tale*, iv, iv, 263 f.). So perhaps was Cavendish when he made one of his ballad-listeners in *The Triumphant Widow* (1677, p. 6) exclaim, "Lord, Lord, what lying things these ballads are, and to be in print too!"

¹⁶ *A Collection of 79 Ballads*, pp. 194 f.

¹⁷ *Shirburn Ballads*, pp. 159 ff. The pamphleteers sinned as well as the balladists. Thus Anthony Munday's *View of Sundry Examples*, 1580 (reprinted with Collier's edition of Munday's *John a Kent*, Old Shakespeare Society, 1851, p. 89), gives the most absurd accounts imaginable of monstrous births "as the printed book doth witness." There was, he informs us, "in Italy, also, of an ancient woman . . . borne a deformed creature, the which spake many words, as the book in print dooth witnes, which was printed by Thomas East." But Munday himself had served a long apprenticeship in ballad-writing.

There was at least one person, "a kind of plodding poet," who would even swear that tobacco was "not in the first creation," because he found "no ballad argument to prove old Adam a tobaccoist"! ¹⁸

Readers of such ballads had perhaps as much intelligence as have our lower classes, and exhibited little more credulity than is demanded by the yellowest of our yellow journals; but it must be admitted that most ballads (all news-ballads) were written down to the level of the least intelligent reader. Except by liberal doses of smug moralizing, balladists made no effort to uplift their patrons; and the latter were despised by literary men. Nashe declares that the country ploughman models all his actions on some marvelous prognostication that he has read, that the silly shepherd "lighteth no sooner on a quagmire, but he thinketh this is the foretold earthquake, whereof his boy hath the ballad"; and he damns the common people in general by describing them as "so simple they know not what they do; they no sooner spy a new ballad, and his name to it that compiled it, but they put him in for one of the learned men of our time." ¹⁹ "He that made this ballad," says Cokes after Nightingale has sung "A Caveat against Cut-Purses," "shall be poet to my masque." ²⁰ Ben Jonson, who was intensely disgusted because poetry was confused with "the abortive and extemporal din of balladry," ²¹ told Drummond of Hawthornden a yarn about a man who lighted his pipe with a ballad and who, having a sore head the next day, swore he had a great singing there and thought the pain was due to the ballad. ²²

¹⁸ John Day, *Law-Tricks*, 1608, act II (Bullen's ed., p. 22).

¹⁹ *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, pp. 23, 194.

²⁰ *Bartholomew Fair*, III, v.

²¹ *Neptune's Triumph*, 1624 (*Works*, ed. Gifford-Cunningham, VIII, p. 28).

²² *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 403 f. Cf. Chapman's *All Fools*, 1605, v, ii, 48 ff.:

It would, however, be a serious error to suppose that only the lower classes read ballads. For their delight, to be sure, Edward White printed a ballad "of a worme found in ye hole of a hors hart";²³ but John Wolfe attempted to interest more cultivated readers with "Le vray purtraict d'un ver Monstrueux qui a esté trouué dans le cœur d'un Cheual qui est mort en la ville de Londres le 17. de Mars. 1586."²⁴ Of course there were Rufaldos who disdainfully insisted that ballads were barbarous, ignoble, and beggarly, mere "whipping-post, tinkerly stuff"; but a Bubulcus was always at hand to retort, "For all that, I have read good stuff sometimes, especially in your fighting ballads: *When cannons are roaring and bullets are flying, &c.*"²⁵ "'Tis a very ballad, my lord," says Venture, "and a coarse tune." "The better," rejoins Lord Bonvile promptly; "why, does any tune become a gentleman so well as a ballad?"²⁶ Good, substantial citizens might well have confessed with Mr. Lovesong: "I buy every [one] of them that is printed, so soon as it comes abroad, and I hear it cried; and I promise you that they have cost me more money than I'll say. And I can sing them all, too, . . . with the very air and tune of your most exquisite ballad-singers o' the streets."²⁷

My boy once lighted
A pipe of cane tobacco with a piece
Of a vile ballad, and I'll swear I had
A singing in my head a whole week after.

²³ Licensed on August 1, 1586 (Arber's *Transcript*, II, p. 451). Stowe's *Annals* (*sub anno* 1586) gives an account of the marvel.

²⁴ Reprinted in Collman's *Ballads and Broadsides*, no. 64.

²⁵ Shirley's *Love-Tricks*, 1625, II, i. There is a ballad to this tune in *Roxburghe Ballads*, VIII, pt. ii, pp. xli ff.

²⁶ Shirley's *Hyde Park*, IV, iii.

²⁷ *A Garland for the New Royal Exchange* (1669, reprinted 1845), p. 47. Nashe declared ironically (*Works*, III, p. 67) that Harvey

Henry Glapthorne would have us believe that in Charles I's day it was not unusual to meet a learned vicar's wife who could expound ballads, or an alderman who could not endure music but loved ballads and their tunes.²⁸ Two centuries later George Meredith and Dame Gossip 'used to learn by heart ballads and songs manufactured in London's poetic centre, the Seven Dials, in the good old days when poetry was worshipped.'²⁹

There is hardly a play written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that does not mention the "ballet," and always with ridicule; but the distinction which playwrights made between the pure lyrics and the journalistic ballads should be taken into consideration. It was to the news-ballads that all of Shakespeare's contemptuous references were made. Autolycus and his monstrosities of land and sea, Trinculo and his wonderful fish, are pictures of but one class (even if the largest) of ballad-mongers. On the other hand, few plays of Shakespeare's fail to show a real appreciation of lyrical ballads written by Elderton, Deloney, Johnson, and others whose very names are now unknown. With all their contempt for Mopsas and Nightingales, playwrights spent many a penny in buying ballads and many a half hour in memorizing them. Jonson, Fletcher, Heywood, Middleton, Marston, Chapman, as well as Shakespeare, knew dozens by heart and quoted them in almost every play.³⁰

found the ballad of "In Crete when Dedalus" as delightful as "food from heaven, and more transporting and ravishing than Plato's discourse of the immortality of the soul was to Cato." See Sidgwick's letter on the ballad, *Gentleman's Magazine*, cccx, pp. 179-181 (1906).

²⁸ *Wit in a Constable*, 1639 (*Plays*, ed. Pearson, I, pp. 193, 206).

²⁹ *The Amazing Marriage*, chs. i, xxviii.

³⁰ Very likely Shakespeare himself produced an occasional ballad, as did many other poets from his day to Goldsmith's. There is no reason why he should not have written the one on Lucy that is tradi-

Nor did dramatists, early and late, hesitate to rifle ballads for plots and suggestions. Instances are too numerous and too familiar to be given at length. There is Heywood's *Edward IV and the Tanner of Tamworth*, suggested by ballads of that title and having a sub-plot drawn largely from broadside versions of the misfortunes of Mistress Jane Shore;³¹ there are Greene's *Edward I*, Sampson's *Vow-Breaker*, the anonymous *Famous History of Captain Stukely*, and Lillo's *George Barnwell*. In the prologue to his own *Jane Shore*, Nicholas Rowe expressed his indebtedness to the ballad-mongers who had so capably told his heroine's story more than a hundred years earlier. As eager for new and attractive subjects as was the dramatist, the ballad-monger often led the way by directing attention to plots worthy of presentation on the stage. An old ballad on Troilus and Cressida (1565) depicts the lovers in such a way as to make many critics believe that it influenced Shakespeare's conception of them;³² while in Shakespeare's description of the murder of the two young princes in the Tower other persons see the influence of "The Children in the Woods." Fifteen or twenty years before Lyly wrote his comedy, a ballad of "Alexander, Campaspe, and Apelles, and of the faithful friendship between them," was published;³³ before Marlowe's tragedy was written, "The Judgment of God shewed upon John Faustus" had made the career of that unfortunate

tionally attributed to him; and see also Halliwell-Phillipps's *Discovery that Shakespeare wrote one or more Ballads or Poems on the Spanish Armada*, 1866 (twenty-five copies printed, only ten preserved). Several ballads by Ben Jonson lived a long life on common broadsides.

³¹ One version is Child's number 273.

³² See Halliwell-Phillipps's introduction to his reprint of the ballad, 1846, Old Shakespeare Society, xxxi, pp. 101-105.

³³ Arber's *Transcript*, I, p. 306.

doctor familiar to Londoners;³⁴ while in 1589-90 balladists were reporting to their London *clientèle* the troubles of the king of Navarre and the overthrow of the duc de Mayne,³⁵ and thus preparing the people for an understanding of the political background of *Love's Labour's Lost* and Chapman's French tragedies.

Foreign ambassadors read ballads assiduously and sent reports about them to their respective governments;³⁶ and even kings returned autograph letters to other kings who had requested the suppression of certain offensive ballads.³⁷ Steele had "heard that a minister of state in the reign of Queen Elizabeth had all manner of books and ballads brought to him, of what kind soever, and took great notice how much they took with the people; upon which he would, and certainly might, very well judge of their present dispositions, and the most proper way of applying them according to his own purposes."³⁸ Cultivated men saw that for future generations ballads would possess far more interest and value than many of the ponderous folios that met with contemporary approval; hence collectors were always busy. Naturally, the accumulations that have survived are worth many times their weight in gold, and those of which no trace remains, like the collections said to have been made by Dryden and the earl of Dorset, are easily imagined to be even more valuable. Before the time of Macaulay, historians too used ballads without embarrass-

³⁴ *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi, pp. 700 ff.

³⁵ Arber's *Transcript*, ii, pp. 521 ff., 540.

³⁶ See, e. g., *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, viii, no. 45 (March 21, 1559).

³⁷ See the reply of James V of Scotland to Henry VIII, in Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, 1st series, ii, pp. 103-104; and cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII, xiii, pt. ii, nos. 1129, 1145.

³⁸ *Spectator*, October 6, 1712.

ment. Not only was John Fox under considerable obligations to them in the compilation of his *Book of Martyrs*, but he reprinted a number of them there; and in the period of the Civil War John Rous copied several ballads into his *Diary*, though not, as he takes pains to let us know, because he liked them:

I hate these following railing rimes,
Yet keepe them for president of the times,³⁹

he declares with true historical zeal.

But ballads did not hide their light between the lids of books. The walls of inns, taverns, and dwelling-houses, those patronized or owned by the well-to-do no less than by the poor, were commonly lined with broadsheets, which not only helped to supply the absence of wall-paper and tapestry, but gave to the rooms a picturesque, if bizarre, appearance. Ardelio the serving-man was not the only one who knew what it meant to "sit against a wall, with a library of ballads" before one.⁴⁰ Said the nobleman Sir Robert Cotton,

We in the country do not scorn
Our walls with ballads to adorn,
Of Patient Grissel and the Lord of Lorn.⁴¹

The bourgeois Holland, however, must sneer at the custom:

If o'er the chimney they some ballads have
Of *Chevy-Chase*, or of some branded slave
Hanged at Tyburne, they their matins make it,
And vespers too, and for the Bible take it.⁴²

³⁹ *Diary*, ed. M. A. E. Green, Camden Society, 1856, p. 109.

⁴⁰ Shackerley Marmion, *Holland's Leaguer*, 1632, v, iii.

⁴¹ Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, 1829, I, p. xcvi.

⁴² Holland, *Continued Inquisition*, etc., p. 81. Cf. Cavendish, *The Humorous Lovers*, 1677, p. 40: "I will never be a friend to the muses again; James, pull down the ballads my maid has starched up in the

Aubrey says that when he was a boy of nine he saw over the parlor chimney-place in the house of Mr. Singleton, an alderman of Gloucester, the pictorial description of Sidney's funeral "engraved and printed on papers pasted together" and extending the full length of the room.⁴³ Beside the tomb of Edward VI in Westminster Abbey, Tom could only say, "I have heard a ballad of him sang at Ratcliff Cross." "I believe," replies Moll, "we have it at home over our kitchen mantle-tree."⁴⁴ Visitors to London selected ballads with the care one now spends on wall-paper. Old Cokes, in the midst of the joys of Bartholomew Fair, cries out to Mrs. Overdo: "O sister, do you remember the ballads over the nursery-chimney at home o' my own pasting up!" and proceeds, with disastrous results, to replenish his stock.⁴⁵

Down through the eighteenth century English inns and ale-houses continued to be ornamented with ballads,—probably one reason why they had attracted a man like Isaac Walton, who revelled in a clean room smelling of lavender and having twenty ballads pasted on the walls. Perhaps, too, he was, like Addison, interested in any odd scrap of printed paper that came in his way. "I cannot for my heart," admits Addison, "leave a room before I have thoroughly studied the walls of it, and examined the several printed papers which are usually pasted upon them"; and he goes on to give a memorable critique on the old ballad of "Two Children in the Wood," which he had just

kitchen, and look in my study for the *Garland of Good Will* [a collection of ballads by Thomas Deloney], and burn it; I will never have a good opinion of rhyme more." But the Duke of Newcastle himself knew the *Garland of Good Will* by heart!

⁴³ *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, II, p. 249.

⁴⁴ *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719, v, p. 222, marginal note.

⁴⁵ *Bartholomew Fair*, III, v.

found in some out-of-the-way country house.⁴⁶ Fifty years later Thomas Holcroft confessed that his education had been furthered by a study of cottage and ale-house walls, from which, he said, he had learned "Death and the Lady," "Margaret's Ghost," "Lamentable Tragedies," and "King Charles's Golden Rules."⁴⁷ Perhaps Holcroft had profited by the broadsides of the enterprising printer William Dicey, of Northampton, who added critical introductions to his innumerable ballads, purging truth from falsehood (as Martin Parker would have said) because "many children never would have learned to read had they not took a delight in poring over *Jane Shore*, or *Robin Hood*, &c., which has insensibly stole into them a curiosity and desire of reading other the like stories, till they have improved themselves more in a short time than perhaps they would have done in some years at school."⁴⁸ "You have read learnedly," a sarcastic person might say to his companion; "did you begin with ballads?"⁴⁹

Apart from their educational value, ballads may have brought consolation to the grief-stricken! "O Lord," the disconsolate might cry, "then let me turn myself into a ballad and mourn."⁵⁰ But it remained for Pepys to show us to what novel uses they were put by more volatile

⁴⁶ *Spectator*, June 7, 1711.

⁴⁷ *Memoirs*, I, p. 135.

⁴⁸ For example, about 1765 Dicey published "Chevy Chase" (Mr. Child's version B), together with the explanatory note just quoted and an introduction of thirteen lines (in which he gives a history of the ballad, quoting Sidney's and Addison's praise of it), all on one folio sheet. Dicey's words are very similar to those in which the editor of *A Collection of Old Ballads* (1723) announced his purpose and his plan of procedure.

⁴⁹ Fletcher, *Wit without Money*, 1614, II, iv.

⁵⁰ *The Trial of Chivalry*, 1605 (Bullen's *Old English Plays*, 1884, III, p. 312).

mourners. At Sir Thomas Teddiman's funeral, May 15, 1668, one of the company took "some ballads out of his pocket, which," says Pepys, "I read, and the rest come about me to hear! and there very merry we were all, they being new ballets. By and by the corpse went."⁵¹

HYDER E. ROLLINS.

⁵¹ *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, VIII, p. 17.

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XVI.—THE NATURE OF TRAGEDY

The inadequacy of our current literary terms is nowhere clearer than in the case of tragedy, despite the amount of energy that has been spent on efforts to define it. Beyond or below the incontestable examples—the masterpieces of Æschylus, of Sophocles, of Shakespeare—stretches a wide and uncertainly bounded territory, sometimes thought of as including almost any play of a fairly serious sort, sometimes divided according as its occupants present, or fail to present, certain accepted features. The former point of view leads to regarding as vaguely tragic even plays that end in no positive catastrophe, the latter to compiling lengthy catalogs of pieces that have nothing of the tragic form but the label. At first sight it may seem that there is a radical difference between plays which end in downfall and death and those in which a threatened woe is at length and completely averted; but if we limit the name of tragedy to the former class, we are forced to deny it to pieces that have traditionally laid claim to it, and thus to show how hard is the task of drawing positive

distinctions. If we feel that the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus is really more akin to *Macbeth* than to the bloodless products of a mistakenly classicizing Renaissance, we may yet find it hard to justify that feeling on the basis of the current conceptions, or to account for numerous facts which the actual plays present. Why, for instance, are the best examples of tragedy confined almost entirely to certain well-marked periods—Greek to less than a century between Salamis and the death of Sophocles, Elizabethan either to the seven years between 1586 and the death of Marlowe or to the decade 1599-1609, French to the somewhat longer but far less well filled interval between the *Cid* in 1636 and *Phèdre* in 1677? Why, again, are tragic heroes usually of royal or noble rank? Why is the action usually set in a more or less remote time? Are traits like these essential to the form, or merely adventitious? To answer such questions, we need to examine two matters: the nature of the material best able to yield the tragic effect, the nature of the faculty by which that material is to be contemplated. The present paper—in rather summary fashion, and with no pretence at an exhaustive review of authorities—will attempt this double task.

I

It may seem a commonplace to affirm that a tragic reaction cannot be secured unless the material manifests the presence of positive and malevolent evil, frankly faced and mastered by the dramatist, without misrepresentation or evasion; that no tragedy was ever created by a dramatist who distorted the inevitable march of events to secure a happy ending, or who sought to attenuate the sinister and malignant aspects of human destiny. Yet the point has been an occasion of error ever since Aristotle, by his uncer-

tainty as to the real nature of tragic material, not only confused his own treatment of the problem, but left the confusion as a legacy to ensuing ages more desirous of justifying his authority than of examining the actual facts. Hence an appraisal of the Aristotelian view must precede any effort at progress in a better direction.

Aristotle rightly insists, in his discussion of the plot, that the tragic effect should arise from the very nature and connection of the events with which it deals;¹ but he clouds his analysis of the matter by failing to make clear that these events must be of a certain kind. There is nothing about the famous *recognition* and *reversal* that restricts them to tragedy; they may occur in comedy, as may the error (*ἀμάρτια*) which is indeed a fertile source of dramatic complications, but not necessarily of tragic ones unless the conditions are appropriate. On these conditions Aristotle touches somewhat lightly; the statement that they must be such as to arouse terror or pity does not carry us far, nor is the matter much advanced by the brief remarks² concerning the *πάθος*, "a destructive or painful action, such as deaths on the stage, wounds, and the like." Such events, tho they may have some tragic value in themselves, are much more moving when they occur between persons closely related; so that themes containing them are those especially to be sought by the tragic poet. So far the statements, tho rather sketchy, are sound; but now enters a disturbing factor, the fact that these themes involve an element which may be thought morally repulsive. Accordingly Aristotle (whether consciously or not the method of the *Poetics* does not enable us to say) begins to reverse his

¹ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συστάσεως τῶν πραγμάτων.—*Poetics*, XIV, 1.

² XI, 6. It is only fair to say that some scholars think our text of the *Poetics* defective at this point.

position, until he ends by declaring that it is best that the real nature of the deed be discovered before it is actually done, and that by the discovery it be averted. His previous words, however, have distinctly committed him to the position that the unhappy ending is best. It is the preference for it that makes Euripides "most tragic" (XIII, 6); the happy ending suggests comedy, "in which nobody kills anybody" (XIII, 8); and the ridiculous, with which comedy deals, is "painless and not destructive" (v, 1), the exact opposite of the tragic *πάθος*.

Seemingly we have here a hopeless discrepancy; and certain attempts to explain it only set it in a sharper light. Professor Bywater, for instance, says:

Aristotle's view of the construction exemplified in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* is presumably this, that the full effect of tragedy is attained in the most artistic way, without the adjunct of physical suffering, and with the minimum of offence to our moral sensibilities. His ultimate preference for this construction is intelligible enough in itself; and we have been prepared for it to some extent by his recognition throughout this chapter of the legitimacy of a situation like that in the *Iphigenia*, in which the deed of horror, though contemplated, is not actually carried out. The criterion which now determines the relative values of the possible situations in Tragedy is a moral one, their effect not on the emotions, but on the moral sensibility of the audience. . . . In chapter XIII Aristotle was thinking only of the emotional effect of tragedy as produced by the most obvious means; here he comes to see that the same effect may be produced in a finer form without their aid.*

But it is not true that the effect produced by the *Iphigenia* is identical with that produced by plays ending in a catastrophe; it is not a question of a similar effect more or less "finely" produced, but of two effects radically dissimilar. Not only is there something disconcerting in a view that would make the *Iphigenia* "finer" than the

* *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 224-5.

Oresteia or the *Ædipus*; there is an absolute confusion between matters which would be kept apart by any observer who was not led astray by the desire to justify Aristotle at whatever cost.

So far as Aristotle himself is concerned, the error would seem to have arisen from his over-intellectual approach to the problem, which led him to substitute ingenious effects of plot for the genuine tragic material, and to underestimate the "sense of sin"—traits, by the way, which explain his fondness for Euripides, and his almost total ignoring of *Æschylus*. Conscious wrong-doing and deeds of horror are too strong meat for him, as they have been for many since his time. But whatever the views of Aristotle and his commentators may be, we must recognize that a type of drama exists that deals with material in which moral evil is implicit, and ends in the downfall of at least some of its participants; and it is further obvious that the emotions normally thought of as tragic are most readily generated by plays of just this type. Hence we may fairly ask whether these emotions can ever be roused when the elements just named are absent.⁴ Does not their absence produce mere excitement and interest, as in the *Iphigenia* itself, that typical play of romantic adventure? Surely common sense must put such a play, as well as such a character-study as the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, on the other side of the line from the *Ædipus*, the *Hippolytus*, or the *Agamemnon*.

⁴ In the Renaissance, Castelvetro (1505-71) noted Aristotle's inconsistency, and held that *πᾶθος* should have been defined more fully. He also held that "tragedy without the sad ending cannot reasonably excite, and, as experience shows, does not excite, fear or pity." Cf. H. B. Charlton, *Castelvetro's Theory of Poetry* (Manchester, 1913), p. 98. Otherwise, of course, he has his full share of Renaissance delusions.

Without the presence of evil, then, a tragic reaction cannot result. It will not be generated by mere passion, however excessive; by a mere clash of wills, where neither side is palpably in the wrong; nor yet by a simple error of judgment. Each of these may lead to dramatic complications, but not to tragedy unless the act of passion in question be of a sort to rouse the latent evil which must always be presupposed. Plays like *Romeo and Juliet* or *Antony and Cleopatra* contain no such element, and therefore fail to excite in us a reaction of the same kind as that excited by *Hamlet* or *Macbeth*; whereas in *The Merchant of Venice* there is a clear possibility of tragedy in the relations of Shylock and Antonio, which, however, it was no part of Shakespeare's purpose to work out. The vague perception of this condition, without a close analysis of its nature, accounts for the numerous attempts to explain why *Romeo and Juliet* is not precisely a tragedy, or how it would become one if the meaning of the term were slightly and conveniently enlarged. Such attempts have often done much credit to their authors' ingenuity; the only fault to be found with them is that they miss the essential point. At the same time, it would be an equally grave error to suppose that the writer of tragedy seeks aberrations and horrors for their own sake; however relentlessly he may lead us to contemplate crime and atrocity, he does so that he may show us in them a significance. Æschylus does not shrink from revealing Clytaemnestra bedewed with her victim's blood; but what in Seneca and his school would be a mere delight in the shambles is in the Greek only the prelude to a great moral revelation. Just here, I suspect, is the ground for a more rational division between melodrama and tragedy than the familiar formula which would base the difference on the presence or absence of a thoroughgoing causal connection. So far as that formula is not

the product of the over-intellectual approach to the matter already warned against, it derives its validity from the dramatist's success or failure in estimating the moral import of his theme.

The presence of evil is thus the basic factor of the tragic reaction, on which variations ensue according to the attitudes toward this evil which the characters in any particular tragedy adopt. They may enter an evil course with no suspicion of its true nature, like Deianeira with the poisoned robe, or remain unconscious of evil at hand, like Desdemona; but cases like these seldom afford the substance of complete tragedies. More frequently the tragic character seeks either to avoid evil when he should face it, or to turn it to his own ends, thereby bringing into play what Professor Bradley has admirably called "the incalculability of evil—that in meddling with it human beings do they know not what."⁵ Hamlet, deferring his vengeance only to fall amid a welter of slaughter; Iago, finding what is meant for a mere malicious intrigue turn to the undoing of his foes and of himself; Macbeth, thinking to dominate the forces of evil, and in truth made their helpless tool—these are figures in whom, and in whose like, the true power of tragedy becomes fully manifest.

Every real tragedy must, with whatever preliminaries, lead to a crisis, in which the potency of evil, and the struggle of the participants as they yield to or defy it, inexorably precipitate a catastrophe.

In a sense the peculiar effect of tragedy will be best preserved when this catastrophe is far-reaching or complete; but to maintain that it is the sole admissible type of ending is to disregard the evidence of actual practice. A catastrophe for at least some of the participants is neces-

⁵ *Shakespearian Tragedy*, p. 386.

sary, if we are to receive a true tragic reaction, not merely interest and excitement; but the whole history of tragedy proves that the quiet close, the destiny worked out by struggle and acceptance, is a legitimate goal of tragic endeavor. It is merely in the power of the writer to decide whether he shall end the action before such a point is reached, or extend it to the inclusion of peace and reconciliation; the nature of the motive, the intent of the writer, the taste of the time, will contribute to the decision of the problem. We see *Œdipus* with blood-stained eye sockets on the threshold of the Theban palace; but we also see him when, purified and made wise by suffering, he passes to his tomb in friendly Attica. If, in other cases, we are left with the catastrophe itself, it is not, in the finest work, with a sense of rebellion and futility, but rather in a state which combines perception of the mystery of things with some degree of resignation. Tragedy, as it faces evil, makes us sympathize with the qualities of those who combat it, even if their struggle proves unavailing; and contact with intensity, however manifested, must to some degree invigorate. Here, and not in any mechanical theory of purgation or poetic justice, is to be found the true function of tragedy, and the true reason for its existence.

II

To show what material is best adapted to tragedy is only half our task; for the history of drama proves conclusively that tragic material is no guarantee of tragic result. That can follow only when the material is contemplated from a particular point of view, under the guidance of a particular faculty; and our next business is to ascertain what that faculty may be. Assuredly the writer of tragedy can dispense neither with the basic sense of fact which gives him

the perception of reality, nor with the constructive reason which orders the facts observed; but these, in themselves, are not enough. The sense of fact is entirely capable of recording the non-significant, whether in actual life or in a written source; in the former case tending toward a narrow realism, or a delight in the mere brutality of crime (as in the Elizabethan murder-play), in the latter toward an accumulation of petty and confusing details. So the reason may be diverted by a fallacy, as in the case of the neo-classic Unities, or led to impose on the material an order superficially logical, but at variance with the deeper truth of experience, as in the inexpedient moralizings of "poetic justice."⁶ Thus the necessity remains that the power which shall supplement or correct these errors of the sense of fact and the reason shall be the imagination.

In a previous paper⁷ I have briefly set forth what I regard as the distinguishing features of the imaginative faculty—its union of concision and amplitude, its ability to deal only with material previously selected and ordered. The first of these is attested whenever a tragedy is beheld or read by a responsive spectator or reader; the effect expands and deepens as it proceeds, as under the influence of evil the characters acquiesce in or resist it, in either case to their undoing, and yet with a development of intensity which is in itself invigorating; so that we are given an intense vision of the deeper aspects of life unperturbed by too much ingenuity of explanation. Even when (as so

⁶ There is also danger that the pleasure of construction will lead to an excessive ingenuity of plotting, and to such over-valuation of that element as we had occasion to note in Aristotle. Only the supreme skill with which Sophocles brings out the essential humanity of his hero saves the *Œdipus Tyrannus* from becoming a mere intricate piece of mechanism.

⁷ *A Definition of the Lyric*, in these *Publications*, XXXIII, esp. pp. 593-5.

often in Elizabethan work) we must make allowance for sub-plots and general intricacy of action, the genuinely tragic portion exhibits a potency which subdues or casts aside the alien and the non-essential; ⁸ yet it remains true that the conciser form permits the purer result, as in *Othello* and *Macbeth* contrasted with *Hamlet* and *Lear*. Just how this simplification of the material may be accomplished is a question deserving a somewhat closer analysis; having seen how the substance of tragedy is distinguished in kind, we have now to note how it is constituted in degree.

It is clear from experience that the material best suited to the needs of tragedy will be characterized by a certain remoteness; it is not taken from the writers' immediate surroundings, or at least it does not pretend to reproduce those surroundings with minute fidelity. Most frequently this remoteness is inherent in the material, as in the tragic themes of the Greeks, cleared of encumbering details in the process of transmission, or, to a considerable degree, in those which Shakespeare and his contemporaries drew from British legend, or from a romantic and really non-existent Italy. Sometimes, however, it is secured by the writer's deliberate choice, as when Synge goes for subjects to the distant and primitive Aran islands, or Mæterlinck, in *L'Intruse* and *Intérieur*, regards Flemish life thru a veil which obscures the minutely characteristic, but leaves visible the transformable essentials. But usually it is simpler to accept a theme which has acquired its remoteness in transmission, a fact which explains the retention of certain themes in different periods, and their reinterpretation by a succession of dramatists, because of their demonstrated suitability.

⁸ I have been interested, in re-reading *The Witch of Edmonton*, to note how completely the comic portions drop out of recollection.

Just in proportion as a tragic theme lacks remoteness, just so far it becomes intractable by excess of diverse and accumulated detail. Especially is this true of two sorts of motive—the purely historical, and the domestic. The former, tho it has a connection with the genesis of tragedy and has always been more or less practised, is usually so restricted by its accepted historical facts that freedom of treatment is made impossible; or, in the effort to make the matter more unified, there comes to be excessive reliance on moralizing and poetic justice. This is strikingly exemplified in the historical plays of Jonson and Chapman, which enforce an overt moral doctrine at the expense of flexible response to the variety of experience; ⁹ whereas Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* is faithful to essential truth despite the anachronisms which roused Jonson's scorn, and Chapman comes closest to tragedy when, in *Bussy d'Ambois*, he magnifies a contemporary action by viewing it thru an imaginative, even if turbid, haze. To an even greater degree is the domestic drama likely to be over-cumbered with detail, or drawn aside into delineation of social conditions. Such Elizabethan plays as Heywood's *Woman Killed with Kindness* pass into the milder regions of comedy of manners varied by pathos; Ibsen's later social dramas are cramped by the insistence on the details of narrow Norwegian life. The amount of detail assimilable by a tragic imagination will naturally vary to some extent; but it is surely not the part of wisdom to select a theme which is almost certain to resist satisfactory treatment.

This way of regarding the matter puts in its true light

• “Material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary, being the soul, limbs, and limits of an authentical tragedy.”—Chapman, Dedication of *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*.

that preference of tragedy for royal or noble heroes which has in its time caused so much needless perplexity. It is only natural that a motive interesting enough to be handed down should concern itself with the men of mark whose deeds were alone thought worth remembering, and who were recalled in their moments of great or striking action, not in those of daily and casual intercourse. We can see how the Renaissance delusion that tragedy concerned itself with royalty, comedy with ordinary folk, grew up; we should see with equal clearness that it was a fallacy based on a false association. Yet it has continued to tinge critical discussions even to the present day. Professor Bradley writes of the Shakespearean hero:

His fate affects the welfare of a whole nation or empire; and when he falls suddenly from the height of earthly greatness to the dust, his fall produces a sense of contrast, of the powerlessness of man, and of the omnipotence—perhaps the caprice—of Fortune or Fate, which no tale of private life can possibly rival.¹⁰

So Professor Butcher opines¹¹ that “the private life of an individual, tragic tho it may be in its inner quality, has never been made the subject of the highest tragedy.” Passing over the use of so ambiguous a term as “private life,”¹² we should certainly distinguish between the legendary kings of Shakespeare and such a narrower court atmosphere, with its excessive emphasis on loyalty to the sovereign, as we find in Beaumont and Fletcher. The former have a rational connection with the determinant condition just discussed, the latter is the product of a

¹⁰ *Shakespearian Tragedy*, p. 10.

¹¹ *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, p. 270

¹² “Il ne s'agit point dans ma tragédie des affaires du dehors. Néron est ici dans son particulier et dans sa famille.”—Racine, *Britannicus*, Première Préface. And surely *Othello* is not much concerned with its hero's public career.

specific state of society at a given time; but the value of either would seem to depend on the particular case, and not to derive from any general principle. I doubt if most persons find the state of Denmark an element in their reception of Hamlet's fall; and still less would the legendary Britain of *Lear* exert any active claim on our sympathies. The case of Scotland in *Macbeth* is indeed more moving; but there again it is a question of emphasis in a particular tragedy, not of a widely applicable rule.

Finally, this conception of tragedy as primarily imaginative explains its almost constant use of verse; that being, as we know, the essentially imaginative medium. There is, indeed, no reason why a prose play should not on occasion be genuinely tragic, except that prose, by its greater capacity for detail, tempts to undue inclusiveness, or to material unsuited to imaginative transformation. Such a play as Ibsen's *Pretenders* proves to excellent effect what the tragic impulse can achieve in prose; but here, as elsewhere, the path of least resistance usually proves the best to follow. Moreover, within the poetic sphere tragedy possesses a kinship with the lyric, historically attested in the case of Greek, and continued, under changed conditions, by the poetic splendor of the Elizabethans, the diffused beauty of diction replacing the specifically lyric element originally supplied by the chorus. Some critics, to be sure, have regarded this connection as inimical to the best interests of tragedy; thus Brunetière writes: "Pour aussi longtemps que le lyrisme persisterait dans la forme tragique, celle-ci ne pouvait atteindre la plénitude, ni par conséquent la perfection de son genre."¹⁸ None the less, when Greek tragedy had succeeded in expelling the intruder

¹⁸ *L'Evolution d'un Genre: La Tragédie*, in *Etudes Critiques*, 7me Série (Paris, 1903).

it did not long survive, nor was the vitality of Elizabethan tragedy directly proportionate to the absence of the lyrical element; and Brunetière's notion profanely reminds me of the Irish lad who was so steady that if he'd been any steadier he'd have been dead—a rather high price to pay for steadiness! The evidence of literary history seems rather to show that tragedy must always avail itself of the lyric spirit for its full expansion, and that failure to do so reduces it to barren exercises of logical ingenuity. This conviction has been given definitive form by Pater, in words which, tho familiar, still deserve quotation:

As, historically, the earliest classic drama arose out of the chorus, from which this or that person, this or that episode, detached itself, so, into the unity of a choric song the perfect drama ever tends to return, its intellectual scope deepened, complicated, enlarged, but still with an unmistakable singleness, or identity, in its impression on the mind. Just there, in that vivid single impression left on the mind when all is over, not in any mechanical limitation of time and place, is the secret of the "unities"—the true imaginative unity—of the drama.¹⁴

III

The concept of a reaction secured by the imagination working on material which offers the presence of positive and active evil not only provides us with our desired criterion, but enables us to distinguish two classes into which plays outside the true circle fall when one element or the other is lacking. In one, the imagination is never really brought to bear; either a purely superficial logic gives an apparent continuity to the unrelated, or characters with no real humanity in them are set frigidly debating an alleged moral issue. In the other, we are offered as ends what should be only incidental products; in the effort to secure a reaction at any cost, excesses of crime or of moral

¹⁴ *Shakespeare's English Kings* (in *Appreciations*).

obliquity are made the dominant features, and the emotional tone is exalted beyond sober limits, at the expense of imaginative insight and fidelity to the truth of experience. Plays of the first class have so little vitality that in most cases they are remembered only by the literary historian; but those of the second often have a misleadingly specious resemblance to the intensity of genuine tragedy which they in truth but parody. It may often happen that that intensity may do violence to neo-classic decorum; that the strain to which it subjects the characters may lead them to or beyond the verge of madness, may seek relief in grotesque humor or savage irony, or may be attended by forms and degrees of evil scarcely conceivable to the ordinary mind. Yet it is the mark of a true tragedy that such reactions will seem natural, if not inevitable. The porter in *Macbeth*, the gravediggers in *Hamlet*, the madmen in *Lear*, are no excrescences, no concessions to the groundlings, but the necessary recoil from the tremendous strain under which the characters labor. When, however, these products of a true reaction are presented before any real strain has called them into legitimate existence, we have the crop of absurdities to which unrestrainedly romantic tragedy is always prone.

The perception of this distinction between spurious and real intensity allows us to see various additional facts in their proper perspective. The genuine tragic reaction cannot be secured unless both its creator and its beholders consent to share the strain which those actually involved in such an action must suffer; and since one party or the other may seek to evade this responsibility, it is not strange that thoro-going tragedies should be rare. The writer of tragedy must not only maintain himself at a pitch of imaginative activity which draws heavily on all his

powers,¹⁵ but the inevitable recoil from that tension must be kept congruous with the whole, if lapses into bombast or bathos are to be shunned. There is, as we have noted, considerable liberty in tragedy for the grotesque or the ironic; there is none for the absurd or the flat. The signal triumphs of the imagination are accompanied by the ever-present perils of relapse, to which even the greatest writers are subject; and the pure imagination must always be guided by that constructive intelligence which, as Pater rightly saw, is really one of its forms.

No less weighty is the demand which tragedy imposes on those who behold it; and from this fact also arise obstacles to its full attainment. A given audience may be reluctant to undergo its strain; or, in the desire to abet its evasion, or (it may be) underestimating its powers of endurance, a given dramatist may consciously provide a specious imitation. Doubtless neither public nor playwrights should shoulder the entire responsibility for such refusals; at all events, recognition of "the weakness of the spectators," eager for happy endings and for the attenuation of the tragic severity, is as old as Aristotle. Critics, too, have added to the confusion by their desire for a "poetic justice" strictly distributed according to obvious vice and virtue, or for a tragic effect which shall yet contrive not to shock our moral sensibilities. The stimulus which genuine tragedy offers can be experienced only by submitting ourselves to its requirements; and there is abundant proof, both past and present, that many persons think such submission wearisome or depressing. Tragedy, like other noble arts, is among the fair things that are hard.

¹⁵ A striking account of what this strain means to a writer may be found in Mr. Joseph Conrad's *A Personal Record*, pp. 166-173 (Deep Sea Edition).

If to the difficulty of sustaining the imaginative effort we add the tendency of tragic material to disintegrate, the rarity of tragedy will no longer be found surprising. It is always hard to keep a complex substance under control, always easier to follow the line of least resistance which leads to the emphasis of one aspect at the expense of the other. If, for convenience, we speak of the Aristotelian combination of "pity and terror," we see how readily pity passes into sentimentality, or even moral deliquescence, how readily terror passes into the sensational; and both divergences may appear in the same period, or even in the same dramatist. Both are visible as early as Euripides, tho the latter is somewhat kept under by native good taste; they recur in the Senecan blend of impossible exaltation and bald horror; they are close at hand when Shakespearean tragedy is succeeded by the romantic tragi-comedy of Beaumont and Fletcher and by the uneasy moral temerity of Ford brooding over themes of incest. Or, if we look at the matter from another angle, we see that narrow realism leads to such departures as the inept restatement of legend in contemporary terms, as often in Euripides; to mere delineation of manners, as in the English chronicle-play after it had forsaken the direction of tragedy; or to sheer delight in brute horror. Correspondingly, unchecked romanticism perishes in falsely exaggerated sentiment, or, at worst, in sheer absurdity. All these aberrations indicate either a refusal to face and work out a theme fraught with evil, or an effort to excite tragic emotions by offering us in advance what ought only to be products of a true reaction; and in every such case, tho the external aspects of tragedy may be simulated, its essence is hopelessly lost.

✓✓ L In brief, then, our conception of tragedy regards it as originating in ignorance or underestimating of the power →

of evil, the consequence of such a flaw in character being the downfall of at least some of those concerned. It is clear that such a conception can be realized outside the dramatic field; that, even tho tragedy has originated in that field, it is by no means confined to it, but may exist, under appropriate conditions, in the novel. These conditions would include the simplifying of characters and events, the subordination of the purely narrative element, the rendering of all in an intense and imaginative style; and to attain them in a form which offers no such external restraints as those afforded by stage presentation, and which, by its use of prose, is enabled to absorb detail indefinitely, will demand constant selection and vigorous suppression. We need therefore not be surprised if the tragic novel proves as rare as the genuine stage tragedy; yet that it can be attained is proved by such an example as Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*. Moreover, the scope of the novel, able as it is to deal with quantities and varieties of material exceeding the capacity of the dramatic form, may make attainable a truly realistic tragedy of contemporary life—one which, avoiding the pitfalls of the narrowly "realistic" novel, with its dependence on documents and its quasi-reasoning procedure, will yet subordinate other faculties and aspects to an imaginative purpose. Thus might arise a product new by virtue of its direct treatment of actuality, and yet within the bounds of tragedy as here defined.

Thus, if our conception of tragedy as primarily imaginative leads us to restrict our recognition of examples in the dramatic field, we have as compensations a really definite content for the term, based on criteria of material and faculty, and also a perception of its existence in other fields than the purely dramatic. We need not be dissatisfied

with a result which accounts for various traditional features of dramatic tragedy otherwise hard to explain, and which shows us how works utterly unlike in outward form are united in a profound similarity of moral penetration and imaginative vision.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE.

XVII.—THE BALLAD AND THE DANCE

It is the purpose of the following paper to examine the relationship of the mediæval ballad to the dance, in origin and in traditional usage. Particular reference is had to the English and Scottish ballad type. In various preceding papers¹ I have considered the theory currently accepted in America of the inseparableness of primitive dance, music, and song and have shown that primitive song is not narrative in character. I have also questioned the assumption that the ballad is the archetypal poetic form—this position should be assigned to the song, not the ballad—and the assumption of “communal” as against individual authorship for the English and Scottish popular ballads. The present paper examines the relation to the dance of the English and Scottish ballads. The view is widely accepted both in the Old World and in America that this, and similar ballad types, originated in the dance. The following paper canvasses the evidence for this view and makes inquiry as to its validity.

I

THE NAME “BALLAD”.

Much of the confusion in scholarly and literary discussion of the English and Scottish ballads and their Ameri-

¹ See *The Beginnings of Poetry, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXII (1917), pp. 201 ff.; *The South-western Cowboy Songs and the English and Scottish Popular Ballads, Modern Philology*, XI (1913), pp. 195 ff.; *New-World Analogues of the English and Scottish Popular Ballads, The Mid-West Quarterly*, III (1916), pp. 171 ff.; *Ballads and the Illiterate, ibid.*, v, p. 4, etc.

can descendants or analogues, rests on ambiguous and contradictory usages of the word "ballad." It has been employed for as many lyric types as were "sonnet" and "ode," and it has hardly yet settled down into consistent application. The popular use of the word for a short song, often sentimental in character, or for the music for such a song, is clear enough; but its most recently developed meaning of narrative song, currently employed by literary historians, is only now assuming initial place in the dictionaries.² It is this newly developed usage which has brought confusion. For though the shifts in meaning of the term "ballad" have often been noted and traced, clarity or consistency in its employment have not followed, even among the tracers. They distinguish what they mean by ballad clearly enough; but they lose sight of their own distinctions when they come to theorizing about their material. Within the last one hundred and fifty years the name has been restricted, among specialists, to a type of English song to which it did not belong originally, and a type which is not called by that name in other languages, save when the usage has been carried over from the

² Although the meaning narrative song gained headway in the eighteenth century, it was not very clearly recognized in the *New English Dictionary*, 1888. The entry given fifth place is "A simple spirited poem in short stanzas, originally a 'ballad' in sense 3 [popular songs—often broadsides] in which some popular story is graphically narrated. (This sense is essentially modern.)" *The New Webster International*, 1910, also gives this meaning fifth place, but contributes clarity: "A popular kind of short narrative poem adapted for singing; especially a romantic poem of the kind characterized by simplicity of structure and impersonality of authorship." In *The Standard Dictionary*, 1917, is entered as the first meaning of the word: "A simple lyrical poem telling a story or legend, usually of popular origin; as the ballad of Chevy Chase." Here the older order of definition is reversed, recognizing the change established long before in usage.

English.³ The etymology of "ballad" should not be given undue weight, since the attachment of the name to the material which it describes is recent. Over-emphasis upon its etymology, and the double and triple senses in which contemporary scholars use the term, have puzzled and misled many earnest students. Writers who insist that they have clearly in mind what they mean sometimes apply the name "ballad" to dance songs, sometimes to narrative songs, sometimes to pure lyrics, and sometimes to all three.

Ballad is derived from *ballare*, to dance, and historically it means dancing song; it is associated etymologically with *ballet*, a form of dance. In the Romance languages, from which the word issued into general European currency, it came to apply to various types of lyrics. The French and Italian pieces taking the name, or various forms of it, are genuinely lyrical; they are to be associated with dance origins, and they do not narrate happenings or suggest action. Many were used, it is certain, as dance songs.⁴ To be a folk-ballad, not merely a folk-song, an English piece must tell a story. Poems of the type of Rossetti's *Sister Helen* or *Stratton Water*, or Longfellow's *The Wreck of the Hesperus*, are termed "literary" ballads, as over against anonymous traditional ballads, like *Sir*

³The Danish name for pieces of English lyric-epic type is *folkeviser*. The Spanish name is *romances*. The German usage of *Ballade* follows the English; German poets derived much of their balladry from England. The name is applied to short poems in which the narrative element is as important as the lyrical. See F. A. Brockhaus, *Konversations-Lexikon*, Berlin and Vienna, 1894. Pieces of the English lyric-epic type have no specific name in French. They are grouped under the large class of *chansons populaires*, a name as inclusive as our "folk-song." But see also note 6.

⁴Dante, for example, assigns *ballata* a lower plane than song proper or sonnet on account of its dependence on the aid of dancers.

Patrick Spens. The name ballad, meaning primarily, as we have seen, a dance-lyric, is not entirely satisfactory for these lyric-epics. It gained its distinctive application by chance rather than by historic right, and it gained this application late. Owing partly to the etymology of the name, partly to the hypotheses of certain critics, who associate the origin of the English and Scottish pieces with the choral dances of mediæval festal communes, ballads of the type collected by Professor F. J. Child have come to be associated with the dance to a degree which the evidence does not justify. The dance is given place in the foreground, as essential in defining the type and its origin, instead of being made something remote and subsidiary. For the Child pieces, the etymology of the name should be given little or no emphasis; insistence on it is likely to be misleading. In fact, dance-genesis has more immediate connection with English lyrics of many other types, in the consideration of which we are not asked to have it constantly before us, than it has with the English ballads; for instance, with the *ballade*, or the *rondeau*.

The name "ballad" was not applied specifically to heroic or romantic narrative songs until the eighteenth century. Sidney and Pepys use the term "song." In Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* "ballad" means "song" and nothing more. It was Ritson who first stated the distinction that now obtains. "With us, songs of sentiment, expression, or even description, are properly called songs, in contradistinction to mere narrative pieces, which we now denominate ballads."⁵ For several centuries earlier

⁵ Introduction to his *Select Collection of English Songs*, 3 vols., 2nd edition, 1913. Shenstone and Michael Bruce had expressed the distinction earlier (see S. B. Hustvedt, *Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain*, 1916, p. 254), but it was first publicly enunciated by Ritson.

the name had been applied with miscellaneous reference. It might be given to a short didactic poem, a love poem (as sometimes now), to poems of satire and vituperation, to political pieces, to hymns and religious pieces, to elegiac pieces, occasionally to narrative pieces; in short, to lyrics of any type. Thus its specific application to verse of the Child type came late and not by inheritance, but arbitrarily. Nor did the etymology of the name play any part in the selection of it for the pieces to which it was applied.

It will be sufficient to sketch in summary here the stages of development for English in the usage of the name ballad.⁶

When Chaucer uses the term ballad it is for lyrics of the fixed type imported from the French, the *Balade de Bon Conseyl*, or *Lak of Stedfastnesse*, or the *Compleynt to His Empty Purse*, not to lyric-epics.⁷ Ballad was long used of dance songs of various types, as a few citations

⁶ The entries in *The New English Dictionary* have been referred to. Fourteen pages of matter illustrative of the history of *ballade* are given in Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX Siècle*, Paris (1867), ranging from the first entry "chanson à danser" to, "Aujourd'hui, ode d'un genre familier et le plus souvent légendaire et fantastique: les ballades de Schiller, de Goethe, etc." Nothing is said of a narrative element. But see especially Helen Louise Cohen, *The Ballade*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, New York, 1915. According to Miss Cohen, the word is used in contemporary French in the way in which it has come to be used in English and in German. "In France, at the present time, the same word, *ballade*, serves for the English or Scottish popular ballad and for a certain kind of narrative poem, written in imitation of German authors like Uhland, as well as for the artificially fixed lyric poem." The usages of "ballad" for English have been traced by Professor Gummere, *Old English Popular Ballad*, pp. xviii ff.

⁷ An excellent example of his usage is found in the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*, where he has his characters dance in a circle "as it were in carole-wise" while they sang the *ballade*—

"Hyd, Absolon, thy gilte tresses clere."

will show; e. g., these lines from Dunbar's *Golden Targe*, of about 1500:

And sang ballettes with mighty notes clere,
Ladies to daunce full sobirly assayit.

Ascham writes in 1545,⁸ "these balades and roundes, these galiardes, pauanes and daunces." A passage in George Gascoigne's *Certain Notes of Instruction*, 1575, is very specific. He thinks of the term mainly in Chaucer's sense:

There is also another kinde, called Ballade, and therof are sundrie sortes: for a man may write ballade in a staffe of sixe lines, every line conteyning eighte or sixe sillables, wherof the firste and third, second and fourth do rime acrossse, and the fifth and sixth do rime together in conclusion. You may write also your *ballad* of tenne syllables, rimying as before is declared, but these two were wont to be most comonly used in *ballade*, whiche propre name was (I thinke) derived of this worde in Italian *Ballare*, whiche signifieth to daunce, and indeed, those kinds of rimes serve beste for daunces and light matters.

Ben Jonson, in *Love Restored*, writes "Unlesse we shold come in like Morrice-dancers and whistle our ballet ourselves." All these citations show loose reference to amatory songs, and dance songs, lyrical, not narrative in character. The word is also applied to pieces of the various types enumerated at the end of the preceding paragraph. Cotgrave's *Dictionary of the French and English Tongues*, 1611, associates the word with dance song. Burton writes, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, III, 1, i, "Castalio would not have young men read the Canticles, because to his thinking it was too light and amorous a tract, a ballad of ballads, as our old English translation hath it." Percy, as often pointed out, employs ballad in his *Reliques* with miscellaneous application. Ritson's contribution toward establishing the word in its latest meaning has been quoted already.

⁸ *Toxophilus*, Arber ed., p. 39.

Coleridge's use is modern when he writes of "The grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spens." To summarize the stages for English:

1. Ballad in the fourteenth century meant the French art lyric with fixed form. The name could be given to a dance song, though the latter was more often called a carol. Ballad, in the period when it could mean dance song, did not mean "narrative lyric."

2. In the Elizabethan period, ballads, ballets, ballants, etc., are terms loosely associated with song, or lyric verse of various kinds. The name could be applied to dance songs, among these types and, though infrequently, to narrative lyrics.

3. In the eighteenth century, ballad continues in loose popular usage. With specialists it comes to have particular reference to narrative songs. The narrative songs which the eighteenth century collected were not dance songs, and they are not the pieces called by cognate names in the Romance languages, from which ballad, in lyric nomenclature, is derived.

4. In the nineteenth century, ballad continues in loose popular reference as synonymous with song. In the use of specialists it is increasingly applied to narrative songs; by the twentieth century, this has become the primary meaning. The variant *ballade*, in the French and fourteenth-century English sense, is revived, in the nineteenth century, with the re-introduction of the fixed lyric type.

This sketch should have made clear that a definition of the ballad as "a narrative lyric made and sung at the dance and handed down in popular tradition" is not warranted, for English ballads, by the history of the word. For a valid etymological argument for ballad as a dance

song, one would have to derive the lyric-epic species, *ballad*, from the fixed art species, the *ballade*. And there is no sufficient proof that narrative lyrics were ever, anywhere, at any time, by any people, made and sung at the dance. The dance songs of primitive peoples are not narrative, and the earliest English dance songs are not narrative. Nor is this longer definition, also Professor Gummere's,⁹ better. "The popular ballad, as it is understood for the purpose of these selections, is a narrative, in lyric form, with no traces of individual authorship, and is preserved mainly by oral tradition. In its earliest stages it was meant to be sung by a crowd, and got its name from the dance to which it furnished the sole musical accompaniment." The first sentences are unimpeachable, but the last is not. The lyric type to which reference is made did not get its name until the late eighteenth century, and then took it by borrowing or transference from songs of another character, for which it was more appropriate. It could not have taken its name from its origin, nor is its name evidence as to its origin.

II

DANCE SONGS PROPER

The name actually given in England to dance songs of the Middle Ages was "carol." We hear of carols before we hear of ballads. There is a familiar picture of a high-born throng singing to the caroling of a lady in the Chaucerian *Romance of the Rose*:

The folk of which I telle you so,
Upon a carole wenten tho.

⁹ In *The Popular Ballad*, 1907, and "Ballads" in Warner's *Library of the World's Best Literature*.

A lady caroled hem that nyghte,
 Gladness (the) blisful, the lyghte
 743-6.

Tho mightest thou caroles seen,
 And folk (ther) daunce and mery been
 And make many a fair tourning
 Upon the grene gras springing . . .
 759-62.

The description is continued, 802-15, 850-54, and onwards, and teaches us no little concerning mediæval dance customs. Other passages, illustrating the use of carol for dance song, in the next century, might be multiplied. Many can be found in the dictionaries.

Suppose we try to put ourselves back into the old world of dance songs. What kind of song was it which the lady sang, and to which the others danced? It might have been a *ballade*, or roundel, or "virelai," or some type of art lyric, with fixed refrain of regular recurrence; for such lyrics were used for dancing.¹⁰ Or it might have had greater suggestion of animation and movement, like many examples afforded by Old French verse;¹¹ or it might have been a gay love lyric. That it was anything like *King Estmere*, or *Thomas Rymer*, or *Edward*, or *Lord Randal*, is most improbable. And when peasant throngs, as over against aristocrats, danced in feudal times, they did not dance, as I believe, to pieces of the lyric-epic type just mentioned. Nor, as a general thing, the rule rather than the exception, did they dance to their own improvisations. It is more likely that they danced to current in-

¹⁰ Compare the quotation from Chaucer's Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, note 7 preceding.

¹¹ See the *ballettes*, in Jeanroy's *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age*; and his letter, cited in Miss Cohen's *The Ballade*, p. 15; also Joseph Bédier, *Les Plus Anciennes Danses Françaises*, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 15, 1906, p. 398.

herited songs, appropriate for dance purposes, with, possibly enough, a bygone vogue in higher circles behind them; that is, if we keep the analogies of existent dance songs before us.

The following lines from Gawain Douglas point to the dancing of his characters mostly to lyric and amatory matter:¹²

Sum sang ryng-dansys ledis and roundis
 With vocis schill, qhill all the dail resoundis
 Quharso thai walk into thar carolyng
 For amorus lays doith the Roches ryng:
 And sang, 'the schyp salys our the salt faym
 Will bryng thir merchandis and my lemman haym';
 Sum other syngis, I wil be blyth and lycht
 Mine hart is lent upon so gudly wight.

But we need not speak speculatively of mediæval dance songs. Many remain to us; and it is possible to derive from them pretty clear ideas as to what the typical ones were like. The well-known *Sumer is icumen in* of the thirteenth century, might have been a dance song—its animation and movement would make it appropriate; and welcomes to spring, when dancing on the green or in the grove could be resumed, were common for dance-song usage in all parts of Europe.¹³ A classic example of a dance song is that preserved by Fabyan (1516), celebrating the victory of the Scots at Bannockburn:¹⁴

Maydens of Englonde, sore may ye morne,
 For your lemmans ye have loste at Bannockisborne!
 With a hewe a lowe.

¹² *Æneid*, Prologue of Bk. XII, p. 193.

¹³ "King Cnut's Song," of which a few lines remain, in thirteenth-century form, seems, from external and internal testimony, to have been a rowing song, later used, possibly as a dance song. For its bearing on ballad origins, see *Modern Language Notes*, March, 1919.

¹⁴ *Concordance of Histories*.

What wenyth the Kynge of Englonde
 So soon to have wonne Scotlonde:
 With a rumby lowe.

This song, says Fabyan, "was after many days sung in dances, in caroles of the maidens and minstrels of Scotland." High-born maidens they were, too, most likely, not peasants. It is appropriate for a dance song. It is lyrical, not a verse story. The refrain is important, and holds it together; but it is not narrative. It is nothing like a Child piece, and never became like one, so far as there is evidence.

Here are two songs which are presumably dance songs, from the fifteenth century, the first unusually spirited: ¹⁵

Icham of Irlaunde,
 Am of the holy londe
 Of Irland;e;
 Good sir, pray I ye
 For of Saynte Charite,
 Come ant daunce wyt me
 In Irlaunde.

The second also sounds suitable for its purpose:

Holi with his mery men they
 can daunce in hall;
 Ivy & her ientyll women can
 not daunce at all,

 But lyke a meyne of bullokes
 in a water fall
 Or on a whot somer's day
 Whan they be mad all.

 Nay, nay, ive, it may not be,
 iwis;
 For holy must haue the mastery,
 as the maner is.

¹⁵ The first is from MS. Rawlinson, D. 913, f. 1, the second from MS. Balliol, 354, f. 229, b. They are cited by Professor Padelford, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, xvi, p. 422.

Neither of these has the stanzaic pattern of the ballads. A song certainly used as a dance song, and very animated and lyrical, is the familiar *The Hunt is Up* of the time of Henry VIII. The lines are short, and they throw the hearer into the dancing mood. Some examples of Old English dance songs, lively and appropriate in melody, coming from the sixteenth century, are given in Chappell's *Old English Popular Music*. An especially popular one was *John, Come Kisse Me Now*.

Jon come kisse me now, now,
Jon come kisse me, now,
Jon, come kisse me by and by,
and make no more adow.

Both nobly-born groups from castle or court and village peasant groups had their dance songs in the Middle Ages; but surely these songs were not contemporaneously of identical type; and it is very improbable that either type was the Child type. There is a great deal of unmistakable testimony as to the use of lyrical, song-like pieces, in England, for dance songs. Next to none exists—not to dwell upon their smaller intrinsic appropriateness—for the staple use of narrative songs for such purpose.

There is evidence, from recent times, that in a few cases well-known Child pieces have been ritualized into dance songs. W. W. Newell speaks of *Barbara Allen* as used in "play party" games in the early part of the nineteenth century in New England. This ballad was an actress's song, in the seventeenth century, when we first hear of it. According to Professor Child, *The Maid Freed from the Gallows* has known game-song usage.¹⁶ A version recovered in Nebraska of *The Two Sisters* has obviously been

¹⁶ See also Gilchrist and Broadwood, *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, v, pp. 228 ff.

used as a dance song. The following are specimen stanzas:

There was an old woman lived on the seashore,
 Bow down
 There was an old woman lived on the seashore,
 Balance true to me
 And she had daughters three or four,
 Saying I'll be true to my love
 If my love is true to me

The oldest and yongest were walking the seashore,
 Bow down
 The oldest and yongest were walking the seashore,
 Balance true to me
 The oldest pushed the yongest ore,
 Saying I'll be true to my love
 If my love is true to me

Such might not have been the case, yet one feels as though, if any of these pieces had been orally preserved for some generations as a dance song, for throngs on the village green, the narrative element would have become yet more fragmentary and inconsequential than it is in the quoted dance-song version of *The Two Sisters*; the refrain meantime assuming greater and greater prominence, and becoming the stable and identifying feature of the song. For dance songs proper, preserved in tradition, one expects a strong refrain formula and a fading or utterly absent narrative element.

That the Child pieces should be utilized, though infrequently, as dance or game songs is not to be wondered at; for popular songs of all kinds are so utilized occasionally, alongside the more appropriate inherited dance songs. Mediæval dancing throngs, like their descendants now, were no doubt likely to utilize any new song as a dance song; as *The Hunt is Up*, of the time of Henry VIII, according to *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1549). We are told that in the fast-dying-out play-party or ring-dance

songs of our own rural communities, songs like *John Brown's Body*, *Captain Jinks*, *Little Brown Jug*, and the negro minstrel *Jim along Jo*, or *Buffalo Gals*, have been so used. Indeed, the minstrel *Old Dan Tucker* has died out of memory as a minstrel song, and has been kept alive as a ring-game song. But if the Child ballads had been dance songs *par excellence*, they would have come down to us very differently in tradition. They played a large rôle in popular recital and song in the Middle Ages, and had the rôle they played as dance songs been proportionately large, we should have unmistakable evidence of it; both external testimonies, and evidence within the songs themselves. We should know from the changes which they developed in structure, from internal allusions to the dance, and from the lore of traditional dance songs.

The dance may well have started many forms of mediæval lyrism with refrain formulas, whether of the artistic or of the more popular type. Such derivation is usually assigned to many of them. But it is the more lyrical forms, rather than the verse-tales, which were most closely bound up with the dance. We also associate with the dance the spontaneous popular lyrics, dance songs proper, which have been preserved for us here and there in printed form, or those which have descended to us in our ring-dance or game songs. Both the art lyrics with refrains, and the more popular and impersonal lyrics with refrains, like *Sumer is icumen in*, make their appearance in literature before ballads of the Child type do.

If dance origin, or connection with the dance, is an essential feature of "ballads," the name belongs with better right to mediæval art lyrics, to the surviving dance songs proper, or to the type remaining in our play-party songs and ring games, for which we have no specific name, aside from the inclusive and ambiguous "folk-song." It

is always a safe thing to test our theories as to older conditions for popular song—mediaeval conditions, for example—by usages in living society, where these afford analogies; for human procedure, whether in language, action, or song, has remained pretty constant from primitive times onward. The ring games of young people of the present day preserve many of the dramatic elements of the communal dance, and the songs used in them seem to preserve many of the features of the old dance songs. It was the form of these songs, not that of the Child pieces, which was conditioned by dance usage, and bears the marks of such usage. If the Child pieces were primarily evolved in the dance, they ought to show more signs of it, and to be structurally more suitable; for instance, they should suggest more swing and movement. And to think of them as evolved *via* dances of commoners, not of aristocrats, is difficult indeed.

Let us look at some of the dance songs remaining in present tradition, and then apply our observations backward. Children's game songs, and the play-party songs of young folks on the green and in the parlor, in rural communities, have been collected, in England chiefly by Mrs. Gomme, and in the United States by W. W. Newell for New England, and by many collectors for the central west. It is generally agreed that our traditional dance and game songs descend from those of the middle ages and preserve many ancient features; especially the dances in circle form which are executed to the singing of the participants, not to the music of instruments. A number of these pieces seem surely to be of high descent, and many even reflect the old environment of grove and green. Some of the texts sound as though they accompanied the dances of the high born. Recall the many references to "ladies" or "my fair lady"—"lady" is not yet a democratic noun

in England—to kings and princes, or dukes, to solid gold rings, to “He wore a star upon his breast,” and the like. Most of the songs suggest that they are movement songs by their very wording, or structure. In most cases a typical stanza only will be cited; for the songs are pretty familiar, and they have become accessible, in late years, in game books for school usage. The citations are from Mrs. Gomme’s *Dictionary of British Folk-Lore*.¹⁷

Here we go round the mulberry bush,
The mulberry bush, the mulberry bush,
Here we go round the mulberry bush,
On a cold and frosty morning.

Mulberry Bush, I, p. 404.

Round and round the village,
Round and round the village,
Round and round the village,
As we have done before.

In and out the windows,
In and out the windows,
In and out the windows,
As we have done before.

Round and Round the Village, II, p. 122.

Tripping up the green grass,
Dusty, dusty day,
Come all ye pretty fair maids,
Come and with me play. . . .

¹⁷ Mrs. Gomme gives a list of dance games, II, p. 465, and of circle-form games, with singing and action, II, p. 476. The songs cited here are recognized by her as descending in traditional dance usage.

“In den Kinderreigen,” says Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes*, ch. XVII, “werden wir noch alten Überresten von Tanzliedern der Vorzeit begegnen.” As ring-dances were given up by the mature they lingered among children. One should not infer, however, that *all* children’s play songs were originally game or dance-songs of grown-ups. Childhood is as ancient as maturity, and even the savagest children have their own songs.

Naughty man, he won't come out,
 He won't come out, he won't come out,
 Naughty man, he won't come out,
 To help us in our dancing.

Green Grass, I, p. 156.

From another text of the same song:

Here we go up the green grass,
 The green grass, the green grass,
 Here we go up the green grass,
 So early in the morning.

Ibid., I, p. 160.

A ring, a ring o' roses,
 A pocket full of posies;
 A curtsy in and a curtsy out,
 And a curtsy all together.

A Ring of Roses, II, p. 108.

Green gravel green gravel, the grass is so green,
 The fairest young damsel that ever was seen. . . .

Green Gravel, I, p. 171.

The material is too abundant and too familiar for much illustration to be needed. A few more miscellaneous stanzas are:

Here we come a-piping,
 First in spring and then in May,
 The Queen she sits upon the sand,
 Fair as a lily, white as a wand:
 King John has sent you letters three,
 And begs you'll read them unto me,
 We can't read one without them all,
 So, pray, Miss Bridget, deliver the ball.

Queen Anne, II, p. 91.

Here's a soldier left his lone,
 Wants a wife and can't get none,
 Merrily go round and choose your own,
 Choose a good one or else choose none,
 Choose the worst or choose the best,
 Or choose the very one you like best.

Here's a Soldier, I, p. 206.

Poor Mary, what're you weepin' for,
 A-weepin' for, a-weepin' for,
 Pray, Mary, what're you weepin' for?
 On a bright summer's day.

Poor Mary Sits A-Weeping, II, p. 47.

The following dramatic song is listed by Mrs. Gomme as a circle-form song; though she thinks it originally a harvest-song:

Oats and beans and barley grow!
 Oats and beans and barley grow!
 Do you or I or anyone know
 How oats and beans and barley grow?
 First the farmer *sows* his seed,
 Then he *stands* and takes his ease,
Stamps his foot, and *claps* his hands,
 Then *turns round* to view the land
 Waiting for a partner, waiting for a partner!
 Open the ring and take one in.

Oats and Beans and Barley, II, p. 1.

Let us turn next to some of the ring-dance songs of young people in the United States, surviving in our fast-dying-out play-party songs. The dancing, as in the mediæval dance songs, is to the singing of the dancers, not to instrumental music. Old World importations are easily recognized. The refrains remain the same as in their British cognates:

Come honey, my love, come trip with me,
 In the morning early
 Heart and hand we'll take our stand;
 'Tis true, I love you dearly.

Weevilly Wheat, p. 18.¹⁸

Oh, the jolly old miller boy, he lived by the mill,
 The mill turned round with a right good will,
 And all that he made, he put it on the shelf,

¹⁸ Mrs. L. D. Ames, *The Missouri Play-Party*, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXIV (1911), p. 302.

At the end of the year he was gaining in his wealth,
One hand in the hopper, and the other in the sack,
Gents step forward and the ladies step back.

The Jolly Old Miller, p. 19.¹⁹

Go out and in the window,
Go out and in the window,
Go out and in the window,
For we shall gain the day.

We're Marching Round the Levy, p. 20.²⁰

Lost your partner, what'll you do?
Lost your partner, what'll you do?
Lost your partner, what'll you do?
Skip to My Lou, my darling.

Skip to My Lou.²¹

Come all ye young people that's wending your way,
And sow your wild oats in your youthful day,
For the daylight it passes, and night's coming on,
So choose you a partner, and be marching along, marching along.²²

Professor E. F. Piper points out ²³ that in songs which describe the progress of a game, like *The Miller Boy* (*The Jolly Miller* of Mrs. Gomme) and *Juniper Tree*:

O dear sister Phoebe, how happy were we,
The night we sat under the juniper tree!
The juniper tree, heigho, heigho!
The juniper tree, heigho!

Then rise you up, Sister, go choose you a man,
Go choose you the fairest that ever you can,
Then rise you up, Sister, and go, and go,
Then rise you up, Sister, and go. . . .

the form remains fairly constant. In such songs one cannot easily change the words without changing the formula. In the same way, *Oats*, *pease*, *beans*, remains

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 314.

²³ *Some Play-Party Games of the Middle West*, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, CIX, p. 264.

fairly constant. *Wevilly Wheat* and *Kilmacrankie* perhaps afford examples of "the decay of ballad matter under the usage of the singing game, or dance."²⁴ Many of the songs he lists show the influence of quadrilles and other dances, illustrating once more the tendency of the imported, or higher, or newer, to descend and linger among the humbler and more remote. A few more illustrations of genuine communal dance songs should suffice:

We come here to bounce around,
 We come here to bounce around,
 We come here to bounce around,
 Tra, la, la, la!
 Ladies, do, si, do,
 Gents, you know,
 Swing to the right,
 And then to the left,
 And all promenade.*

Up and down the center we go,
 Up and down the center we go,
 Up and down the center we go,
 [This cold and frosty morning.

*Chase that Squirrel.**

When popular songs, or street songs, are utilized as dance songs, they are handled like this:

Captain Jinks

I'm Captain Jinks of the horse marines,
 I feed my horse on corn and beans,
 And court young ladies in their teens,
 For that's the style of the army.

* This seems the natural process; but compare Professor Gummere's present theories of ballad growth and "improvement," cited a little farther on. The process which, to collectors of folk dance-songs, brings ballad degradation, to Professor Gummere is the process by which are evolved "good" ballads. At other times, however, he still speaks occasionally of the "degradation" and "decay" due to tradition.

* Ames, p. 296.

* Piper, p. 266.

We'll all go round and circle left,
 We'll circle left, we'll circle left,
 We'll all go round and circle left,
 For that's the style of the army.
 The ladies right and form a ring,
 And when they form you give'm a swing,
 And when you swing you give'm a call,
 And take your lady and promenade all.²⁷

Jim along Jo

Hi, Jim along, Jim along, Josie
 Hi, Jim along, Jim, along Jo
 Hi, Jim along, Jim along Josie
 Hi, Jim along, Jim along Jo.²⁸

Little Brown Jug

Sent my brown jug down in town,
 Sent my brown jug down in town,
 Sent my brown jug down in town,
 So early in the morning.²⁹

Not one of these pieces is a ballad, just as the vocal accompaniments to old British dances round the Maypole were not ballads. One of the latter has survived in the ring games of the Georgia negroes, again illustrating the survival, in outlying places, among the humble and remote, of matter assimilated from the usage, in bygone vogue, of people of another social class:

All around the May-pole,
 The May-pole, the May-pole,
 All around the May-pole.
 Now, Miss Sally, won't you bow? etc.³⁰

²⁷ Ames, p. 309.

²⁸ Piper, p. 268.

²⁹ Goldy M. Hamilton, *The Play-Party in Northeast Missouri, Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxvii, pp. 269, 297 (*The Girl I Left Behind Me*), p. 301.

³⁰ Loraine Darby, *Ring Games from Georgia, Journal of American Folk-Lore*, cxvi (1917), p. 218.

English Folk-Song and Dance, by F. Kidson and Mary Neal, 1915, contains some material on English folk-dances, with bibliography.

Repetition and interweaving of lines, is much more pervasive and essential in communal dance songs than in pieces of the Child type, and it is of a different kind. It shows us, however, the type of repetition to be expected in such dance songs. There is no evidence that ballads are ever built up from dance songs, but a great deal that dance songs may be built upon popular songs of all types. Mrs. Gomme notes that many English circle-game songs have evidently been derived from love ballads, drinking songs, and toasts, and that some of the dance games are of this origin.

If the ballads had been used typically in popular dances, collections like those made by Mrs. Gomme and Mr. Newell should reveal many traces of such usage. On the other hand, when we do not assume that ballads were the staple material of mediæval dance songs, what has come down to us in tradition is of just the character which we should expect. There are many "situation" songs among these traditional dance and game songs, and there are dialogue pieces;³¹ but one finds no traces of the development of dialogue songs into ballads proper, or of the "divorcing" of dance songs from the dance, on the way toward becoming lyric-epics.

When we examine genuine dance songs, it becomes clear that their most important element is the repetitional element. The texts of most of them shift even more than do the ballad texts, for there is no story to hold them together; but the repeated element, or the refrain, is stable. They are lyrical, and they tempt to movement. And, as suggested above, no matter how long they have been pre-

³¹ Mrs. Gomme thinks that the dialogue songs are of later development, II, p. 500. Professors W. M. Hart and G. H. Stempel think that dialogue songs represent a very early stage, in the history of ballads proper.

served in usage as dance songs, they have never developed into anything like Child ballads, nor have they been transformed into narrative pieces of any type. They show no signs of the evolution sketched by Professor Gummere, in his chapter in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*:

The structure of the ballad—what makes it a species, the elements of it—derives from choral and dramatic conditions; what gives it its peculiar art of narrative is the epic process working by oral tradition and gradually leading to a new structure.

Or in his *The Popular Ballad*:⁸²

. . . the course of the popular ballad is from a mimetic choral situation, slowly detaching itself out of the festal dance and coming into the reminiscent ways of tradition in song and recital.

The songs cited in the foregoing pages have survived under the right conditions, oral and communal, but they show no signs of an "epic process" leading to a new structure. The Child ballads, on the other hand, show something quite different from the dance songs. For them, the refrain is the variable element. Their texts remain as constant as the conditions of transmission allow; but the refrain does not remain constant within the same ballad. The test of living folk-song, examination of the kind of thing which the folk can improvise now, and the character of the songs which are genuinely and primarily dance songs, preserved in oral transmission, ought to show the fatuity of seeking an identical genesis for these types and for pieces like the English and Scottish popular

⁸² P. 84. It is rather surprising to find, on pp. 68-69, that "narrative is not a fixed fundamental, primary fact in the ballad scheme." This means that the very thing that makes a ballad a ballad, not verse of some other lyric type, is not a fundamental or primary feature of its structure.

ballads.³³ It is a safer hypothesis that the Child type of piece, once established in popularity, might at times be fitted to well-known dance tunes, or be utilized, like nearly any other kind of song, as a dance song, than that dance-genesis evolved the Child type—that the Child type represents, *par excellence* among poetic types, an evolution from dance origin.

III

NARRATIVE SONGS AND THE DANCE

We have seen that the most suitable dance song is in general of another type than narrative song. To begin with, primitive peoples do not dance to narrative songs; in fact they hardly know the latter. "The earliest universal form of poetry" is just what the ballad—meaning by ballad narrative song—is *not*. There are no primitive narrative songs, to which savage people dance while they sing; they dance to ballads only if by ballads we mean songs. Testimony concerning the Botocudos, or similar tribes, shows only that primitive peoples dance to very brief choral lyrics.³⁴ But it is not the origin of the lyric

³³ Andrew Lang, in his article on Ballads in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* wrote: "It is natural to conclude that our ballads too were first improvised and circulated in rustic dances." He held at the time the views still held by the majority of American scholars. But in his article on the same subject in the last edition of Chambers's *Cyclopædia of English Literature* (1904), he has given up this theory of ballad origins, and indeed, from his article, is hardly recognizable as still a communalist.

³⁴ Strictly, what are called "dances" among savages are in large part drama, and there is abundance of histrionic or mimetic action accompanied by songs of which action is the illustration, *i. e.*, there are songs suggesting ideas, and these are to some extent enacted. Over against these are the rhythmic chants and ejaculatory refrains that form simple motor suggestions or reverberations. The latter are the only ones "danced" in our modern sense of "dance."

in general, even if it sprang from the dance, instead of being as old as the dance, which is in question; nor are we concerned with the origin of various mediæval lyric types which probably had their genesis in the dance. To affirm that the lyric-epic type represented by the English and Scottish ballads developed from the dance is another thing, and not to be proved by the same materials.

It would be going much too far, would indeed be contrary to the facts, to affirm that there is never dancing to narrative songs. Among European peoples where the narrative song has established itself as a leading type of popular song, instances of it occur, and there should be occasional instances of it anywhere among advanced peoples.³⁵ This should be especially true of the shorter and more tuneful ballads. There was perhaps some dancing to heroic narrative songs, if not to "histories," probably to romantic tales, in England. We have seen that in American ring-dance or "play-party" games, the descendants of mediæval dance-modes, narrative songs are utilized occasionally, as *Barbara Allen's Cruelty*, referred to earlier, to accompany the dance. Songs of all types have undergone this experience, probably ballads along with the others, especially when the words were fitted to some familiar dance tune. But in a majority of cases the narrative pieces would be less suitable. Such utilization—

³⁵ "Narrative, too, are most of the dance songs in a modern Russian cottage," writes Professor Gummere, *Old English Ballads*, p. lxxix, and cites Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, 1872. But the examples given by Ralston are not narrative; they are not ballads but lyrics, and of the expected type. Professor Gummere's solitary example of a dance ballad is from the Ditmarsh folk of Holstein, but even that is more lyric than lyric-epic. It labels itself as a dance song, and might well be an older song which has been fitted to the dance, not one made in the dance. *The Popular Ballad*, p. 97, footnote.

this is my point—would not represent an original stage, but would be exceptional rather than normal.

Our best evidence for early European dance songs comes from France. The French dance songs which remain to us are lyric, not lyric-epic, and they are aristocratic.³⁶ Indeed, admits Professor Gummere, "all the Old French dances were aristocratic to the point of making modern investigators doubt the existence of the 'popular' customs."³⁷ English dance songs have already been examined. Let us turn to Icelandic usage. Vigfusson³⁸ tells us that the "dance, in full use accompanied by songs which are described as loose and amorous"—lyrical pieces these seem to be—appears at the end of the eleventh century. Icelandic *danz* comes to mean song; and *flimt*, loose song, and *danz* are synonymous words. The *rimur*, or epical paraphrases, with matter like that of our ballads, first appear about the middle of the fourteenth century. Almost all Icelandic sagas and romances, even the historical books of the Bible, were turned, we are told, into such lays or ballads. "The heathen heroic poems were certainly never used," says Vigfusson, "to accompany a dance. Their flow and meter are a sufficient proof of that." The word *dance* points, wherever found, to a new fashion introduced from France and spreading quickly over Europe. The old words would not serve for this new French art, which brought its own name even to Iceland. Icelandic evidence is the earliest that we have for the dance songs of Scandinavian countries, and the early Icelandic dance songs were, it would appear, lyrical and amatory, like the

³⁶ Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age*, 1904; Bédier, *Les Plus Anciennes Danses Françaises*, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 15, 1906, p. 398.

³⁷ *The Popular Ballad*, p. 97.

³⁸ Cleasby-Vigfusson, *Icelandic Dictionary*, under *danz*.

early French and English dance songs. The employment of heroic romantic narrative material belongs to a later stage.

In Denmark, courtly society of the later middle ages danced to narrative ballads, and the pieces closely resemble the Child ballads. But Danish literature seems to know no other song, no body of purely lyrical movement songs. The wealth of lyric poetry appearing in England and France and Germany was unknown in Denmark. It had no erotic lyric poetry. The ballad was practically the only form, we are told, in which the people expressed their feelings. The Danish ballads are very valuable. "We possess," says Steenstrup, "40 ballad manuscripts of the period prior to 1750, while Sweden possesses 10, the oldest antedated by many Danish." The Danish ballads were preserved by high-born ladies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who did fine service in collecting into manuscripts the songs current in the castles of the period.

The Danish pieces show their connection with the dance, as do most dance songs, in their very texts, and they even show how the dance was conducted. Here are some specimen lines:³⁹

Midsummer night upon the sward,
Knights and squires were standing guard.

In the grove a knightly dance they tread
With torches and garlands of roses red.

In sable and martin before them all
Dances Sir Iver, the noblest of all.

To the king in his tower strong
Floats the noise of the dancing throng.

³⁹ These and other examples are cited by Steenstrup, *The Mediæval Popular Ballad*, p. 12. Translated by E. G. Cox.

"Who is yon knight that leads the dance,
And louder than all the song he chants?"

Proud Elselille, No. 220.

Now longs the king himself
To step the dance;
The hero Hagen follows after,
For them the song he chants.
So stately dances Hagen.

Hagen's Dance, No. 465.

It was Mettelil, the count's daughter,
She stepped the dance for them.

No. 261.

There dances Sir Stig, as light as a wand,
With a silver cup in his white hand.

No. 76.

An account of the Ditmarsh folk of Holstein by Johann Adolphi (Neocorus) written in 1598, says that the people have *adapted nearly all their songs to the dance, in order to remember them better, and to keep them current.*⁴⁰ The dances he describes are like the Danish dances, with singing by a "foresinger," and choral response and refrain. There were also, as in our own ring-dance songs, whole pieces where all the participants sang as they danced.

There is little or nothing of the Danish type of self-labeled dance songs among the Child pieces. All but a few of the Danish ballads have refrains. Those lacking them are mostly late importations or translations. The movement is often nimble and rapid. On the other hand, of 1250 versions of the English ballads, about 300, *i. e.*, a fourth, have refrains.⁴¹

⁴⁰ *Chronik des Landes Dithmarschen*, edited by F. C. Dahlmann, I, p. 177: "Nichtess weiniger isst tho vorwunderen (den up dat de Gesenge edder Geschichte deste ehr gelehret unnd beter beholden worden unnd lenger im Gebruke bleven, hebben se de alle fast den Dentzen bequemet), dat se nha Erfordering der Wortt and Wise des Gesanges," etc.

⁴¹ *The Popular Ballad*, p. 74.

As to origins, the Danish ballads do not help the communalists, but the contrary. The dancing for which they were used—some were employed for entertainment of other kinds, like riding or rowing—was the dancing of the high-born; both in content and movement, they seem suitable for this purpose. Both Grundtvig and Steenstrup seem to be satisfied with the hypothesis of minstrel authorship for them. They offer no suggestion of the responsibility, for the type, of festal village throngs, or of the throngs of primitive times. And it is interesting to note that when Steenstrup seeks to restore the Danish ballads to their older and truer form, and to rid them of spurious accretions, one of his first steps is to shear away various types of repetition, as “padding.”⁴²

At this point, something should, no doubt, be said with reference to the ballads of the Faroe Islands. They have been brought much into the foreground, in the discussions of the genesis of the ballads, and afford to communalists their chief stronghold;⁴³ although Steenstrup advises caution⁴⁴ in using them for help in understanding older ballad forms. Their recollection of Saga and Eddic poetry is strong, and this knowledge must have blended with knowledge of the poetry of the middle ages. Moreover popular ballads, he says, were taken up by priests and learned people. Several types of verse are to be noted in Faroe folk-song; but mostly the introduction of Danish ballads, supposed to have begun in the sixteenth century, has affected them. In the Faroes, in the preceding century at least, as, in less degree, in our own fast-dying-out ring-game or play-party songs of young people, throng dancing

⁴² *The Mediæval Popular Ballad*, pp. 75-77.

⁴³ “The ballad-genesis is more plainly proved for the Faroes than for any other modern people” (Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 69).

⁴⁴ See *The Mediæval Popular Ballad*, p. 7.

of the old circle type, with linked hands, was still preserved. The dancing is to singing rather than to instrumental music, again as in our ring-games; and as in the latter, all take part in the singing and all join in the refrain. Sometimes spontaneous improvised lines or verses, still as in our ring-games, arise out of the occasion itself.

The classic report of the Faroe dances was made by Pastor Lyngbye in 1822, who left descriptions of them. Their dance-themes are derived from Norwegian or Icelandic sources, a favorite subject being the "hero Sigurd." They dance to historical ballads, like the Danes,⁴⁵ but to religious and lampooning ballads as well. There are many lyric-epics, like the Danish ones we have mentioned. Indeed, the Icelanders know and use ballads in the Danish language. The fishermen also have rude dances, sometimes to songs of their own creation. Pastor Lyngbye tells of one, often utilized for argument by Professor Gummere, concerning a fisherman, pushed by his comrades into the center of the throng, while they improvised verses upon a recent mishap which had befallen him. The text of the song is not preserved, so we cannot place its type. We have no right to call it a ballad; most probably it was not. From what we are told of them,

⁴⁵Our earliest testimony concerning the Faroe dances is to be found in the *Farøa Reserata* of Lucas Debes, Copenhagen, 1673. He writes, p. 251, that "the inhabitants of the Faroe Islands are little inclined toward useless pastimes or idle gaiety, but content themselves mostly with singing psalms . . . only at marriages or at Christmas time do they seek amusement in a simple circle dance, one grasping another by the hand while they sing old hero-songs." Pastor Lyngbye's much-quoted *Færøiske Quæder*, etc., was published in 1822. See also N. Annandale, *The Faroes and Iceland*, Oxford, 1905. The whole matter of Faroe folk-song was cleared up satisfactorily by H. Thuren in his *Folke Saangen paa Færøerne*, 1908.

these improvised fishermen pieces sound analogous to our own ranch-hand, cowboy, lumbermen, or negro improvisations, or to the occasional spontaneous ventures of our own ring-dances. They are upon events of the moment, of interest to members of the circle involved. They are fashioned on or are imitations of, songs of better type, of higher descent, and they are markedly crude and poor. Further, the Faroe fishermen pieces are sung to hymn tunes or to familiar airs, not to invented melodies, or to traditional melodies—not at least to melodies traditional from ancient times.⁴⁶ The Faroe songs teach us nothing as to the genesis of the lyric-epic type, for they themselves preserve and continue imported fashions. All in all, there is nothing to be learned from the Faroe dance-song customs that runs contrary to evidence from other sources. Rather do they bear it out. And certainly we cannot look to them as mirroring *par excellence* what is oldest.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The type of song now used by Shakers, Holy Rollers, and other dancing religious sects ought to be a point of corroborative interest. They probably resemble the Salvation Army type of hymn.

⁴⁷ For German, an excellent display of dance-song material may be found in Franz Böhme's *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1886. In chapter xv, "Über Tanzlieder," he groups his material into classes, to show the varied character of the content. He gives amatory songs first place, as the most frequent accompaniment of the dance, with many examples. Historical songs, old hero songs, and mythic pieces (his second class), were sung, he thinks, in the oldest period, for the dance. But his evidence for this is the hero songs of the Faroes, concerning which we have evidence from the seventeenth century, and the testimony of Neocorus (1598) concerning the Ditmarsh folk of Holstein. The bearing of this evidence has already been considered. The third class he names consists of ballads or epic folk-songs, for which his examples for Germany are meager. This class, he says, was "in full bloom" in the Romance languages and in England, as sung at the dance—a hasty and mistaken generalization. A fourth class consists of lampoons, vituperations, satires, etc., abundantly illustrated. This is the class of dance

In the Child pieces, the story, not suggestion of movement or suitability for movement, is the main thing. When a refrain is present, the only sure inference to be made from its presence is that the piece was made to be sung, or possibly to be recited orally. The refrain is present in mediæval as in modern songs which have no connection with the dance. But the refrain itself is not an essential in the Child pieces as it is in the Danish; we have just pointed out that hardly a fourth, by Professor Gummere's count, have refrains. In those which are surely old, like

songs which is often improvised. His next class consists of bird and animal songs, as of the nightingale, cuckoo, heron, owl, fox, etc. Riddle, wishing, and wager songs, and (rarely) religious songs constitute the last classes. In the second part of his history, the author prints 356 specimens of dance songs and melodies, in chronological sequence. Among these illustrative dance songs the epic folk-song, the ballad of the Child type, is the type playing the least conspicuous rôle. How any scholar who examines Böhme's display of mediæval dance-song material—it is strikingly parallel to English dance-song material—can retain the belief that lyric-epic pieces like the Child pieces were conditioned first of all by mediæval dances, is hard to understand. They seem to be a lyric type least to be associated with such usage.

It is true that Professor Böhme, whose book was published in 1886, begins with the view that "Tanzlieder waren die ersten Lieder," "Beim Tanze wurden die ältesten epischen Dichtungen (erzählende Volkslieder) gesungen, durch den Tanz sind sie veranlasst worden . . .," "Die älteste Poesie eines jeden Volkes ist eine Verbindung von Tanz, Spiel, und Gesang." But his material does not bear out his preliminary statements, nor is he insistent upon the narrative song as the earliest dance song, as his book proceeds. He tells us, p. 230, that we learn the origin and the form of dance songs best from the South German *Schnadahüpfn*, short two- or four-line songs, to familiar melodies, often improvised (see his fourth class) by singers and dancers. Among these songs, the heroic element hardly appears, and the historic never. A careful survey of the citations in Böhme's *Geschichte des Tanzes* should disillusion believers in the ballad as the characteristic type of mediæval dance song, or as the leading lyric type of dance genesis.

The Battle of Otterbourne, The Hunting of the Cheviot, or Judas, no refrain is present. It is not then a constant feature, but occurs variably. Nor is it constant even for individual ballads, but fluctuates, apparently, with the melodies to which they were sung. If the Child ballad, or its archetype, was a dance song, the refrain formula ought to persist above all else, through oral tradition and dance usage, as it does in the dance or ring-game songs of which we are sure. It is what should identify the individual ballads. Moreover, refrains appear very abundantly in the later pieces and in broadsides; that is, they are not distanced, the farther we get from the hypothetical dance-throngs with which they are supposed to be bound up.

When the English and Scottish ballads do use the refrain, they use it in the art way, not in the folk way. It is something extraneous, introduced from the outside, varying for the same ballad, subject to modification or replacement at the will of the singers, not part of the fabric of the song. And like the refrains of the art songs of the middle ages, carols, or roundels, or *ballades*, it comes at regular intervals. It is not handled like the repetitions of traditional dance songs, usually the most stable element of the song, nor in the crude way of much of the repetition in unlettered folk-improvisations. Nor should it be confused with the one-word and two-word songs chanted in the choral repetitions of savage tribes. The latter are not refrains, but the whole song.

Refrains and choral repetitions are more necessary to other kinds of mediæval lyric verse than they are to ballads. It is not, in fact, the presence of a refrain, or of choral repetition that makes the Child pieces ballads. What is essential, if pieces are to be classified as ballads, is that they tell a story in verse. If they are ballads of the Child type they probably exhibit structural or lyrical

repetition in their presentation of narrative material; but no amount of structural or lyrical repetition makes a piece a ballad unless a narrative element is present. Repetition of both types is a striking characteristic, for example, of revival hymns, and these had their origin neither as ballads nor as dance songs;⁴⁸ and it is characteristic, most of all, of game and dance songs proper; yet these are not ballads. In practice, it is conceded by everybody, communalists too, that a lyric may have a refrain, or repeated lines, as do many of the lyrics from the Elizabethan dramatists, yet not be a ballad. *Sumer is icumen in* has a refrain, but is not a ballad; the Bannockburn song has a refrain, but is not a ballad. On the other hand, a lyric may have no refrain or choral repetition, like *King Estmere*, or *Thomas Rymer*, yet be a ballad. As already pointed out, the name ballad attached itself to the type of lyric which is pretty far removed from the mediæval lyric type of early dance employment. If we are to insist on a dance element in a lyric which we are to classify as a ballad, we might apply the name, with better right, to art lyrics, or to folk lyrics of the fluid traditional type, held to unity and memorableness by the refrain, which persist in the ring-games of young people and in children's songs; or we should restrict it to genuine dance songs, of which we have many, of equal age with the majority of ballads which have come down to us.

In the English and Scottish ballads, dancing plays hardly any rôle. It is referred to a fair number of times; but as a recreation for the lords and ladies who appear

⁴⁸ Compare "Incremental repetition made up the whole frame of *The Maid Freed from the Gallows* simply because such ballads were still part and parcel of the dance" (*The Popular Ballad*, p. 117). Repetition is emphasized as the most characteristic feature of ballads, pp. 117-134, etc.

in the ballads it plays a less striking part than does the game of ball, its rival and a recreation with which it was often combined. It is far less frequent than reference to songs and to minstrelsy. Mostly the allusions are to dancing of the more modern type, accompanied by the music of instruments; and they bear testimony to the coming of dance-modes from France. A few typical passages are the following:

Seek no minstrels to play, mother,
 No dancers to dance in your room;
 But tho your son comes, Leesome Brand,
 Yet he comes sorry to the town.

Leesome Brand.

There was two little boys going to the school,
 And twa little boys they be,
 They met three brothers playing at the ba,
 And ladies dancing, hey.

The Two Brothers.

I'm gauin, I'm gauin,
 I'm gauin to Fraunce, lady,
 When I come back,
 I'll learn ye a dance, lady.

Rob Roy.

Another text ends:

I hae been in foreign lands,
 And served the King o' France, ladie;
 We will get bagpipes,
 And we'll hae a dance, ladie.

Or:

Get dancers here to dance, she sais,
 And minstrels for to play;
 For here's my young son, Florentine,
 Come here wi me to stay.

The Earl of Mar's Daughter.

Two might have reference to dancing of the older type:

Her father led her through the ha'
 Her mither danced before them a'.

The Cruel Brother.

When dinner it was past and done,
And dancing to begin
We'll go take the bride's maidens,
And we'll go fill the ring.

O ben then cam the auld French lord,
Saying, Bride, will ye dance with me?
'Awa, awa, ye auld French lord,
Your face I wowna see.'

Fair Janet.

Fair Janet, with its theme of probation by dancing, closely resembles certain Scandinavian and German ballads, but has lessened the part played by the dance test.

The internal evidence that the English and Scottish ballads were used as dance songs is very meager, compared, for example, with the very abundant internal evidence that they were sung. But in practice, few scholars would now make special claim that they were used as dance songs. No doubt they were, here and there, as in late times, we have seen, were *Barbara Allen* and *The Two Sisters*, in this country. The refrains of several might connect them with the dance, as Mrs. Brown's *The Bonny Birdy* (no. 82), or *The Maid and the Palmer* (no. 21). But most sound more suitable for recital or singing than to accompany rhythmic motion. Fitted to dance tunes they might be used as dance songs, but typically they were composed for other purposes. It is pretty hard for the student of real dance song to feel that the mass of the Child pieces, or their archetypes, developed from the folk-dance. Mediæval rural throngs, like their descendants to-day, probably danced mostly to something already familiar, and in itself suitable; more rarely they may have danced to their own spontaneous but inconsequential and impermanent improvisations. The typical mediæval dance song was, however, more lyric than epic. The English and Scottish ballads are as epic as they are lyric.

There is a classic passage in *The Complaynt of Scotland*,⁴⁹ 1549, by which we can check pretty well our assumptions and conclusions. The author of *The Complaynt* makes his "shepherds" (pretty literary and classical shepherds they are, genuine shepherds of the "Golden Age") tell tales, sing songs, and afterwards dance in a ring. Among the 48 *tales* with which they amused themselves, alongside Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Arthurian romance, and classical stories, as of Hercules, or of Hero and Leander, are listed the tale of "robene hude and litil ihone," and the tale of the "zong tamlene" (Tamlane). Among the 36 *songs*, are the Henry VIII *Pastance with gude companye*, *The frog cam to the myl dur*, *The battel of the hayrlau*, and *The hunttis of cheuet*—probably the song that Sidney praised; also *The perssee and the mongumrye met*, i. e., *The Battle of Otterbourne*. The Child pieces referred to thus far have been either told or sung, as we should expect. Then comes a list of 30 *dance* pieces—most of them obviously such as *Al cristyn mennis dance*, *The gosseps dance*, *The alman haye*, *The dance of kyrlyryne*, *Schaik a trot*, etc. The list is headed by *The Hunt Is Up*, the tune of which is well fitted for dancing. No Child pieces appear. Number 92, *Robene hude*, is probably a *chanson de Robin* (see Cotgrave), or Robin Hood and Maid Marian piece. There were many Robin Hood dances, and they are not to be identified with the Robin Hood ballads. Number 93, *Thom of lyn* is not the ballad *Tamlane*, listed among the recited pieces, but the very different and wholly appropriate song of *Young Thomlin*, licensed in 1557-58. Number 108, *Ihonne ermistrangis dance*, is the one possible Child piece of the

* Edited by J. A. H. Murray, for the Early English Text Society, 1872, vol. I, p. 63.

30; but neither Mr. Furnivall nor Mr. Murray believes it to be identical with any of the four ballads involving 'Armstrongs' (*Johnny Armstrong, Johnny Armstrong's Last Goodnight, Jock o' the Side, Dick of the Cow*) which have come down to us. The Armstrong ballads in Child's collection are hardly suitable as dance songs.

Should not the *Complaynt's* roll of tales, songs, and dance songs, read very differently, had the English and Scottish ballads been the typical songs for the dances of rural throngs? The ballads which are mentioned are not mentioned as dance songs, and they are in highly literary and aristocratic company. The dance songs which are mentioned seem to be exactly of the suitable type which we should expect.

Much dance-song material, primitive, mediæval, and modern—the latter in our still-existent ring-dance songs—is available, from which to make observation and to generalize. The tendencies to be inferred from it are exactly the reverse of those assumed by Professor Gummere, and currently accepted in America.⁵⁰

1. When songs already existent are used as communal dance songs, they tend to retrograde to simple repetitions of striking lines or titles. If narrative, they are likely to lose the story. As for primitive dance songs, they are never narrative.

2. The repetitions of communal dance songs are much more abundant than the repetitions of the ballads, and

⁵⁰ That belief in dance origin, emergence from the illiterate, communal improvisation, epic development, and the priority of dialogue and situation songs, has current American acceptance, is shown by the fact that such belief is set forth, without hesitation or question, in the two latest American ballad anthologies: Professor W. M. Hart's *English Popular Ballads*, 1916, and Professor G. H. Stempel's *A Book of Ballads*, 1917.

they belong more genuinely to the fabric of the song. They are not of the symmetrical art type, of regular recurrence, the refrain type proper, but are cruder, or more pervading. Often some striking formula recurs over and over, and is the main song. For ballads proper, the refrain is not the most stable element but the most fluctuating.

3. There is no tendency for dance songs, whether situation songs or dialogue songs, to develop epic elements or to become "refined and ennobled by tradition," i. e., to become real ballads. Real ballads used as dance songs tend to decay, through the wearing process of dance usage. Songs used as dance songs do not tend to develop into ballads, but rather to become simplified to some striking line or formula.

4. As regards form, genuine communal dance songs are not necessarily or invariably in ballad stanza, but of more fluid and variable pattern. They exhibit no one fixed stanzaic type. Sometimes they consist of but one short stanza.

We are hardly justified by the evidence, then, in saying that the English ballads represent a lyric type which has been "divorced from the dance, originally their vital condition." There is no testimony that the structure of the English ballads rests upon the dance, but rather the contrary; for theirs is not the structure of the normal and more appropriate dance song. That the dance songs of primitive peoples, and the earliest dance songs that we have in English, and our latest surviving dance songs are all three lyric, not lyric-epic, does not point to the origin of the English ballad type by "divorce from the dance."

There are three forms of psychic suggestion in poetry; first, emotional, as in the simple lyric; second, ideational, as in the narrative; third, motor, as in the refrain type, coupled with simple imperatives. The first and second

types may be associated with action in the sense of conduct, and they are so associated in primitive poetry. They are sometimes continued traditionally in what are called "dances," but are really drama; that is, they become histrionic. The third type is the only form fundamentally associated with the dance, and it is psychologically simple, i. e., *presentative* not *representative*. This psychical distinction should be borne in mind in study of the subject. Not all lyrics tempt to movement, and narratives (ballads proper) never, one would think, tempt to *measured movement* of the dance type.

Association with the dance of the festal multitude may be in place for the French *ballade*, or for the Italian *ballata*, but our own ballads do not include pieces which were primarily dance songs. That the English ballad type had its genesis in the folk-dance seems to be not only unproved but unlikely. Those who believe in dance genesis for the lyric in general may find in the dance the ultimate genesis of the lyric-epic type which we call ballad. But, in that case, no attempt should be made so sharply to differentiate the ballad in origins from other types of lyric verse. Those scholars who hold both positions at the same time, affirming that ballads originated as dance songs, yet that they were manifestly composed in some way utterly different from other lyric verse, are maintaining positions which are incompatible.

To the present writer, the gift of song seems as instinctive in man as the gift of rhythmic motion, not a development from the latter. Both were his from the first. No festal dancing chorus of a unanimous throng is needed to account for the song of birds, and song, the expression of emotion, not motion, may well be as instinctive in man as in birds. Other lyric forms, as lullabies, conjuring or healing songs, labor songs, love songs, are as primitive as

choral dance songs, not offshoots of the latter. Children sing instinctively, and they make their own songs, without waiting for the communal inspiration of group dancing; and it is commonly assumed that the development of the child mirrors that of the race. The beliefs that from the dance emerged music and rhythmical utterance, or song, that dance songs are the earliest lyrics, that narrative songs are the earliest dance songs, and that the English ballad type had its genesis in the dance, are neither borne out by the evidence, nor intrinsically probable.

LOUISE POUND.

XVIII.—NOTES ON THE FORM OF *THE DYNASTS*

Whether or not *The Dynasts* is the greatest work in English literature of the last generation it is undoubtedly the most engrossing for the student of literary forms. English literature does not on the whole raise questions of form; we have been content to leave that to the Germans. But with *The Dynasts* we have for once out of our own native workshop a poem which drives the mind back to all the old problems that have dogged epic and dramatic literature through the centuries. And besides the old problems it raises a score of new ones which will stimulate enterprise and innovation in many a writer of to-day and to-morrow. If at the present moment the necessity of analyzing *The Dynasts*, complicated as the task may be, is not apparent to the reader of English literature at large, it will be apparent at no distant date.

The Dynasts attempts to establish a poetic mastery over the Napoleonic wars. It covers a period equal to that of the siege of Troy, beginning in 1805 and ending with Waterloo. It is divided into three parts; the first is grouped about Trafalgar and ends with the death of Pitt; the second is mainly given over to the Peninsular campaign and the domestic experiments of Napoleon; the third presents the three tremendous campaigns of Moscow, Leipzig, and Waterloo. These scenes, one hundred and thirty in all, are held together by a supernatural company of spirits of the Over-world who visit the human scene and comment upon it. The spirits, like a gathering of emeritus professors of philosophy, differ in their opinions. Of the four points of view which stand out most clearly two explain themselves immediately. The Spirits Ironic

and Sinister, whether we like their views or not, are disturbingly intelligible. They are sparingly used and are placed in distinct æsthetic inferiority to two other groups of spirits—the Years and the Pities. The finest poetry of *The Dynasts* comes out in the clash of these two voices with their eternal, irreconcilable contrast of mind and heart. The Years mark and register, the Pities deprecate and weep.

The spirits begin with a metaphysical discussion in which all take part. They then descend to earth and hover bird-like over the human spectacle, now witnessing in dumb-show from a vantage point in the clouds the retreat from Moscow, now entering the House of Commons in a human disguise and listening to the witticisms of Sheridan. After the last pictures have been displayed they return to the Over-world and re-open but do not solve the eternal question which is their sole concern.

The extraordinary interest which attaches to *The Dynasts* will be found to lie in part in the amazing poetic retrospect which it awakens. It shares and in a sense combines three great literary traditions—the epic tradition of Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Milton; the historical tradition of Shakespeare's English plays; the metaphysical tradition of the philosophical dramas of Æschylus, Goethe, and Shelley. One might even add a fourth and a more immediate tradition, that of the novel, the Wessex novels first and after them the work of Stendhal, Tolstoi, and de Coster. The Shakespeare tradition relates itself more nearly to the human scenes, the metaphysical tradition to the supernatural scenes. The relation to the novel and the epic is more comprehensive and thus more fundamental. Looking to the future, on the other hand, the most signal aspect of *The Dynasts* is its extreme wealth of commentary and analysis, and it is with this aspect of

it that this paper is tentatively concerned. From the point of view of formal novelty it will be a matter of explaining and justifying the 'discreteness' of *The Dynasts*. With the help of the Wessex novels and of *Faust* a preliminary answer can be given.

No comprehensive piece of literature was ever so discontinuous as this epic-drama. A hostile critic might argue that a work which requires the typographical assistance of three different founts condemns itself at the start, but he could be countered with the remark that in actual experience *The Dynasts* reads at least as easily as the novels. But first impressions do count for something and that of *The Dynasts* is one of excessive pigeon-holing and labelling and compartmenting. Everywhere the reader is given the ingredients, instead of the dish itself, as if he were in some mental cookery-school. After the formal masterpieces of Hardy's middle years, the great arch of *The Return of the Native* and the shining vista of *Tess*, where, particularly in the former work, life is presented whole and left to speak for itself, *The Dynasts* appears at first sight to have thrown form to the winds and followed the false gods of abstraction. The truth of the matter is less simple and more interesting.

To a nearer view the relation of *The Dynasts* to the novels is at once close and remote; close in substance, remote in form. It would not be difficult to recast mentally any of the greater novels in the intricate mould of *The Dynasts* or to fuse *The Dynasts* into the compacted masses of the novels. Thus, the Spirit Sinister speaks the closing comment in the best-known of the tales, "the President of the Immortals (in Æschylean phrase) had ended his sport with Tess." Similarly the Spirit Ironic closes *Two on a Tower*, "The Bishop was avenged"; the Years pronounce through the mouthpiece of Arabella the fearful

epilogue of *Jude the Obscure*; whilst in *The Return of the Native*, as in *The Dynasts* itself, the Pities strike the final and deepest chord: "But everywhere he was kindly received, for the story of his life had become generally known."

The process of ticketing could be continued indefinitely. The novels would then slowly reveal their full anatomy. Take *The Return of the Native*, probably the greatest of them, certainly the richest in substance. Paragraphs from the first chapter, which to those who choose to take it so is simply the 'description' of a heath, unfold the metaphysics that is implicit in them and take their natural place in a Fore Scene in the Overworld. Compare "It was at present a place perfectly accordant with man's nature—neither ghastly, hateful, nor ugly: neither commonplace, unmeaning, nor tame; but, like man, slighted and enduring; and withal singularly colossal and mysterious in its swarthy monotony," with the vision of Europe "as a prone and emaciated figure," witnessed by the supernatural company conducted by "Showman Years." There is no pathetic fallacy in either case; the intellect is involved not less than the emotions.

The Dumb Show which in *The Dynasts* enacts the converging movement of the allied armies after Leipzig, gliding on "as if by gravitation, in fluid figures, dictated by the conformation of the country, like water from a burst reservoir; mostly snake-shaped, but occasionally with batrachian and saurian outlines," also presents the figure of Eustacia on the aged barrow at night: "It rose from the semi-globular mound like a spike from a helmet," resembling "a sort of last man" among the Celts who built the barrow, "musing for a moment before dropping into eternal night with the rest of his race. . . . The figure perceptibly gave up its fixity, shifted a step or two, and

turned round. As if alarmed, it descended on the right side of the barrow, with the glide of a water-drop down a bud, and then vanished."

The metaphysical significance of Hardy's comment on this silhouette instances admirably the subterranean commentary that underlies the whole book: "Such a perfect, delicate, and necessary finish did the figure give to the dark pile of hills that it seemed to be the only obvious justification of their outline . . . the architectural demands of the mass were satisfied." Here the true analysis may easily be missed, since there is no spirit-chorus to express it. The method of *The Dynasts* would not enrich the episode: it would reveal it more fully, showing, in addition to the artistry of line which arrested the eye of the reddleman, the "artistry in Circumstance," the "curious stuff and braid" of which can only be appraised by the supernatural spectator. For Eustacia, it must be remembered, is no lover of heaths and barrows; the environment which she at this moment so perfectly decorates kills her before the tale is over. When the Wildeve nurse pins her late master's money before the hearth "in the manner of clothes on a line" and Venn sits in the niche of the fire-place "watching the steam from the double row of bank-notes as they waved backwards and forwards in the draught of the chimney" we involuntarily recall the "Quaint poesy and real romance" discerned by the Spirit Ironie.

Enough of instances. The technical contrast between the works is abundantly clear. For convenience sake, let the formal tendency of *The Dynasts* be called "explicitness," of *The Return of the Native* "implicitness," remembering that the more familiar problem of "shapeliness" is not necessarily involved.

Reference to a simpler case will perhaps make matters

clearer. The fable with a moral appended does not represent an inferior form of art to the fable which leaves the moral to be inferred. It is true that an off-hand æsthetic judgment would prefer the latter, but there is no ground for preferring it on principle. The one is implicit, the other explicit. The one holds its comment in solution, the other precipitates it. In La Fontaine's *La Cigale et la Fourmi*, the hungry idler comes in winter-time to the busy workman, begging for food. "What did you do in the summer?" says the ant. "I sang," said the grasshopper. "Eh bien, dansez maintenant" is the reply. And there it ends. In the fable of the frog and the ox the poet tells his familiar tale and adds:

Le monde est plein de gens qui ne sont pas plus sages:
 Tout bourgeois veut bâtir comme les grands seigneurs;
 Tout petit prince a des ambassadeurs;
 Tout marquis veut avoir des pages.

This does not mean for a moment that comment is withheld from the first fable and allowed in the second. The comment is equally present in the poetic experience of both of them. The fact that in the implicit case the reader, in common language, "supplies the comment," does not make it any the less a part of the poem. The poem compels the comment whether we wish to supply it or not and, without it, would remain no more than a foolish travesty of natural history. This may seem a trivial point here, but it becomes very significant in more advanced instances. And even here among the fables the formal development from these two primary cases is delightfully exemplified in the fable of the mountain giving birth, where both are seen to be necessary if this third form is to be plausible.¹ Reading the three of them in their ori-

¹ The fables are Nos. 156, 157, 158 in the *Oxford Book of French Verse*.

ginal form, one cannot help feeling that the art is equally perfect in all.

But this is a far cry from *The Dynasts*! Yes and No. The formal difference between *The Dynasts* and *The Return of the Native* is precisely that between the first two fables. There it is infinitely elaborate, here infinitely simple. It is useful to borrow a term from mathematics and imagine a literary "progression," one extreme of which is approached by the explicit fable, the other by our epic-drama. The middle terms in this progression should at least give a clue to the ancestry of *The Dynasts*, or, in other words, since it is early to look for progeny, its relation to literature in general. As a historical poem *The Dynasts* must necessarily owe something to earlier treatments of the Napoleonic wars. Similarly, in its blank verse it conforms with the tradition established by our older history plays. But *The Dynasts* is much more than a chronicle. It is, primarily, a philosophical poem, and in philosophical poetry its richer ancestry lies. Its fore-runner is the *Faust* of Goethe.

The relation of Goethe's Heaven, in which the *Faust* drama begins and ends, to its predecessors, "the celestial machinery" of *The Iliad* and *Paradise Lost*, and to its most impressive development in the Overworld of *The Dynasts* is perhaps too comprehensive for the small purposes of this paper. Clearly, it is the most distinguished chapter in the development of explicit forms of poetic commentary. The Spirit of the Years, the critic of the Overworld, is a close analogy to Heaven's commentator, Mephistopheles. The comparison might be pursued at great length. Goethe's Earth-spirit, which describes in magnificent words its own activity,

So schaff' ich am sausenden Webstuhl der Zeit
Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid,

can be balanced against Hardy's Immanent Will, witnessed and expounded by the Years,

So the Will heaves through Space, and moulds the times
With mortals for its fingers.

Elsewhere it is

. . . like a knitter drowsed
Whose fingers play in skilled unmindfulness.

Here, if anywhere, *The Dynasts* passes into great poetry and the manner of the poetry is undoubtedly very *Faust*-like. A couple of less familiar episodes in *Faust* will point the way even more clearly.

Take, first of all, the curse of Faust, an outburst not less elaborate than that of Job and rising on a much shriller crescendo, ending

Fluch sei der Hoffnung! Fluch dem Glauben,
Und Fluch vor allen der Geduld!

The brazen bell of despair ceases abruptly, but the air quivers still and is pregnant with voices. Spirits are heard:

Weh! Weh!
Du hast sie zerstört,
Die schöne Welt,
Mit mächtiger Faust,
Sie stürzt, sie zerfällt!
Ein Halbgott hat sie zerschlagen!
.
.
.
Mächtiger
Der Erdensöhne,
Prächtiger
Baue sie wieder,
In deinem Busen baue sie auf!

The passage is variously interpreted, but, however we choose to read it, it remains a piece of commentary,

spiritually bound up with the curse. It may be ironic or even sinister, for Mephisto immediately claims that the spirits are in his train. It may be commiseration from the Pities or the inexorable voice of the Years. Again, it may be the objectification of Faust's inner reaction, the remorse after the defiance—a fascinating reading. Indeed, these various explanations are not conflicting; they all help to reveal a given complex of spiritual forces. The drama immediately reabsorbs its precipitate and proceeds. A few lines from *Hamlet* will at once bring out the formal peculiarities of Goethe's method:

. . . . for it cannot be
 But I am pigeon-liver'd and lack gall
 To make oppression bitter, or ere this
 I should have fatted all the region kites
 With this slave's offal: bloody, bawdy villain!
 Remorseless, treacherous, lecherous, kindless villain!
 O vengeance!
 Why, what an ass am I! This is most brave,
 That I, the son of a dear father murder'd,
 Prompted to my revenge by heaven and hell,
 Must, like a whore, unpack my heart with words,
 And fall a-cursing, like a very drab,
 A scullion!
 Fie upon't! foh! About, my brain!

Clearly, the drama relaxes at "vengeance." Now it resumes more intensely,

I have heard
 That guilty creatures, sitting at a play

There is no need to press the contrast with *Faust*. The contrast must be abandoned as soon as it has suggested a formal difference in the rendering of a change of mood from anger to reflection. The more explicit device, used by Goethe, replaces, as it were, the clumsier monologue,

which Shakespeare accepts from the technique of his age. The opportunity for more intimate commentary is clearly with Goethe.

For parallels in *The Dynasts* one might refer *passim*. A useful example is to be found in Pt. II, Act. v, Sc. iv. Metternich conveys to Maria Louisa Napoleon's formal offer of marriage. She replies dutifully, beginning with the words, "My wish is what my duty bids me wish." Then follows,

A slight noise as of something falling is heard in the room. They glance momentarily and see that a small enamel portrait of Marie Antoinette, which was standing on a console-table, has slipped down on its face.

Spirit of the Years

What mischief's this? The Will must have its way.

Spirit Sinister

Perhaps Earth shivered at the lady's say?

Shade of the Earth

I own thereto. When France and Austria wed
My echoes are men's groans, my dew's are red;
So I have reason for a passing dread!

Metternich then resumes, "Right nobly phrased, Archduchess." Putting new elements aside which would require a separate analysis, the technical affinity with the above crisis in *Faust* is seen to be peculiarly close. The explicit device probes the implicit substance; whilst literally pointing forward to new developments, it also suggests the immediate play of spiritual forces, Faust's reaction from violence, Maria Louisa's from sacrifice. It is particularly interesting to observe that the still greater explicitness in the form of *The Dynasts* forfeits nothing of inwardness. Read in its context, alertly and reflectively, this abrupt comment reaches the mind with a most compelling poig-

nancy.² One might go further. If the function of literature is to present as intimate a reading of life as possible, the modern artist has the greater opportunity. In respect of form, Goethe has the advantage over Shakespeare, Hardy over Goethe. Goethe has, if he chooses, all Shakespeare's opportunities plus his own. Similarly Hardy.

The death scene in *Faust*—our second comparison—is an even more illuminating illustration of what we are in search of. The numerous accessory figures—Lynceus the watchman, Mephistopheles, the three giants, the four gray women—Care and her cronies—the lemurs, the angels, all have their inward counterpart in the vast soul of Faust. Otherwise they would be largely emptied of their meaning. In the strict sense of drama, none of them can be adequately justified, not even Mephistopheles; in varying degrees they are all devices for searching out and annotating the inner significance of the event, “the hidden thoughts of the soul.” Goethe draws on conflicting mythologies, Germanic and Christian, on native wisdom and advanced metaphysics. He personifies these numerous conceptions in loose dramatic fashion and gives each its voice in the symphonic chorus of Faust's passing hence. It is a triumph, perhaps the greatest triumph, of that far-reaching tendency that we have agreed to call “explicitness.” Goethe isolates and expresses with clearer definition some of the elements in the complex of feeling expe-

² It is true that in this scene the spirits are ostensibly commenting independently on the mundane events; they are saying what Maria Louisa and Metternich are ignorant of. But it is also true that in a secondary way they are interpreting the apprehensive mind of Maria Louisa. Where there is dramatic commentary there must always be a measure of interpretation and *vice versa*. Just as two colours cannot be placed side by side without influencing one another, so commentary by its position alone affects the adjacent personalities.

rienced by the "spectator idealised," in his two-fold function of interpreter and commentator. Shakespeare's treatment of such scenes is less varied and more simply dramatic, but those who have seen the Fortinbras episode on the stage must have felt what a peculiarly modern note was struck. In *The Dynasts* there is the death of Nelson or the death of Pitt, and, more interesting still, the running commentary on those death-scenes in the aggregate, the battles, notably Austerlitz with its supremely fine ironic chorus and Waterloo, preluded by that unforgettable spirit-chorus, "The eye-lids of eve fall together at last."

The Dynasts is full of reminiscences of the close of *Faust*. Whether Hardy was directly under the technical influence of Goethe is a matter of small account. In his preface to *The Dynasts* he appears to feel only the breach with tradition and not his apparent debt. He writes, "In point of literary form, the scheme of contrasted Choruses and other conventions of this external feature was shaped with a single view to the modern expression of a modern outlook, and in frank divergence from classical and other dramatic precedent which ruled the ancient voicings of ancient themes." Similarly, Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie, his best critic, hardly insists sufficiently on the element of evolution in the form of *The Dynasts*. For, after all, in point of technique, it is but a step, though a vital step, from the semi-dramatic contrasted reflections at the close of *Faust* to Hardy's explicitly contrasted choruses.

The figure of Care is as much an abstraction and as far removed from dramatic logic as Hardy's spirits. Its function is interpretative rather than critical. It is the embodiment of Faust's ultimate broodings; as the foul breath of Care darkens his eyes, shadow settles for the last time on his spirit. The corresponding moment in the life

of Pitt is interpreted in *The Dynasts*. The passage forms an interesting variant on the hag's whisper at the ear of Faust.

Spirit of the Pities (to the Spirit of the Years)
Do you intend to speak to him ere the close?

Spirit of the Years
Nay I have spoke too often! Time and time,
When all Earth's light has lain on the nether side,
And yapping midnight winds have leapt on roofs,
Have I communed with that intelligence.
Now I would leave him to pass out in peace,
And seek the silence unperturbedly.

Another of the *Faust* comments comes from Mephistopheles: the futility of it all, the endless circle, creation and decay. Here the gloss is critical rather than interpretative.

Vorbei! ein dummes Wort.
Warum vorbei?
Vorbei und reines Nichts, vollkommnes Einerlei!
Was soll uns denn das ew'ge Schaffen!
Geschaffenes zu nichts hinwegzuraffen!
Da ist's vorbei! Was ist daran zu lesen?
Es ist so gut, als wär' es nicht gewesen,
Und treibt sich doch im Kreis, als wenn es wäre.
Ich liebte mir dafür das Ewig-Leere.

Compare this with the wail of the Pities over the corpse of Nelson, their censure of the Will, "Why make Life debtor when it did not buy?" and the reply of the Years, a more enlightened Mephistopheles:

Nay, blame not! For what judgment can ye blame?—
In that immense, unweeting Mind is shown
One far above forethinking; purposive,
Yet superconscious; a Clairvoyancy
That knows not what It knows, yet works therewith.

Perhaps enough has been said and quoted. The position of *The Dynasts* in philosophical poetry should now be clear. Its extraordinary service to the literature of the future can best be felt if we relate it broadly to the past: the *Prometheus Bound* or the choruses of the *Antigone*, the life-criticism of *Hamlet* in its monologues or in the grave-diggers' prattle, the death of Faust. These are among the landmarks in the vast territory of imaginative literature that reaches back into the myths of the early world and stretches onward into the unexplored regions of the modern spirit of man. The enrichment of dramatic forms, in the widest sense of the word 'drama,' brings with it the enrichment of dramatic commentary on life without which literature is unthinkable. The growth of the Greek chorus is the earliest familiar instance of an explicit form of interpretation or reflection. What the Greeks solved, or rather found solved for them, in this partitioning of form, this explicit analysis, Shakespeare achieves, in the main implicitly, by a loosening of dramatic stringencies. Goethe uses the method of both, sacrificing outer form to inner form. His *Faust* establishes once and for all the value of explicitness in dramatic literature. In the final act of his masterpiece he brings together a greater wealth of inwardness and commentary—the two are, as we have seen, often identical, never wholly separate—than had ever before been concentrated in a single incident. It is in Goethe's steps that Hardy is treading. The apparent formlessness of *The Dynasts* is the apparent formlessness of *Faust*. Like *Faust*, *The Dynasts* achieves its marvellous inwardness by externalizing its forms of expression. This becomes clearest, not in traditional types of scene, which Hardy was less concerned to emphasize, but in episodes which had hitherto been only imperfectly mastered by the formative equipment of earlier poets. With all its short-

comings in diction, the form of *The Dynasts* extends the emotional range of poetry. Strategy and diplomacy are transformed into artistic experience. Witness the battle of Leipzig and particularly the declaration of war preceding it, where the actual passage of the document from Vienna to Dresden is imaginatively rendered (Pt. III, Act II, Sc. iv). History was never more humanly presented than here, where the whole "Clash of Peoples" is compassed by the unity of the human mind, whose "readings why and whence," externalize them as we may, are but "the flower of man's intelligence."

The Dynasts is more than an addition to English literature; it increases also the potential of dramatic expressiveness. The art of poetry, it must be remembered, is not at the mercy of natural laws. It enriches itself at the expense of no part of its heritage, expanding as it evolves. The last generation includes the dramas of Ibsen, some of which are formally as implicit as any we know, and *The Dynasts* of Thomas Hardy, in which explicitness takes its widest reach. We have come to what seem to be—though they are not—the boundaries of formal variation in drama. And to whichever boundary we go we find literature equally organic, equally plausible to the imaginative sympathy of the reader. The human mind synthesizes the explicit at least as readily as it analyzes the implicit.

BARKER FAIRLEY.

XIX.—AN OBJECTIVE STUDY OF SYLLABIC QUANTITY IN ENGLISH VERSE

LYRIC VERSE

In a previous paper ¹ the syllabic quantity of twenty-five lines of Milton's *Paradise Lost* was discussed. In that paper it was shown that for three different readers ² approximately 90% of the syllables standing in the metrically stressed position were longer than the other syllables in the same foot in the unstressed position. In the following study it is my purpose to consider syllabic duration in lyric verse of different metres. The first two selections are iambic. They were read by I and Ka respectively, both instructors in vocal expression in western universities. All times are given in tenths and one-hundredths of a second; the times of pauses are in parenthesis.

¹ *An objective study of syllabic quantity in English verse* in these *Publications*, XXXIII, pp. 396 ff.

² The instrument into which the readers spoke the lines is one devised by Professor John F. Shepard of the University of Michigan. It consists of various tambours covered with mica and rubber and mounted with pointers which record the vibrations and outflow of air during speech. The pointers remove the soot from a revolving band of smoked paper, writing thus the various vibrations and curves which represent speech. From records thus made it is possible to determine in most cases with great precision the limits of syllabic duration. Since voiced sounds may blend, it is not always possible to determine exactly the limits of syllables one of which ends and the other of which begins with a voiced sound. In doubtful cases I took the average time of the same syllable found in other places in the material studied but standing between consonants, or made up sentences containing syllables like those under consideration. All cases of this sort are indicated as doubtful.

.2 .3 .1 .82
 Who loves the rain
 .2 .35 .2 .56
 And loves his home, (.18)
 .1 .36 .25 .26 .19 .3 .16 .52
 And looks on life with qui - et eyes, (.55)
 .25 .15 .2 .3 .18 .2 .12 .64
 Him will I fol - low through the storm; (.31)
 .14 .19 .22 .35 .4 .3 .2 .4
 And at his hearth-fire keep me warm; (.4)
 .24 .4 .21 .26 .21 .26 .23 .4 .26 .37
 Nor hell nor heav - en shall that soul sur - prise, (.2)
 .15 .33 .12 .5
 Who loves the rain,
 .18 .31 .2 .46
 And loves his home, (.4)
 .15 .3 .25 .31 .23 .28 .17 .55
 And looks on life with qui^a - et eyes.

(Frances Shaw, *Who Loves the Rain.*)

.35 .72 .2 .72 .27 .62 .25 .7
 O hark, (.2) O hear! (.38) how thin and clear,* (.32)
 .2 .4 .2 .58 .28 .42 .18 .42 .26
 And thin - ner, (.2) clear - er, (.3) far - ther go - ing! (.55)
 .26 .68 .26 .7 .3 .4 .2 .6
 O sweet and far (.12) from cliff and scar (.62)
 .2 .7 .2 .46 .7 .6 .15 .5 .28
 The horns of Elf-land (.3) faint - ly blow - ing!

(From Tennyson's *Bugle Song.*)

* Doubtful division.

^aThe second stanza was taken rather than the first, since the fourth line of the first stanza is metrically anomalous. The refrain was omitted since it, also, on account of pauses and substitutions is not a normal iambic line. For the curious I will, however, give the results here.

.15 .58 .2 .9 .3 .38 .2 .76
 The splen - dor falls (.2) on cas - tle walls (.65)
 .26 .3 .15 .38 .2 .5 .2 .5 .28
 And snow - y sum - mits (.5) old in stor - y; (.8)
 .12 .6 .4 .6 .09 .5 .08 .5,
 The long light shakes a - cross the lakes, (.52)
 .19 .08 .55 .3 .08 .4 .6 .18 .3 .22
 And the wild cat - a - ract (.12) leaps in glor - y. (.85)
 .8 .4 .25 .8 .32 .18 .64 .2 .35 .6 .4
 Blow, (.08) bu - gle, blow, (.08) set the wild ech - oes fly - ing, (.6)

In these iambic specimens there are only three feet in which the syllable in the stressed position is not longer than the one in the unstressed position; these are *him will*, *fire keep*, and *land faint*, all of which clearly are not iambs and may, therefore, be excluded from the results. In the two selections 100% of the stressed syllables are longer than the unstressed in the same foot.

In the following group of poems the metre is prevailingly anapaestic with frequent substitutions of monosyllabic, iambic, and, occasionally, other sorts of feet. The readers were Ka, A, I, I, Ka and A respectively. A is an instructor in English in an eastern college. Oblique lines indicate divisions into feet.

.24 .12 .55 .14 .7 .18 .19 .4 .15 .35 .25
When the hounds / of spring / are on win/-ter's tra/-ces, (.2)

.1 .32 .14 .22 .65 .2 .34 .24 .2 .66
The moth/-er of months / in mead/-ow or plain (.45)

.52 .15 .4 .32 .16 .4 .12 .5 .2
Fills / the shad/-ows and wind/-y plac/-es (.48)

.15 .6 .15 .6 .15 .3 .18 .12 .66
With lisp / of leaves (.15) / and rip/-ple of rain; (.6)

.2 .28 .55 .55 .38 .15 .35 .36 .06 .25
And the brown / bright night/-in-gale (.12) am/-o-rous

.15 .4 .08 .7 .2 .35 .15 .22
Is half / as-suaged / for It/-y-lus, (.12)

.12 .15 .52 .18 .48 .12 .12 .4 .15 .35 .25
For the Thrac/-ian ships (.66) / and the for/-eign fac/-es, (.61)

.1 .6 .34 .4 .06 .1 .5 .06 .6
The tongue/-less vig/-il and all / the pain.

(From Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon*.)

.7 .35 .3 .25 .2 .3 .36 .75 .35 .6 .4
Blow, bu - gle; (.78) an-swer, ech - oes, (.7) dy - ing, (.3) dy - ing, (4.)
.65 .3
dy - ing.

These lines read, as they were very beautifully, make an interesting study on account of the pauses and time variations. In all three stanzas of the poem, *ech* of *echoes* is the shorter syllable. In two or three instances *dy* of *dying* is the shorter, because, undoubtedly, of the pause.

.72 .8 .7
Down, (.28) / down, (.25) / down! (.7)

.5 .08 .12 .5 .25 .12 .62
Down / to the depths / of the sea! (.6)

.25 .32 .1 .2 .52 .12 .08 .32 .28 .7
She sits / at her wheel / in the hum/-ming town, (.4)

.48 .2 .32 .48 .3 .25
Sing/-ing most joy/-ful-ly. (.72)

.54 .2 .2 .6 .34 .75 .36 .74
Hark, / what she sings: (.32) / "O joy, (.14) / O joy, (.52)

.2 .08 .34 .12 .46 .18 .14 .4 .12 .22 .6
For the hum/-ming street, (.32/ and the child / with its toy! (.7)

.2 .1 .6 .12 .08 .65 .18 .12 .4 .2 .6
For the priest, (.15) / and the bell, (.22) / and the ho/-ly well; (.4)

.22 .1 .4 .2 .2 .7
For the wheel / where I spun, (.5)

.12 .15 .4 .2 .4 .18 .12 .7
And the bles/-sed light / of the sun! "

(From Arnold's *Forsaken Merman*.)

.5 .5 .6
Break, (.6) / break, (.28) / break, (.3)

.35 .3 .6 .5 .7 .3 .55
On thy cold / grey stones, (.15) / O sea! (.65)

.2 .2 .4 .2 .25 .4 .18 .18 .3
And I would / that my tongue / could ut/-ter (.35)

.2 .5 .3 .2 .4 .3 .5
The thoughts / that a-rise in^a me. (.8)

.6 .6 .2 .2 .22 .15 .45 .6
O, well / for the fish/-er-man's boy (.55)

.2 .18 .55 .25 .2 .35 .18 .2 .6
That he shouts / with his sis/-ter at play! (.9)

.5 .61 .25 .3 .55 .2 .5
O, (.3) well / for the sail/-or lad (.45)

.18 .18 .55 .25 .2 .45 .15 .15 .6
That he sings / in his boat / on the bay.

(From Tennyson's *Break, Break, Break*.)

.25 .35 .15 .8 .15 .15 .3 .2 .6
I bring / fresh showers (.15) / for the thirst/-ing flowers, (.2)

.2 .18 .42 .15 .15 .62
From the seas / and the streams; (.75)

.2 .35 .3 .5 .18 .18 .34 .4 .45
I bear / light shade / for the leaves / when laid

.18 .2 .22 .2 .7
In their noon/-day dreams. (.6)

^a Doubtful division.

.25 .35 .44 .22 .3 .2 .1 .6 .2 .25 .25
From my wings / are shak/-en the dews / that wak/-en *

.1 .35 .53 .2 .21 .5
The sweet buds (.15) / ev-ery one, (.55)
.18 .47 .2 .4 .18 .2 .22 .18 .47
When rocked / to rest (.2) / on their moth/-er's breast, (.4)

.2 .2 .45 .2 .1 .25 .2 .5
As she danc/-es a-bout / the sun. (.85)

.22 .22 .1 .5 .15 .15 .25 .15 .45
I wield / the flail / of the lash/-ing hail, (.3)

.2 .22 .18 .1 .32 .5 .2 .2
And whit/-en the green / plains un/-der, (.5)

.22 .38 .1 .55 .15 .2 .7 .15 .55
And then / a-gain / I dis-solve / in rain, (.07)

.2 .4 .15 .18 .39 .18 .22 .25
And laugh (.2) / as I pass / in thun/-der.

(From Shelley's *The Cloud*.)

.35 .3 .3 .25 1 .55 .2 .5
From the Des/-ert I come / to thee (.15)

.15 .18 .6 .3 .5 .2 .7
On a stal/-lion shod / with fire; (.5)

.2 .15 .5 .12 .4 .22 .75
And the winds / are left / be-hind
.18 .15 .52 .15 .3 .2 .5
In the speed / of my / de-sire. (.7)

.3 .5 .6 .25 .45 .3 .65
I love thee, (.1) / I love / but thee, (.22)

.15 .15 .5 .25 .32 .22 .7
With a love / that shall / not die

.2 .18 .45 .45 .55
Till the sun / grows cold,
.18 .18 .5 .2 .68
And the stars / are old, (.45)

.18 .18 .55 .18 .15 .4 .25 .55 .2 .6
And the leaves / of the Judg/-ment Book / un-fold!

(From Bayard Taylor's *Bedouin Song*.)

In considering the relationship of stress to quantity, monosyllabic feet will be excluded from the results, although, since they receive a heavy stress and are com-

* For this line a more satisfactory division might be,

From my wings / are shaken / the dews / that waken /
And for line 10 in the same selection .

And whiten / the green plains / under /

paratively very long, they are of interest. In the first selection I regard *bright night*(ingale) in the fifth line as a spondee or trochee and therefore exclude this foot from the results. In this selection, therefore, all syllables in the stressed position are longer than those in the unstressed in the same foot. In the second selection, line four joy-(*fully*) metrically should have the stress on *ly*; it probably was not so read, but since one cannot know, I will regard it as an exception. It is the only exception in this passage. In the selection from Tennyson, *could ut*(ter), line three, the first syllable is as long as the second; obviously it might have received the same stress for logical reasons. In Shelley's *Cloud* there are two feet which do not have the syllable in the stressed position longer than that in the unstressed; *I wield*, line nine, and *plains un*(der), line ten. The first might have an equal distribution of stress, and the second clearly might have been read with the stress on *plains*. It is one of those lines which obviously are not metre-proof. In the last example the first foot has the word in the metrically unstressed position the longest. In all these selections, generally in anapaestic metre, there are but four exceptions to the statement that the stressed syllable is relatively the longer or longest in the foot. Since there are one hundred and forty feet in the group, the percentage of syllables in the stressed position found to be relatively longer than those in the unstressed is approximately 96%.

The next selection is one which has peculiar interest for students of metrics, since its rhythm, according to its author, depends entirely upon stress, and since, according to some critics, any attempt to scan it in terms of long and short must meet with failure or, if accomplished, does violence to the rhythmical nature of the poem. The poem was read by A.

.22 .1 .28 .15 .12 .12 .5 .14 .1 .4 .12 .5
 'Tis the mid/-dle of the night / (.15) by the cas/-tle clock, (.55)
 .14 .14 .65 .35 .12 .45 .08 .1 .55 .3 .5
 And the owls / have a-wak/-ened the crow/-ing cock, (.55)
 .2 .44 .22 .56
 Tu-whit! / (.5)—Tu-whoo! (.45)
 .12 .6 .1 .4 .12 .5 .24 .5
 And hark, / (.12) a-gain / (.45) the crow/-ing cock, (.55)
 .24 .48 .12 .25 .18 .72
 How drows/-i-ly / it crew. (.7)

 .2 .46 .2 .6 .12 .4 .22 .7
 The night / is chill; / (38) the for/-est bare; (.62)
 .12 .15 .12 .4 .18 .35 .15 .6
 Is it / the wind / that moan/-eth bleak? (.8)
 .15 .09 .3 .4 .12 .6 .2 .2 .5
 There is / not wind / e-nough / in the air (.4)
 .18 .38 .1 .38 .1 .54 .15 .66
 To move / a-way / the ring/-let curl (.3)
 .12 .08 .22 .15 .3 .2 .5
 From the love/-ly la/-dy's cheek— (.5)
 .14 .1 .3 .5 .12 .4 .12 .7
 There is / not wind / e-nough / to twirl (.3)
 .08 .35 .4 .6 .08 .52 .1 .2 .72
 The one / red leaf, / (.34) the last / of its clan, (.4)
 .2 .4 .24 .2 .32 .18 .18 .6 .15 .7
 That dan/-ces as oft/-en as dance / it can, (.6)
 .4 .1 .2 .5 .5 .38 .12 .2 .7
 Hang/-ing so light, / (.42) and hang/-ing so high, (.3)
 .14 .1 .38 .3 .55 .2 .3 .44 .12 .12 .6
 On the top/-most twig / (.18) that looks up / at the sky.
 (From Coleridge's *Christabel*.)

An examination of the poem reveals nothing anomalous, unless one regards the four light syllables in the second foot of the first line as such. The rhythmic composition is iambic-anapaestic, with the usual substitutions of pyrrhics and spondees. The only exceptions to the general principle that the metrically stressed syllable is the longest in the foot are the feet *There is*, line eight, *There is*, line eleven, and *and hang*, line fourteen. The first two were probably regarded as pyrrhics by the reader, if not by the author. The *and hang* is certainly peculiar with the *and* .5 of a second long, but it is not difficult to imagine how

it was read and what the effect was. There are fifty-three feet in the passage; the three exceptions mentioned give approximately 5% of feet of which it is not true that the syllable in the stressed position is the longest.

The next two selections are trochaic in metre. The readers were Ka and I respectively.

.4	.3	.4	.3	.32	.32	.4	.3	
Wil-lows	/	whit-en,	/	(.4)	as-pens	/	quiv-er,	(.45)
.15	.15	.4	.35	.5	.25	.35	.28	
Lit-tle	/	breez-es	/	dusk	and	/	shiv-er	(.2)
.35	.18	.45	.22	.6	.27	.22	.22	
Thro' the	/	wave	that	/	runs	for/-ev-er'		(.45)
.3	.18	.4	.3	.2	.1	.25	.25	
By the	/	is-land	/	in the	/	riv-er		
.35	.2	.52	.1	.35	.1	.35		
Flow-ing	/	down	to	/	Cam-e/-lot.			(.6)
.55	.6	.55	.15	.52	.45	.38	.3	
Four grey	/	walls,	and	/	four grey	/	tow-ers,'	(.6)
.2	.2	.38	.08	.62	.22	.4	.3	
Ov-er/-look	a	/	space	of	/	flow-ers,'		(.8)
.2	.1	.4	.35	.65	.2	.4	.2	
And the	/	si-lent	/	isle	im/-bow-ers'			(.5)
.1	.3	.15	.28	.3	.5			
The La/-dy	of	/	Shalott.					

(From Tennyson's *Lady of Shalott*.)

There are thirty-four feet in the selection; of these six do not have the stressed syllable the longest. I shall exclude *four grey* as a spondee, although it appears as a trochee when repeated in the same line. The clearest cases of stress and length not falling together are *aspens*, *little*, *over*; *ever* and *river* would have the last syllable lengthened by the pause. The percentage of feet in this poem with the stressed syllable, or the one in the metrically stressed position, not the longest is higher than for the other selections studied, being approximately 15%. The selection contains a good many "glides" and therefore doubtful divisions.

' Doubtful division.

To indicate further the phenomena of stress and duration in trochaic metres, the following selection is given:

.4 .15 .6 .1 .2 .3	
Sing a / song of / six-pence,	
.1 .4 .18 .38 .15 .4	
A) pock-et / full of / rye,	(.4)
.4 .2 .2 .15 .4 .42	
Four and / twen-ty / black-birds	(.1)
.4 .11 .11 .5	
Baked / in a / pie.	(.52)
.28 .18 .4 .2 .22 .3	
When the / pie was / o-pened	(.1)
.18 .4 .18 .25 .08 .5	
The) birds be/-gan to / sing	(.4)
.3 .22 .18 .08 .3 .15 .34	
Was not / that a / dain-ty / dish	
.18 .22 .18 .3 .1 .5	
To) set be/-fore the / king?	(.4)
.18 .38 .18 .18 .08 .38 .38	
The) maid was / in the / gar-den	(.3)
.25 .18 .25 .18 .45	
Hang-ing / out the / clothes,	(.55)
.4 .25 .08 .38 .32	
Down / came a / black-bird	(.1)
.1 .45 .18 .18 .4	
And snapped / off her / nose.	

In this selection we may exclude *six-pence* and *black-birds* as spondees. We shall then have *in a*, line four, *opened*, line five, *garden*, line nine, and *off her*, in the last line. If the monosyllabic feet are excluded, there are twenty-six feet in the selection; four of these do not have the syllable in the metrically stressed position the longer. This poem, like the preceding, yields a high percentage, namely 15%. Two of the four exceptional feet are made up of what are usually regarded as short syllables, namely *in a* and *off her*.⁸ It is possible that these were read as

⁸ The two lines might be scanned as follows:

Baked in a / pie
And) snapped off her / nose

They probably were thus read.

pyrrhics. The other two are at the end of the line and have the last syllable lengthened, as has been indicated before, by the pause, and furnish, as before, the clearest cases of stress and length, or duration, not coinciding.

Pure dactylic metres are rarely found in English; many poems so classified are not very clear examples, as for example, *The Charge of the Light Brigade*. I have selected two stanzas from Browning's *Pisgah-Sights* and a part of one of the *Cavalier Tunes* as affording comparatively pure dactylic types.

.26 .12 .12 .4 .12 .24	
O-ver the / ball of it,	(.1)
.4 .11 .1 .42 .25	
Peer-ing and / pry-ing,	(.4)
.32 .18 .3 .15 .2	
How I see / all of it,	(.08)
.34 .36 .3 .3 .2	
Life there, (.05) out/-ly-ing! *	(.38)
.34 .2 .2 .45 .3	
Rough-ness and / smooth-ness,	(.16)
.45 .15 .17 .3 .26	
Shine and de/-file-ment,	(.3)
.45 .18 .22 .31 .22	
Grace and un/-couth-ness:	(.15)
.35 .3 .12 .38 .31	
One rec-on/-cile-ment.	(.47)
.25 .19 .2 .26 .08 .38	
Could I but / live a-gain	(.14)
.4 .2 .16 .2 .17	
Twice my life / o-ver,	(.45)
.3 .2 .25 .52 .1 .42	
Would I once / strive a-gain?	(.22)
.25 .18 .2 .4 .15	
Would I not / cov-er	(.1)
.28 .1 .18 .4 .1 .09	
Qui-et-ly / (.06) all of it—	(.1)

* For this line a better division is

Life there / outlying

with the first unit a spondee and the second a bacchic. The two feet should be excluded from the results.

.4 .15 .28 .2 .15	
Greed and am/-bi-tion	(.45)
.38 .26 .1 .4 .1 .1	
So from the / pall of it	(.15)
.45 .2 .18 .16 .26	
Pass to fru/-i-tion.	

In this selection there are three feet which are not, as far as the length of the syllables is concerned, dactyls. These are *life there out*, *live again*, and (fru)ition; the first two are clearly not pure dactyls and could be read with the stress variously placed. As for the foot (fru)-ition, the phonetic division of the *ition* is itself uncertain; as most persons seem to pronounce it, it would divide ish-on, and would be no exception. But if the three exceptions are accepted as such, the selection yields 9% of feet of which it is not true that the metrically stressed syllable is the longest in the foot.

.4 .32 .46 .8 .5 .18 .16 .8	
Kent-ish Sir / Bing (.2) / stood for the / king,	(.6)
.26 .2 .12 .45 .3 .2 .4 .1 .35 .72	
Bid-ing the / crop-head-ed / par-lia-ment / swing	(.6)
.2 .35 .12 .1 .5 .18 .26 .12 .58	
And,) press-ing a / troop (.2) un/-able to / stoop	(.5)
.2 .35 .15 .5 .6 .2 .26 .45 .18 .35 .48	
And) see the rogues / flour-ish (.2) and / hon-est folk / droop, (.75)	
.52 .22 .12 .8 .35 .25 .5 .7	
Marched them a/-long (.14) / fif-ty score / strong,	(.7)
.35 .3 .2 .3 .12 .3 .44 .25 .28 .68	
Great-heart-ed / gen-tle-men, (.45) / sing-ing this / song.	(.9)
.6 .46 .5 .8 .38 .26 .3 .85	
God for King / Charles! (.5) / Pym and such / carles	(.42)
.18 .18 .35 .25 .42 .6 .38 .38 .38 .1 .32	
To the) Dev-il that / prompts 'em their / trea-son-ous /	
.75	
parles!	(.55)
.35 .15 .5 .5 .6 .3 .12 .4	
Cav-al-iers, / (.4) up! / Lips from the / cup,	

In this selection there are six feet of which it is true that the long syllable is not in the metrically stressed position. It is clear that in all of these, with one exception,

the greater stress may have fallen on the third syllable rather than on the first. It is interesting to note that if the selection be divided according to an anapaestic scheme, we shall have, with three exceptions, the stressed syllable the long one. The selection thus scanned would be as follows:

Kent/ish Sir Bing / stood / for the king,
 Bid/-ding the crop/-headed par/-liament swing;
 And, press/-ing a troop / unab/-le to stoop,
 And see / the rogues flour/-ish and hon/-est folk droop;
 Marched / them along / fif/-ty score strong,
 Great-heart/-ed gen/-tlemen sing/-ing this song.
 God / for King Charles! / Pym / and such carles
 To the Dev/il that prompts / 'em their treas/-onous parles!
 Cav/-aliers up! / Lips / from the cup,

This scansion seems to interpret the rhythm satisfactorily; I shall, however, base my conclusions on the first scansion, as the poem is usually regarded as dactylic. It is undoubtedly true that readers are likely to turn a dactylic rhythm into an anapaestic, and a trochaic into an iambic, unless the metre is very strongly indicated. Also it is true of all trisyllabic metres that the light syllables, one or both, are frequently replaced by long syllables. In such cases, however, the reader, under the influence of the metre, is likely to make the long syllable in the metrically stressed position longer than those in the unstressed position.

If now we bring together all the results for the different selections studied, we shall have a table showing the percentage of syllables standing in the metrically stressed position not longer than those in the metrically unstressed position.

TABLE I

Metre	Number of feet in selection studied	Number of syllables in the stressed position not the longer or longest
Iambic.....	46	0
Iambic-anapaestic.....	140	4
Iambic-anapaestic (<i>Christabel</i>)..	54	3
Trochaic.....	60	9
Dactylic.....	55	6
	<hr/> 355	<hr/> 23

About 94% of the syllables studied are, therefore, longer in the stressed than in the unstressed position. If we analyze the anomalous 6%, we find that the exceptions are not necessarily clear cases of stress and quantity not coinciding, but may be cases of shift of stress for logical reasons, of equal distribution of stress or absence of stress, or may be cases of phonetically inaccurate divisions. The clearest evidence of stress and quantity not falling together on the same syllable is that of the prolongation of the light syllable before the pause; and this fact accounts for the large number of exceptions in trochaic and dactylic metres. Considering the results as a whole, it is evident that Saintsbury's theory that the rhythm of English verse may be interpreted in terms of quantity, and that the foot is the unit, has justification in fact. That stress marks off the time unit, or the foot, and produces length, is undoubtedly true. It is therefore evident that a scientific method of scansion, that is, one which adequately indicates the phenomena of rhythm in English verse, is one which uses the symbols conventionally used for indicating quantity and which also uses stress marks. Such a system indicates the relation of quantity to stress and the part played by each in verse structure. Also, since the formation of verse rhythm depends upon the regular recurrence of stressed

and unstressed syllables within certain time limits, the unit thus formed may be indicated by vertical lines and may be called the *foot*. The foot is a fact. One reason warmly urged against the use of the term by critics is that, since English verse is not dependent upon quantity but upon stress, the use of the classical term is misleading; another is that, since there is no real break in sound, the division indicates a situation untrue to fact. As to the first objection, we have seen that quantity, or increased duration of one syllable as compared with another, usually accompanies stress. As to the second objection, although there is usually no break in sound; there is nevertheless a unit in verse rhythms which the mind readily apprehends. It corresponds to the unit in a conventional decorative border which is perceived as the unit of the design, although the lines of the border may be continuous. The value of this system for the student of verse is that it serves not only to indicate the essential nature of rhythm, but also to stimulate a close study of each unit, a study which reveals intimately the varied but unified structure of English verse. Personally I do not believe that the foot is as arbitrarily organized as I have indicated in these studies, but it seemed wiser to keep to a fairly conventional and usually accepted division in order to avoid the quagmire of a purely individual interpretation. A study of the problem of quantity in English verse as revealed by the records affords many suggestions as to the construction of rhythms. It is not my purpose, however, to discuss these at the present time; but I should like to point out how very long syllables aid in the construction of the phrase.

If we examine the selections given, we shall find that the arrangement of short and long syllables in the feet is very similar to that for blank verse; that is, there is the greatest possible variety in lengths. In blank verse there

are, however, more feet of which it is true that the syllable in the stressed position is not the longer of the two, indicating generally either lack or shift of stress; this arrangement tends to weaken the metrical scheme and to bring into prominence the phrase; and the phrase is made still more prominent by the fact of the position of the longest words of the phrase. These words appear usually at the close of the phrase, sometimes at the beginning, rarely within. I will give a few examples from Milton.

.46 .2 .2 .6
Both to and fro
.12 .3 .26 .62
the tempt - ing stream
22. .2 .32 .1 .5
And so near the brink
.2 .2 .18 .5 .12 .22 .25 .68 .14 .48 .15 .2.2 .4
And of it - self the wat - er flies/ all taste / of living wight
.3 .37 .18 .18 .08 .1 .15 .7
Viewed first their lam - en - ta - ble lot

Nevertheless, through this apparent irregularity, the mind perceives a stress, at times faint, on alternate syllables, although minds undoubtedly differ in this respect and consequently differ in the reading. If these same phrases were printed as prose, or if we had pure prose phrases similarly organized, the light beats would probably not be perceived or indicated in the reading by most persons, and the longer ones would be the only ones to support the rhythm. In these circumstances it is probable that the rhythm produced by the phrase, or natural breath group, is the one which is most vividly realized. I will give a few additional examples from the lyric verse studied.

.14 .19 .22 .35 .4 .3 .2 .4
And at the hearth fire / keep me warm
.19 .08 .55 .3.08.4 .6 .24 .3 .22
And the wild / cataract leapes / in glory
.1 .32 .14 .22 .65 .2 .34 .24 .2 .66
The mother of months / in meadow or plain

2. .08 .34 .12 .46 .18 .14 .4 .12 .12 .6
 From the humming street / and the child / with its toy /
 .25 .35 .15 .8 .15 .15 .3 .2 .6
 I bring fresh showers / for the thirsting flowers
 .18 .2 .22 .2 .7
 In their noon-day dreams
 .18 .15 .52 .15 .3 .2 .5
 In the speed / of my desire
 .12.15 .4 .18 .35 .15 .6
 Is it the wind / that moaneth bleak

It is clear that the arrangement of words and syllables of varying length in the phrase gives naturalness and flexibility to the metre and preserves at the same time the phrase rhythm of normal speech.

The construction of the verse unit, or the foot, is obvious; but to present this more vividly I give below a table showing the average length of the short syllable, the average length of the long syllable, the range in length for both, the average length of the foot and the range in length. These details are given for each metre. In making the table for iambic metre, for example, iambic feet wherever found are included, and all other sorts of feet appearing in the iambic poem are excluded; the table gives, therefore, details for metres and not for the poems as wholes.

TABLE II

Iambic Metre

	Av. length of short syll.	Av. length of long syll.	Range for short	Range for long	Av. length of foot	Range in length of foot
<i>Who Loves the Rain.</i>	.19	.38	.1 -.26	.19-.82	.56	.33-.92
<i>Bugle Song</i>.....	.26	.57	.08-.7	.3 -.92	.8	.27-1.3
<i>Atalanta</i>.....	.15	.44	.06-.34	.18-.7	.59	.24-.84
<i>Forsaken Merman</i>....	.25	.56	.12-.36	.32-.75	.81	.55-1.1
<i>Break, Break, Break</i> ..	.24	.45	.15-.45	.18-.55	.69	.36-.85
<i>The Ould</i>.....	.2	.44	.1 -.4	.22-.8	.64	.4 -.9
<i>Bedouin Song</i>.....	.24	.53	.12-.45	.3 -.75	.75	.45-1.
<i>Christabel</i>.....	.17	.5	.08-.4	.25-.76	.67	.37-.92
Average.....	.21	.48	.06-.7	.18-.92	.69	.24-1.3

Anapaestic Metre

<i>Atalanta in Calydon.</i>	.18	.18	.55	.06-.35	.36-.65	.91	.64-1.11
<i>Forsaken Merman</i>....	.17	.15	.51	.08-.32	.33-.7	.83	.52-1.1
<i>Break, Break, Break</i> ..	.22	.23	.48	.15-.45	.22-.6	.93	.62-1.2
<i>The Ould</i>.....	.18	.19	.41	.1 -.35	.22-.7	.78	.5 -1.05
<i>Bedouin Song</i>.....	.2	.19	.5	.1 -.35	.3 -.7	.89	.73-1.4
<i>Christabel</i>.....	.16	.16	.48	.08-.35	.22-.72	.8	.42-1.02
Average.....	.18	.19	.49	.06-.45	.22-.72	.86	.42-1.4

Trochaic Metre

<i>Sing a Song of Siæpence</i>	.33	.17		.05-.38	.11-.6	.5	.22-.7
<i>Lady of Shalott</i>.....	.38	.22		.08-.35	.15-.62	.6	.3-.87
<i>Pisgah-Sights</i>.....	.34	.22		.15-.26	.2 -.45	.56	.35-.73
	35.	.2		.05-.38	.11-.62	.55	.22-.87

Dactylic Metre

<i>Cavalier Tunes</i>.....	.42	.22	.28	.1 -.5	.26-.85	.92	.4-1.56
<i>Pisgah-Sights</i>.....	.36	.17	.2	.09-.42	.2 -.58	.73	.5-1.04
Average.....	.39	.19	.24	.09-.5	.2 -.85	.82	.2-1.56

Average length for all short syllables.....	.2
“ “ “ long syllables.....	.42
Average length of foot for trisyllabic metres.....	.84
“ “ “ “ disyllabic metres.....	.62

The table indicates that the average length of all short syllables is .2 and of all long syllables .42 seconds. These results are approximately those obtained for blank verse, the average lengths there being .22 and .39. The average length of the disyllabic foot would naturally be .6; for the iambic verse studied it is .69, for the trochiac .55. For trisyllabic metres it would be .8; for the anapaestic verse studied it is .86, and for the dactylic verse it is .82. The ratio of short to long syllables is therefore 1:2. From the ranges in the length of the syllables given it is evident that there is the greatest possible variation, the shortest being .05 and the longest being .92. The range given for the length of short syllables, .05 to .7, simply means that a syllable .7 long was found in the unstressed position in the foot; it is, of course, a long syllable in reality and occurs in a spondee. The same observation holds for the lower limit of the long syllable, .11; this is probably a short syllable occurring in a pyrrhic. It is obvious that it is difficult to draw the line between long and short, since—clearly—longness or shortness in a foot is a relative matter. A syllable which is the short one in one foot may be the long one in the following foot.

The ranges in the length of disyllabic feet are .22 to 1.3; and for trisyllabic feet, from .2 to 1.56. It would seem, therefore, that the stresses that mark off the time unit in English verse occur from .2 of a second to 1.5 seconds apart as extreme limits; a more usual range is from .4 to .6, or .8. If the rhythm is maintained by the repetition of time units as varied in length as we have found them to be, it is obvious that a poet might introduce many more variations in the number of syllables in a foot than he has permitted himself in the selections studied and still not destroy the rhythm, although clearly the rhythm produced would be essentially different; it would

be the more flexible rhythm of free verse and prose. The essential difference between formal verse and prose is not so much a difference between equal time units on the one hand and unequal units on the other, as a difference between a systematic arrangement of unstressed syllables in verse and an unsystematic arrangement in prose. To illustrate the point for free verse the following selection is given from Whitman:

.35 .2 .2 .45 .2 .52 .3 .39 .45 .1 .16 .1 .3
 This / is: thy hour / O Soul, (.3) / thy free: flight / in: to the word-
 .3
 less, (4)
 1.3 .3 .39 .1 .35 .3 .35 .14 .38 .12 .38
 Away / from books, (.3) / away / from art, (.4) / the day / erased /
 .1 .35 .3 .52
 (.16) the les/son done (.6)
 .28 .26 .09 .54 .08 .35 .4 .2 .4 .39 .26
 Thee ful/ly forth / emerg: ing, / (.22) si: lent, / (.22) gaz: ing /
 .38 .1 .15 .12 .4 .12 .25 .25 .38
 (.4) pond/-ering: the themes / thou lov/est best, (.55)
 .55 .6 .4 .18 .1 .8
 Night, (.4) / sleep, (.4) / death, (.25) / and the stars.

The rhythm is distinctly marked, with a pure iambic metre in the second line, but follows no metrical pattern in the other lines. The time of the syllables and of the foot is the same, both as to variation and averages, as for formal verse. The average length of the short syllable is .18, with a range from .08 to .3 or .4. The average length of the long is .4, with a range from .25 to .8. The average length of the foot is .58, with a range from .35 to .85 of a second. Of course one is presented with the difficulty of a precise division; a second possible division, whenever such a division differs from that marked with oblique lines, is indicated by dotted lines; but such a division in no way affects the results.

It is clear that a study of formal metres is greatly aided by the metrical pattern and by the line division. In the

study of prose rhythm one has no such guide; and the absence of a formal metre in itself, of course, produces greater individual differences in reading. Amy Lowell's complaint that all of her poems would readily be perceived as genuine poetry, if only a method could be devised to make them metrically fool-proof, is a case in point. However, with a definite understanding of the relationship of stress to quantity in verse and of the problem of quantity in formal metres, one is materially aided in the solution of the problems of prose rhythm.

In this study of various metres it is evident that stress and quantity usually coincide; that the most obvious exception is the lengthening of the unstressed syllable before a pause. It is also evident that syllables may vary in length from .05 to .92 of a second in length and the foot from .2 to 1.5, producing thus a very flexible time unit. In the light of these results it seems more scientific to define verse rhythm not as "the recurrence of similar phenomena at equal intervals of time," but as the regular arrangement of stressed and unstressed syllables at intervals of time sufficiently equal to produce a clearly perceptible rhythm. Other sorts of rhythms may be poetic in nature, but they are not verse rhythms.

ADA L. F. SNELL.

XX.—THE POE-GRISWOLD CONTROVERSY

In any serious consideration of Poe's life and character it will be necessary to take account of Griswold's estimate of the poet. This estimate was set forth in two articles published during the year following Poe's death—one, an obituary notice published in the *New York Tribune* of October 9, 1849; the other, the memoir of Poe included by Griswold in his edition of Poe's works and first published in September, 1850. Out of these two papers sprang the bitterest of all the controversies that have been waged about Poe. Most of Poe's editors and biographers of the present generation have ranged themselves on the side of Poe and have condemned Griswold; but there have been some—and among them some that may speak with the highest authority—who have held that Griswold's estimate of Poe is essentially just and fair. The present paper attempts a fresh examination of the case in the light of the evidence collected by Poe's biographers, and also brings to bear on the case a number of documents, mainly from the periodicals of Griswold's time, that have heretofore been either overlooked or ignored.

The discussion will naturally center in Griswold's two papers—the obituary notice of Poe, commonly known (from the pseudonym adopted by Griswold on its original publication) as the “Ludwig Article,” and Griswold's Memoir of Poe. But I shall first briefly review the relations of Poe and Griswold down to the poet's death in 1849, by way of indicating the ultimate grounds of the animosity existing between the two. And I shall conclude with an inquiry into the integrity of Griswold's

editing of Poe, about which question has from time to time been raised.

I

Poe and Griswold first met in March, 1841.¹ Poe was at that time editor of *Graham's Magazine*, and Griswold was busily at work on the first of his anthologies, *The Poets and Poetry of America*. Poe's first public mention of Griswold appears to have been a brief notice in his "Autography" (published in *Graham's* for December, 1841).² He here describes Griswold as "a gentleman of fine taste and sound judgment" and as possessing a "knowledge of American literature, in all its details, [such as] is not exceeded by that of any man among us." Griswold's first public mention of Poe appears to have been the sketch of him printed in the *Poets and Poetry of America* in the spring of 1842. Griswold is silent, in this sketch, as to Poe's character, but he declares his verses to be "highly imaginative" and "eminently distinguished for their spirituality and skilful versification."³ During the summer of 1842 Poe wrote a review of Griswold's book in which he reaffirmed his faith in Griswold as a critic and pronounced his anthology "the most important addition which our literature has for many years received";⁴

¹ Griswold's edition of Poe's works, I, p. xxi. This edition is hereafter referred to merely by Griswold's name. My references are to the edition of 1856.

² *Virginia Poe*, ed. Harrison and others, xv, p. 215.

³ At the same time, however, he limits the number of Poe's poems that he includes in his anthology to three, although he had made room for twenty-five of Percival's poems and no fewer than thirty-three of Charles Fenno Hoffman's.

⁴ See the *Boston Miscellany* for November, 1842, and the *Virginia Poe*, xi, p. 156. There was also a review in *Graham's Magazine* for June, 1842, which Poe probably wrote.

and in a letter to Griswold, written about the same time, he assures him that his anthology, though not without faults, was "a better book than any other man in the United States could have made of the materials."⁵

Early in the summer of 1842, Griswold succeeded to the place that Poe had lately vacated as editor of *Graham's Magazine*, and shortly thereafter a coolness sprang up between the two. On July 6, 1842, Poe wrote to a correspondent at the South that he intended, in a magazine that he was projecting, to "make war to the knife against the New England assumption of 'All the decency and all the talent' which has been so disgustingly manifested in the Rev. Rufus W. Griswold's 'Poets and Poetry of America.'"⁶ He abused Griswold, also, in other letters of this period;⁷ and in delivering a lecture on the "Poetry of America" at Philadelphia in November, 1843, and again in Baltimore in January, 1844, he is said to have been "witheringly severe" on Griswold.⁸ In 1843, moreover, there appeared two anonymously written articles, both of which have been attributed to Poe, in which Griswold was held up to ridicule. In the first of these, published in the *New World* of March 11,⁹ Griswold is declared to be "wholly unfit, either by intellect or character, to occupy the editorial chair of *Graham's*"; in the other, published a little later in the *Philadelphia Saturday Museum*, he is severely attacked and mercilessly ridiculed, his anthology being described as "a very muttonish production," and its

⁵ Griswold, I, p. xxi.

⁶ *The Critic*, April 16, 1892.

⁷ Woodberry's *Life of Poe*, I, p. 353; II, p. 87.

⁸ *Modern Language Notes*, March, 1913, XXVIII, p. 68.

⁹ Not included among Poe's works by any of his editors, but assigned to him by W. M. Griswold in *Passages from the Correspondence of Rufus W. Griswold*, p. 118, and, apparently also by L. G. Clark, in the *Knickerbocker*, April, 1843 (XXI, p. 380).

editor as "one of the most clumsy of literary thieves" and as knowing no more about poetry than "a Kickapoo Indian."¹⁰ Griswold, on his part, although Poe had condescended on June 11, 1843,¹¹ to appeal to him for a loan of five dollars on the plea of his wife's illness, is said to have circulated some "shocking bad stories" about Poe;¹² and Poe mentions in one of his letters a "beastly article" at his expense, published apparently in 1843, which he suspected Griswold of having written.¹³ There followed a period of a year or more when the two were not on speaking terms.

But early in 1845 Poe made an attempt to patch up his quarrel with Griswold;¹⁴ and they soon resumed, ostensibly, their former amicable relations. On repeating his lecture in New York in February, 1845, Poe omitted, as he took pains to assure Griswold, all that might have been offensive to him;¹⁵ and during the course of the year he published in the *Broadway Journal* two brief notices in praise of Griswold and his editorial accomplishments.¹⁶ Griswold also published during the year an article in which he praised Poe ungrudgingly. This article, which, it

¹⁰ The article is republished by W. F. Gill in his *Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, pp. 327-346, and is accepted as Poe's both by Harrison (who prints it in the *Virginia Poe*, XI, pp. 220-243) and by Woodberry (II, p. 48).

¹¹ Griswold, I, p. xxi.

¹² Letter of Briggs to Lowell, quoted by Woodberry, II, p. 123.

¹³ Griswold, I, p. xxii.

¹⁴ See Griswold, I, p. xxii; *Virginia Poe*, XVII, pp. 196, 198.

¹⁵ Griswold, I, p. xxii; *Virginia Poe*, XVII, p. 203.

¹⁶ In his review of "The Magazines" in the *Broadway Journal* of May 17, 1845 (in a note on Hoffman's sketch of Griswold in *Graham's Magazine* for June, 1845), and in his notice of Griswold's edition of *The Prose Works of John Milton* in the *Broadway Journal* for September 27, 1845 (reprinted in the *Virginia Poe*, XII, pp. 244-247).

seems, has escaped Poe's biographers, appeared in the Washington *National Intelligencer* of August 30, 1845, and is devoted to a consideration of the chief "Tale writers" of America. Charles Brockden Brown, Hawthorne, Cooper, Irving, Willis, and Simms are treated in turn, but Poe is given larger space and fuller praise than any of these. "He belongs to the first class of tale writers," so wrote Griswold, and his stories not only possess "a great deal of imagination and fancy," but are "the results of consummate art." The same year Griswold generously responded to an appeal from Poe for a loan of fifty dollars to tide over a crisis in the affairs of the *Broadway Journal*.¹⁷ In his *Prose Writers of America*, moreover—a second famous anthology, compiled largely in 1845¹⁸—he made room for *The Fall of the House of Usher* in its entirety, prefacing it with a sketch of the poet in which he praised both his poems and his tales.¹⁹

Poe, it seems, published in 1847 a letter relating in some way to Griswold—a notice of the *Prose Writers*, perhaps; but this I have been unable to find.²⁰ It is clear, though—whatever may have been the nature of this article—that another rupture, or partial rupture, between the two had come about in 1846.²¹ Their correspondence

¹⁷ See Poe's letters of October 26 and November 1, 1845: Griswold, I, p. xxii.

¹⁸ Not published till the spring of 1847.

¹⁹ He mildly condemns Poe's work as a critic, however; and in later editions he was less liberal in his praise of the tales.

²⁰ See the list given by him of articles he had published about Griswold, in a letter written in the year of his death (Griswold, I, p. xxii), in which he includes the item "Letter in Int., 1847." "Int." is perhaps an abbreviation for *Intelligencer*, but a fairly careful hunt through the columns of the *National Intelligencer* for 1847 reveals nothing that I can recognize as Poe's.

²¹ Or, possibly, late in 1845: see Poe's animadversions on Griswold's poetical anthology in the *Broadway Journal* of November 29, 1845.

lapsed during the years 1846-1848; and Mrs. Clemm informs us, in a notice prefixed to the first volume of the Griswold edition of Poe, that their "personal relations" prior to 1849 had "for [some] years been interrupted."²² Griswold is said to have indulged during these years in something of backbiting at Poe's expense;²³ and he further aroused the ill-will of Poe by publishing in the fall of 1848, in the *New England Weekly Gazette*, an article in which he touched on certain flaws in *The Raven*.²⁴

A reconciliation between the two again took place, however, with the beginning of the year 1849. Poe in February published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* a favorable notice of Griswold's *Female Poets of America*.²⁵ Griswold, in turn, in bringing out a new edition of the *Poets and Poetry of America*, enlarged the number of Poe's poems there collected to fourteen. And in June their friendly relations had so far been resumed that Poe felt at liberty to call on Griswold for aid in disposing of certain of his literary wares.²⁶ On October 7, 1849, Poe died, and it developed soon afterwards that he had expressed the wish shortly before his death that Griswold

Evidently this breach did not extend to a complete severance of relations; see *Griswold's Correspondence*, p. 230, for mention of a meeting in 1847, and Griswold's Memoir (*Poe's Works*, I, p. xlii) for a meeting in 1848.

²² Griswold, I, p. iii.

²³ See, in this connection, Sartain, *Reminiscences of a Very Old Man*, p. 215.

²⁴ This article I have not seen, nor do I know precisely at what date it appeared; but something of its nature we may glean from a letter of Poe's written at the time apparently to Eveleth (see Ingram, *Life and Letters of Poe*, p. 222), and a clue to the date is furnished by his reference to it in a letter to Mrs. Whitman, written November 26, 1848 (*Last Letters of Edgar Allan Poe to Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman*, p. 43).

²⁵ Griswold, III, pp. 289-292.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. xxiii.

should serve as his literary executor. On the second day after Poe's death Griswold published in the *New York Tribune* (evening edition) the obituary notice of Poe already referred to as the "Ludwig Article," and in September of the following year he published his "Memoir" of Poe.

II

The "Ludwig Article"—Griswold's obituary sketch of Poe—is mainly a summary of the facts of Poe's life, based for the most part on the sketch already published in Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America*; but it contains also a section devoted to Poe's mind and character.¹ It is here that Griswold's chief strictures on the poet occur.

The main observations derogatory to Poe that appear in the "Ludwig Article" are these:

(1) That Poe "had few or no friends"; and that, although the announcement of his death "will startle many, . . . few will be grieved by it."

(2) That in character he was unamiable, arrogant, irascible, envious, a cynic, and a misanthrope.

(3) That "you could not contradict him but you raised quick choler; you could not speak of wealth, but his cheek paled with gnawing envy."

(4) That "there seemed to him [I quote Griswold's words] no moral susceptibility; and . . . little or nothing of the true point of honor."

Griswold's article called out a magnanimous defence of the poet by N. P. Willis in the *Home Journal* of October 20, 1849,² in which disapproval was expressed of the severity of Griswold's judgment, and the poet's alleged

¹ The article is reprinted in the *Virginia Poe*, I, pp. 348-359.

² *Ibid.*, I, pp. 360-367.

irregularities of conduct—of which Willis professed to have no first-hand knowledge³—were attributed to a “reversed side of his character” displayed by him only when under the influence of drink. There was also a protest by Henry B. Hirst in the Philadelphia *Saturday Courier* of the same date, in which Griswold’s sketch was pronounced “brilliant,” but “unjust.” And three weeks later (on November 13) there appeared in the New York *Tribune* a verse-tribute to the poet’s memory, by an anonymous contributor from Chicago, in which Griswold’s statement that Poe died friendless was warmly challenged. The attack was continued in the early months of the following year (1850) with the publication (in January) of the first two volumes of Griswold’s edition of Poe (the first volume of which included Willis’s article, into which the “Ludwig Article” had been incorporated in part). The most vigorous of the protests now published was that of George R. Graham,⁴ proprietor of the magazine which bore his name and which Poe and Griswold had successively edited. Graham denounced Griswold’s sketch as “unfair and untrue,” “a fancy sketch of a perverted, jaundiced vision,” “an ill-judged and misplaced calumny upon [a] gifted son of genius.” Griswold was hotly assailed also by John Neal, in an article published in the Portland *Advertiser* on April 26, 1850. And a defense of the poet, more temperate in tone, was made by the editor of the *American Whig Review*,⁵ G. W. Peck, who based his dissent from Griswold on an examination of Poe’s writings,

³It should be noted, however, that this testimony conflicts with the testimony given by Willis in an earlier notice of Poe (*Home Journal*, December 19, 1846), in which he tells of having seen Poe on one occasion when the poet was suffering from the effects of drink.

⁴In *Graham’s Magazine* for March, 1850 (xxxvi, pp. 224-226).

⁵*American Whig Review*, March, 1850 (xi, pp. 308-315).

and who concluded on this basis that Poe "had as much heart as other men," that he was "a pure-minded gentleman," and that there was no ground for believing that he was "mainly destitute of moral and religious principle."

But there were also those who sided with Griswold. Lewis Gaylord Clark published in the *Knickerbocker* for February, 1850, a notice of Griswold's first two volumes in which he endorsed both Griswold and his appraisal of Poe;⁶ and William Wallace wrote a reply to Neal's attack on Griswold.⁷ Others, without specifically mentioning Griswold or writing avowedly in his defence, advanced much the same view as Griswold of Poe's temper and character. Charles F. Briggs, Lowell's friend, published a paper in *Holden's Review* for December, 1849,⁸ in which he describes Poe as "a strange and fearful being," and declares that it would be a bold biographer who would dare to make such a revelation of his life as the task demanded. George Ripley, in reviewing these volumes in the *Tribune* of January 17, 1850, remarked that while Poe was a man of "uncommon genius," "he had no earnestness of character, no sincerity of conviction, no faith in human excellence"; and John M. Daniel, a fire-eating editor of Richmond, wrote an article for the *Southern Literary Messenger* of March, 1850,⁹ in which, while condemning Griswold, he went even farther than Griswold or his defenders in condemnation of Poe.¹⁰

⁶ *The Knickerbocker*, xxxv, pp. 163-164.

⁷ See Woodberry, II, pp. 452-453. I have not seen this article.

⁸ *Holden's Review*, IV, pp. 765-766. The article was unsigned, but was evidently by Briggs, who was editor of the magazine.

⁹ *Southern Literary Messenger*, xvi, pp. 172-187.

¹⁰ It is only fair to Poe to say that three of these five—Briggs, Clark, and Daniel—nursed a grudge of some sort against Poe. Briggs and Poe had quarrelled in 1845 over the *Broadway Journal*,

These articles made it clear that Poe had a number of bitter enemies; but they also served to show that he was not without loyal friends, and they tended to discredit, in a measure, Griswold's statements as to the perversity of his character.

III

Griswold's "Memoir" of Poe was first published in 1850 as a part of the third volume of the Griswold edition of Poe, in which it comprises some thirty pages.¹ It is introduced by a note from Griswold in which he endeavors to justify his course in publishing the "Ludwig Article" on the ground that he was unaware, at the time, of his appointment as Poe's executor; and he intimates that he had felt impelled to write this article by the attacks that had been made upon him by Graham and Neal.

It may be noted, however, in passing, that although there is nothing to show that Poe, in selecting Griswold as his executor, intended that he should also serve as his biographer—Mrs. Clemm's statement (in a notice "To the

and Poe had been attacked by Briggs in the *Literati* papers (*Virginia Poe*, xv, pp. 20-23); Clark, also, had been "used up" by Poe in the *Literati* papers (*Virginia Poe*, xv, pp. 114-116); and Daniel had been challenged by Poe to fight a duel in the summer of 1848 (Woodberry, II, pp. 273, 443 ff.; Whitty, *The Complete Poems of Poe*, p. lxix).

¹It first appeared about the middle of September, 1850: see the *New York Tribune* for September 14, 1850, and the *Literary World* for September 21, 1850. It was also published about the same time in the *International Monthly Magazine* (for October, 1850); see the *New York Tribune* of September 25 and the *Literary World* of September 28, 1850.

The "Memoir," though first published in the third volume of Griswold's edition, was transferred to the first volume on the publication of a second edition in 1853, and it continued to occupy this position on the publication of an edition of four volumes in 1856.

Reader" prefixed to the first volume of the Griswold edition) is fairly explicit to the effect that it was the poet's desire merely that Griswold should act as literary executor and "superintend the publications of his works,"² while Willis was looked to for "observations on his life and character"—there is evidence tending to show that Griswold had set about collecting material for a memoir within a few weeks after the poet's death. This evidence is afforded by a letter of John R. Thompson's to Griswold, written December 21, 1849, in which the following sentence occurs: "I have too long delayed sending you the promised mems of poor Poe, and I fear that what I now enclose will be of little value, scarcely sufficient to warrant their incorporation into the Life."³ That he was further actuated in the writing of the Memoir by the attacks made upon him by Graham and others there is no reason to doubt.⁴

In the "Memoir" Griswold enters much more fully into a consideration of Poe's writing than he had done in the obituary sketch, and he also develops at greater length the details of Poe's life. His judgments on Poe's writings are, for the most part, commendatory, and coincide, in the main, with the view now generally held. In his observations on Poe's life and character, however, he is much more severe than he had been in the *Tribune* article. The old charges of arrogance, envy, misanthropy, and a debased

² Griswold, also, in a note prefixed to the Memoir interprets his office to be simply "the collection of his works and their publication."

³ This letter is preserved among the Griswold Papers in the Boston Public Library. See also a letter of Griswold to John Pendleton Kennedy (*Sewanee Review*, April, 1917, xxv, p. 198).

⁴ See in this connection a letter to J. T. Fields (of September 25, 1850), published in *Passages from the Correspondence of Griswold*, p. 267.

sense of honor are renewed, and the following additional charges are brought forward:

(1) That while a student at the University of Virginia Poe had "led a very dissipated life," and that he had been expelled in consequence of his excesses there.⁴

(2) That after leaving West Point he had enlisted in the United States Army, but had deserted soon afterwards.⁵

(3) That he had been guilty of a still darker crime in his relations with the second Mrs. Allan.⁶

(4) That he had in certain of his publications—among them his *Conchologist's First Book*—been guilty of plagiarisms that were "scarcely paralleled for their audacity in all literary history."⁷

(5) That his "unsupported assertions and opinions were so apt to be influenced by friendship or enmity . . . that they should be received in all cases with a distrust of their fairness."⁸

(6) That he exhibited "scarcely any virtue in either his life or his writings," and that both his life and his writings were "without a recognition or a manifestation of conscience."⁹

This sketch, coming as it did from the approved editor of Poe and presented with much circumstantiality, had the effect of silencing for a time most of Poe's defenders and apologists. It was adopted as authentic in all save a very few of the contemporary notices of Griswold's edition that I have seen, and in virtually every other edition of Poe's writings that appeared during the first two decades after Poe's death. Among reviews in which it is accepted as

⁴ Griswold, I, p. xxvi.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xlviii.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xlix.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xlvii.

authentic (or largely so), are those published in the *Richmond Whig* for September 28, 1850; the *Knickerbocker* for October, 1850; the *Democratic Review* for December, 1850, and January and February, 1851; the *Westminster Review* for January, 1852; *Tait's Magazine* for April, 1852;¹⁰ *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* for February 26, 1853;¹¹ *Gilfillan's Third Gallery of Portraits*, 1854;¹² the *North American Review* for October, 1856; *Fraser's Magazine* for June, 1857; and the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1858.

The writer of the first of these reviews, John R. Thompson,¹³ editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, took occasion in commenting on Griswold's memoir to say that it was, in his judgment, "truthful," and that such "hard things" as Griswold had brought out, "seem to have been brought out because their suppression would have been as palpable a departure from an honest estimate of the poet, as a direct misstatement of any of his qualities." Lewis Gaylord Clark, editor of the *Knickerbocker*, who had, in February, 1850, vouched for the correctness of the "Ludwig Article," also made occasion to vouch for the correctness of this second article of Griswold's.¹⁴ And there were some who did not scruple to enlarge on Griswold's story. The writer of the notice in the *Edinburgh Review*, for instance, declared that Poe was "a blackguard of undeniable mark" and that "the lowest abyss of moral imbe-

¹⁰ Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, XXXIII, pp. 422-424.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pp. 157-161.

¹² First published in the *London Critic*, and reprinted in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for April, 1854, and in *Littell's Living Age*, XLI, pp. 166-171.

¹³ That this review was from the pen of Thompson is established by a letter of Thompson's, of September 30, 1850, to Griswold; now among the Griswold Papers.

¹⁴ See the *Knickerbocker*, October, 1850 (XXXVI, pp. 370-372).

cility and disrepute" had never been attained until Poe's advent into this world; ¹⁵ while the reviewer in the *London Critic*, George Gilfillan, a British clergyman, boldly asserted that Poe's "heart was as rotten as his conduct was infamous," that he had "absolutely no virtue or good quality," and that he broke his wife's heart, "hurrying her to a premature grave, that he might write 'Annabel Lee' and 'The Raven.'" ¹⁶

Of outspoken public protests at this time there were amazingly few. The only vigorous protest that was promptly forthcoming, so far as I know, was that of an anonymous contributor to the *Saturday Evening Post* of September 21, 1850. This reviewer, ¹⁷ while admitting that he held "no very exalted opinion of Mr. Poe's character," insists, nevertheless, that he is unable to find any excuse for Griswold's course; and he suggests that Griswold probably understood *literary executor* to mean "one who executes." Continuing he says:

Considering this biography as the work of a literary executor we must say that a more cold-blooded and ungenerous composition has seldom come under our notice. Nothing so condemnatory of Mr. Poe, so absolutely blasting in its character, has ever appeared in print. . . . It is absolutely horrible (considering the circumstances under which Mr. Griswold writes) with what cool deliberateness he charges upon Mr. Poe the basest and most dishonorable actions.

Others, while not excepting to the facts as set down by Griswold, demurred to the spirit of his article. The reviewer in *Fraser's Magazine*, for example, Rev. A. K. H.

¹⁵ *Edinburgh Review*, cvii, pp. 420-421.

¹⁶ *A Third Gallery of Portraits*, London, 1854, p. 376. Another clergyman, A. K. H. Boyd (*Critical Essays of a Country Parson*, p. 248,—see also *Fraser's Magazine* for June, 1857), is perhaps echoing this statement of Gilfillan's when he asserts that "Poe starved his wife, and broke her heart."

¹⁷ Probably the editor of the *Post*, Henry Peterson.

Boyd, remarked that it was "curious . . . how little pains the biographer takes to conceal the shortcomings of his hero";¹⁸ and the editor of the *Democratic Review* remonstrated against any unnecessary "rattling of Poe's bones."¹⁹ E. A. Duyckinck, editor of the *Literary World*, while apparently accepting Griswold's account of Poe's life, inquired whether Griswold in republishing the *Literati* papers had not tampered with his text, and drew attention to the fact that Griswold was careful to omit "any unhandsome references" to himself.²⁰

Graham is said to have written Mrs. Clemm in the fall of 1850 that he and other friends were determined to come to Poe's defense;²¹ but in the December number of his magazine he dismissed the matter with the statement that "by the decision of several discreet friends of the lamented Poe" he was omitting "a number of letters and articles which [had] been collected in relation to his life and writings," giving as his reason that "the wounds made by his criticisms are too fresh—the conflicting interests too many, to hope to do that justice which time and the sober second thought of educated minds will accord to his memory;" and he concludes with the promise (made good in *Graham's* for February, 1854) to perform at some later time "the grateful duty" which he felt himself to owe to the poet.²² Willis appears to have contented himself with republishing, in his *Hurrygraphs* in 1851, his reply to the "Ludwig Article," and with branding the article published in the *North American Review* in 1856 as "uncharitable," and

¹⁸ *Fraser's Magazine*, June, 1857 (LV, pp. 684-700). Also in *Critical Essays of a Country Parson*, London, 1867, pp. 210-248.

¹⁹ *Democratic Review*, February, 1851 (XXVIII, p. 172).

²⁰ *Literary World*, September 21, 1850 (VII, pp. 228-229).

²¹ *Ingram's Life and Letters of Poe*, p. 432.

²² *Graham's Magazine*, December, 1850.

"needlessly severe," and, in some of its conclusions, "merciless."²³ He had also republished in the *Home Journal* of March 16, 1850, Graham's first article on Poe, declaring at the time that it was "most creditable to Graham," and he admitted to the columns of the *Home Journal* (March 30, 1850) a stinging reply to Daniel's article in the *Messenger*. See also a letter of his to George P. Morris in October, 1859 (quoted by Ingram, *Poe's Works*, 1874, I, pp. xlvii-xlviii).

But as time passed, the number of those who were unwilling to accept Griswold's account steadily increased. In February, 1852, C. C. Burr, who had known Poe in his darkest days, contributed to the *Nineteenth Century*²⁴ a brief article in which he dissented from Griswold's imputation to Poe of ingratitude and heartlessness. "He was," writes Burr, "in the core of his heart, a grateful, single-minded, loving kind of man . . . a very gentle, thoughtful, scrupulously refined, and modest kind of man," who although "he had faults and many weaknesses," had also "a congregation of virtues which made him *loved* as well as admired by those who knew him best." Stoddard, in spite of his animosity to Poe, admitted, in an article in the *National Magazine* for March, 1853, that the biographical sketches of Poe had been written "by indifferent friends or open foes," and that they had been "needlessly cruel."²⁵ In August, 1853, an anonymous contributor to the *Waverley Magazine*, in speaking of the inaccuracy of Griswold's *Memoir*, expressed the hope that it would not be long before an "unbiased life and collection of Poe's works" should be published. In the following year Graham published his second article in defense of Poe, in

²³ See the *Home Journal* for October 18, 1850.

²⁴ *Nineteenth Century*, v, pp. 19-33.

²⁵ *National Magazine*, II, p. 197.

which he again protested against the accusations of looseness in money matters and of habitual unfairness in his criticisms.²⁶ Two years later appeared Baudelaire's famous sketch of Poe,²⁷ in which a vehement protest was made against the tone and spirit of Griswold's account. The next year (1857) a lively defense of Poe by J. Wood Davidson appeared in *Russell's Magazine*.²⁸ In the same year, L. A. Godey, editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*, wrote to the editor of the *Knickerbocker* to say that he was not to be "counted in among those . . . to whom . . . Poe proved faithless," and that the poet's conduct toward him was "in all respects honorable and unblameworthy."²⁹ In 1859, another Philadelphia acquaintance of Poe's, L. A. Wilmer, in his book, *Our Press Gang*, remonstrated against Griswold's treatment of Poe.³⁰ And toward the end of the year 1859 appeared Mrs. Whitman's book, *Poe and his Critics*, an entire volume devoted to the defense of Poe and directed mainly against Griswold, whose *Memoir of Poe* she declares to be unjust and misleading and to

*See *Graham's Magazine*, February, 1854, XLIV, pp. 216-225. He further declares that Poe was a "long-suffering, much-persecuted, greatly-belied man [who] had a soul as soft, as delicate, as tender as a child's" and that "every effervescence of excess, of anger, of irritation, or of wrong done to others, was followed by an agony of penitence, and oftentimes by earnest, long-sustained and half-successful efforts at reformation." He explains the attacks upon Poe after his death as dictated largely by a spirit of revenge on the part of those whom he had antagonized by his criticisms and reviews. But he admits that Poe's criticisms were in some cases unjust; and he instances his attacks upon Longfellow as among the few that were "utterly unjust."

† "Edgar Poe: sa vie et ses œuvres"; published as an introduction to his translation of Poe's tales.

* *Russell's Magazine*, November, 1857 (II, p. 171).

* *Knickerbocker*, January, 1857 (LXL, p. 106).

*See especially pp. 284-285. See also a more detailed defense of Poe by Wilmer in the *Baltimore Daily Commercial*, May 23, 1866.

involve a "remorseless violation of the trust confided to him."³¹ Among other articles in defense of Poe that appeared during the next decade are the articles by Mayne Reid,³² who had known the Poes in Philadelphia, and T. C. Clarke, a Philadelphia printer and publisher who had known him intimately.³³ There appeared also, in 1866, a strange article by one who styles himself Parke Van Parke³⁴ and who professes to write at the instance of the poet's sister, Rosalie Poe, in which Griswold's memoir is pronounced the most "atrocious instance of human iniquity . . . since the days of Cain."

Such was the contemporary attitude to Griswold's *Memoir of Poe*. What, now, does an examination of Griswold's sketch in the light of our maturer knowledge of Poe as brought out by his editors and biographers reveal as to the trustworthiness of Griswold's account? Such an inquiry reveals, first of all, that some of the ugliest charges made by Griswold against Poe were based on Poe's own misstatements to Griswold. The authority for the statement that Poe led, while at the University of Virginia, a "very dissipated life,"³⁵ turns out to be a document in Poe's handwriting sent to Griswold in March, 1841,³⁶ and now preserved among the Griswold Papers. Chargeable to Poe also are Griswold's inaccuracies as to the date of Poe's birth,³⁷ as to the duration of his stay in London when a boy,³⁸ and as to an alleged second expedition to

³¹ *Poe and his Critics*, pp. 11, 14, 15.

³² *Onward*, April, 1869, I, pp. 305-308.

³³ *Newark Northern Monthly*, January, 1868.

³⁴ *Discussions and Diversions*, by Parke Van Parke, p. 264.

³⁵ Griswold, I, p. xxv.

³⁶ *Virginia Poe*, I, pp. 344-346.

³⁷ Griswold, relying on Poe's autobiographical memorandum, gives the date as 1811.

³⁸ Griswold had followed Poe in stating that the period of his stay

Europe in 1827.³⁹ Investigation has also shown that Griswold was correct in charging that Poe had made improper use of another's materials in the composition of his *Conchologist's First-Book*.⁴⁰ And it is now reasonably clear that Poe was sometimes governed by considerations of friendship or by a feeling of jealousy in his critical notices.

But there is a good deal of error in Griswold's Memoir for which we can be sure that Poe was not responsible. It has long since been established that Poe was not expelled from the University of Virginia. Nor is there any reason to believe that he ever deserted from the army. And the sole basis for the vile insinuation of an attempted assault upon the person of Mrs. Allan is the quite unsupported assertion of John M. Daniel,⁴¹ in whose testimony, obviously, little reliance may be placed. That Poe was without friends at the time of his death or that he was incapable of gratitude for service done has been disproved over and over again by the testimony of those who knew him best. And the charge that he was without a sense of honor or without any manifestation of conscience is too sweeping to call for serious consideration.⁴²

in England was 1816 to 1822; in reality it covered the years 1815 to 1820.

* This yarn survives in several different versions, all apparently traceable to Poe. See Woodberry, I, pp. 72 ff., 365 ff., and the *Sewanee Review* for April, 1912 (xx, pp. 209-210).

* See the *Virginia Poe*, I, pp. 146-148, and Woodberry, I, pp. 194-198. Griswold, however (I, pp. xlvi-xlix), badly overstates the case against Poe as a plagiarist.

⁴⁰ *Southern Literary Messenger*, xvi, p. 176.

* Among minor inaccuracies in Griswold's account are the allegations (1) that Poe was not born at Boston (Griswold, I, p. xxxvii); (2) that "*not a line by Poe was purchased for Graham's Magazine*" for "four or five years" before the poet's death (*ibid.*, p. li: in reality two articles by Poe appeared in *Graham's* in 1849); and

Other charges, affecting certain contemporaries of Poe, were specifically denied by those affected, either publicly or by letter, soon after the appearance of the Memoir. Within ten days after the publication of the Memoir, Longfellow wrote to Griswold to correct his statement that he had "been shown by Mr. Longfellow . . . a series of papers which constitute a demonstration that Mr. Poe was indebted to him for the idea of 'The Haunted Palace.'" ⁴³ In the New York *Tribune* of June 7, 1852, W. J. Pabodie, a friend of Mrs. Whitman, made a formal denial of Griswold's charge that Poe had, at some time in 1848, committed at the home of Mrs. Whitman "such outrages as made necessary a summons of the police." Further denials were made by Mrs. Whitman herself in her book, *Edgar Poe and his Critics*.⁴⁴ A score of years later Col. J. H. B. Latrobe corrected some inaccuracies in Griswold's account of the deliberations of the judges on the occasion of the awarding to Poe his first short-story prize in 1833.⁴⁵

It is proper to note also—what the reader can hardly escape—that Griswold, although he wrote as literary executor, assumes in his comments on Poe as a man an attitude of undisguised hostility. He does, indeed, introduce the gracious testimony of Mrs. Osgood as to Poe's chivalrous conduct toward women and as to his affection for his invalid wife; but he is careful to state that Mrs.

(3) that Poe "prepared with his own hands" the sketch of his life contributed by H. B. Hirst to the *Saturday Museum* in February, 1843 (*ibid.*, p. 1).

⁴³ Griswold, I, p. xlvi; *Virginia Poe*, xvii, pp. 408-409.

⁴⁴ Mrs. Whitman (*l. c.*, p. 15) speaks also of an article in the *Home Journal*, in 1859, or slightly earlier, in which a "calumnious story" proceeding from Griswold was refuted.

⁴⁵ Griswold, I, p. xxviii; *Edgar Allan Poe: A Memorial Volume*, ed. Miss S. S. Rice, p. 59.

Osgood accepted his analysis of Poe's character and meant to testify only as to the character assumed by the poet when in the presence of women.⁴⁶ And in justification of his course he argues, forsooth, that "it has always been made a portion of the penalty of wrong that its anatomy should be displayed for the common study and advantage."⁴⁷

Our conclusions, then, as to Griswold's Memoir of Poe are (1) that a number of the charges there made by Griswold were true, and (2) that certain inaccuracies in his account rest upon Poe's inaccurate statements to him; but (3) that most of the more damaging things alleged by Griswold against Poe were without substantial basis in fact or were greatly exaggerated; and (4) that Griswold both discredited himself and discounted his judgments on Poe by consistently assuming, in his observations on the poet's character, an attitude of unabashed hostility to him.

It remains to inquire into the charge that has been made against Griswold of garbling certain of Poe's letters in his effort to strengthen his case against him.

In the preface of his Memoir, Griswold collects eleven letters written by Poe to him. The originals of only six of these are now preserved.⁴⁸ Four of these six originals differ but slightly from the versions printed by Griswold; but two of them⁴⁹ exhibit noteworthy variations from Griswold's text. To make these discrepancies as graphic

* Griswold, I, pp. lii-liv.

* *Ibid.*, p. xlvii.

* Five of these (see the *Virginia Poe*, xvii, pp. 83-84, 198, 200-201, 202-203, 216) are in the Boston Public Library (four of the number being postmarked originals); and the sixth (*ibid.*, pp. 346-347)—which is unhappily incomplete as preserved—is in the Wrenn Library of the University of Texas.

* One of these is printed in the *Virginia Poe* (xvii, pp. 200-202) with the two versions juxtaposed.

as possible, I give here the two letters as printed by Griswold, putting in italics the more important passages which do not appear in the postmarked originals and enclosing in brackets certain passages that appear in the originals but are omitted in Griswold's text.^{49*}

The first of these letters, dated February 24, 1845, runs as follows:

My dear Griswold:—*A thousand thanks for your kindness in the matter of those books, which I could not afford to buy, and had so much need of. Soon after seeing you, I sent you, through Zieber, all my poems worth republishing, and I presume they reached you. I was sincerely delighted with what you said of them, and if you will write your criticism in the form of a preface, I shall be greatly obliged to you. I say this not because you praised me: everybody praises me now: but because you so perfectly understand me, or what I have aimed at, in all my poems: I did not think you had so much delicacy of appreciation joined with your strong sense; I can say truly that no man's approbation gives me so much pleasure. I send you with this another package, also through Zieber, by Burgess & Stringer. It contains, in the way of essay, "Mesmeric Revelation," which I would like to have go in, even if you have to omit the "House of Usher." [I send also a portion of the "Marginalia," in which I have marked some of the most pointed passages.] I send also corrected copies of (in the way of funny criticism, but you don't like this) "Flaccus," which conveys a tolerable idea of my style; and of my serious manner "Barnaby Rudge" is a good specimen. [In "Graham" you will find these.] In the tale line, "The Murders of the Rue Morgue," "The Gold Bug," and the "Man that Was Used Up"—far more than enough, but you can select to suit yourself. I prefer the "G. B." to the "M. in the R. M." [but have not a copy just now. If there is no immediate hurry for it, however, I will get one & send it you corrected. Please write & let me know if you get this.] I have taken a third interest in the "Broadway Journal" and will be glad if you could send me anything [at any time, in the way of "Literary Intelligence"] for it. *Why not let me anticipate the book publication of your splendid essay on Milton?**

Truly yours,

Poe.

* For each of these letters I use Griswold's text (*l. c.*, I, p. xxii) as the basis for comparison. Certain minor variations from the manuscript originals are not taken account of.

The second letter is "without date" (and is so described by Griswold), but the original manuscript as mailed to Griswold bears the postmark "New York Apr. 19," and it is evident, both from Griswold's statement that it was Poe's "next" letter after the letter of February 24,⁵⁰ and from the reference to Poe's New York lecture (delivered February 28, 1845), that it was written in 1845.

Dear Griswold:—I return the proofs with many thanks for your attentions. The poems look quite as well in the short metres as in the long ones, and I am quite content as it is. [You will perceive, however, that some of the lines have been divided at the wrong place. I have marked them right in the proof; but lest there should be any misapprehension, I copy them as they should be. . . .⁵¹ Near the beginning of the poem you have "nodded" spelt "nooded."] In "The Sleeper" you have "Forever with unclosed eye" for⁵² "Forever with unopen'd eye." Is it possible to make the correction? I presume you understand that in the repetition of my Lecture on the Poets, (in N. Y.) I left out *all* that was offensive to yourself.⁵³ *I am ashamed of myself that I ever said anything of you that was so unfriendly or so unjust; but what I did say I am confident has been misrepresented to you. See my notice of C. F. Hoffman's (!) sketch of you.*

Very sincerely yours,

Poe.

How to account for these discrepancies is not entirely clear. Possibly the passages that I have italicised in these two letters were interpolated by Griswold; possibly he relied on rejected drafts of these letters, found (on this supposition) by him among Poe's papers.⁵⁴ But on either

⁵⁰ Griswold, I, p. xxii.

⁵¹ Here Poe quotes four lines from *The Raven*, dividing them each into two lines: see the *Virginia Poe*, xvii, p. 202.

⁵² The original manuscript has "the line" where Griswold has "you have," and "should read" where Griswold has "for"; and also has the word "alteration" where Griswold has "correction."

⁵³ This sentence appears as a postscript in the original manuscript.

⁵⁴ That Griswold did, in one instance, follow a discarded first draft of one of Poe's letters—a letter to Mrs. Jane E. Locke—is established

supposition it is plain that Griswold was at fault. He had in his hands the postmarked originals that Poe had addressed to him, and he was obviously under obligations to follow them or to give some reason for not doing so.⁵⁵ Whether he actually found variant versions of these letters among Poe's effects, I am unable to say. So far as I am aware, no such variant versions exist.⁵⁶

IV

What, finally, of the integrity of Griswold's editing of Poe? Evert A. Duyckinck in his review of the third volume of the Griswold edition of Poe (printed immediately after the appearance of that volume)¹ raises the question whether the *Literati* papers (first collected there) had not "undergone editorial revisal." Both Ingram² and

by examination of the manuscript (now in the Boston Public Library) on which he based his text of this letter (Griswold, I, p. xli). In this instance, however, he did not have the original manuscript in hand: see *Griswold's Correspondence*, p. 265.

⁵⁵ Griswold points out in his Memoir (I, p. li) two instances in which Poe, in quoting from letters received by him, departed slightly from his originals. But Poe's derelictions in this particular will scarcely be held to excuse or to palliate Griswold's.

⁵⁶ It seems that Griswold also took liberties with at least one other letter. In his Memoir (I, p. xlvii) he quotes a brief excerpt from a letter of Poe's to P. P. Cooke, one sentence of which differs in one important particular from the original. The second sentence of this excerpt, as quoted by Griswold, reads as follows: "The last selection of my tales was made from about seventy by one of our great little cliquists and claquers, Wiley and Putnam's reader, Duyckinck." In the manuscript of this letter as preserved among the Griswold Papers the words, "one of our great little cliquists and claquers," do not appear. He also took the liberty, it seems, as Professor Harrison has pointed out (*Virginia Poe*, xvii, p. 198), of abridging and otherwise altering, in his Memoir, one of his own letters to Poe.

¹ *Literary World*, September 21, 1850.

² *Poe's Works*, Edinburgh, 1874, I, p. lxi.

Gill ³ have made a similar imputation of editorial recklessness against Griswold, instancing, in particular, the article on Thomas Dunn English as bearing the marks of having been tampered with. More recently the editors of the *Virginia Poe* have charged that Griswold not only tampered with the text of the *Literati*, but that he also took indefensible liberties with still other papers. Specifically, it is alleged that Griswold substituted for five of the *Literati* papers (those on Briggs, English, Lawson, Mrs. Osgood, and Mrs. Hewitt) "other papers in the Poe manner," ⁴ and that in the case of a number of Poe's reviews he made free to combine two or more papers into one, to omit or to transpose numerous passages of considerable length, and to mutilate in still other ways his originals.⁵

Such comparison as I have made of Griswold's text of the poems and essays with their originals leads me to believe—indeed, convinces me—that Griswold, judged by standards of to-day, was not a careful editor. It is reasonably plain that he silently altered the titles of several of the poems and that he omitted the sub-titles of others.⁶ It is all but certain that he did not always adopt Poe's latest text.⁷ He allowed numerous typographical errors to escape him.⁸ And he omitted from his edition some things of importance that were surely known to him—among them the earlier lyric *To Helen*. That he also made bold here and there to prune away matter that he

³ *Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, p. 179.

⁴ *Virginia Poe*, xv, pp. ix, 263.

⁵ *Ibid.*, x, pp. vi-vii.

⁶ See the variant readings as reported by Stedman and Woodberry, by Harrison, and by other editors.

⁷ See, for instance, the variant readings of *The Raven*, *Lenore*, and *Dream-Land*.

⁸ See the list of *errata* collected by the editors of the *Virginia Poe*.

felt to be unimportant, or that he even transposed parts of certain papers and combined others, I think not improbable.⁹

But that Griswold made any very substantial changes in the texts of Poe's critical papers or that he introduced any papers not actually written by Poe I doubt very much. The article on Mrs. Osgood as printed by him among the *Literati* papers¹⁰ turns out to be, as Professor Woodberry has already noted,¹¹ a review of Mrs. Osgood's poems contributed by Poe to the *Southern Literary Messenger* of August, 1849. Another of the *Literati* papers whose authenticity has been questioned, that entitled "Thomas Dunn Brown,"¹² survives in a manuscript in Poe's autograph, owned by the Rosenbach Company of Philadelphia.

The three remaining *Literati* papers supposed to have been substituted by Griswold without authority—namely, those on Briggs, Lawson, and Mrs. Hewitt—were, I imagine, similarly based either on manuscripts found by Griswold among Poe's papers (as in the case of the article on English) or had already been published in some periodical (as in the case of the article on Mrs. Osgood). Professor Woodberry suggests¹³ that these articles (he includes also

⁹ It is altogether probable, for instance, that Griswold was responsible for the combining of the several articles in reply to "Outis" into one article.

¹⁰ Griswold, III, pp. 87-99; reprinted in the *Virginia Poe*, xv, pp. 271-288.

¹¹ In an unsigned review in the *New York Nation* for December 4, 1902, p. 446. I owe it to Professor Woodberry to say that I have been anticipated by him in still other points made in this section of the present paper and, likewise, in the general conclusions that I have reached as to Griswold's editing. I trust that it will not seem improper for me to add that I reached my main conclusions independently and before I knew of Professor Woodberry's article.

¹² Griswold, III, pp. 101-104; *Virginia Poe*, xv, pp. 266-270.

¹³ *The Nation*, l. c., p. 446.

the article on English) were a part of a volume variously entitled ¹⁴ "The American Parnassus," "A Critical History of American Literature," "Living Writers of America," and "The Authors of America in Prose and Verse," on which Poe was engaged for half a dozen years before his death; and this suggestion is confirmed, so far as the article on English is concerned, by the manuscript containing the "Thomas Dunn Brown" article, which contains also autographic copies of the *Literati* papers on Richard Adams Locke and Christopher Pease Cranch, and which bears the title, "Literary America." ¹⁵

So, also, it seems to me most likely that the longer passages believed to be unauthentic in Griswold's texts of Poe's reviews ¹⁶ are, in reality, the work of Poe, and that

¹⁴ Either in Poe's references to it in his letters or in contemporary advance notices of it in the press.

¹⁵ The rest of the title-page of this manuscript, which is dated "1848," runs in part as follows: "Some Honest Opinions about our Autorial Merits and Demerits / with / Occasional Words of Personality. / By Edgar A. Poe."

¹⁶ The chief reviews which exhibit important variations in the Griswold edition are those on Hawthorne (Griswold, III, pp. 188-202; *Virginia Poe*, XIII, pp. 142-155, XI, 104-113), the Davidson sisters (Griswold, III, pp. 219-228; *Virginia Poe*, X, pp. 174-178, 221-226), R. M. Bird (Griswold, III, pp. 257-261; *Virginia Poe*, VIII, pp. 63-73, IX, pp. 137-139), Griswold (Griswold, III, pp. 283-292; *Virginia Poe*, XI, pp. 147-160), Longfellow (Griswold, III, 292-334; *Virginia Poe*, XII, pp. 41-106), a second paper on Longfellow (Griswold, III, pp. 363-374; *Virginia Poe*, XI, pp. 64-85), Mrs. Browning (Griswold, III, pp. 401-424; *Virginia Poe*, XII, pp. 1-35), and R. H. Horne (Griswold, III, pp. 425-444; *Virginia Poe*, XI, pp. 249-275). By a most unhappy oversight, the last six paragraphs of the second of the two papers on the Davidson sisters (as published in *Graham's Magazine* for December, 1841) are omitted in the *Virginia Poe* (X, p. 226), thus making Griswold's supposed irregularities in the case of this article appear much more serious than they actually are.

The paper on Mrs. Lewis (Griswold, III, pp. 242-249; *Virginia Poe*, XIII, pp. 215-225) for which no place of prior publication has hitherto

Poe, likewise, was responsible for much, if not most, of the curtailing and rearranging exhibited in Griswold's edition.¹⁷ As is well known, Poe was constantly revising work that he had already published. Some of the recasting which he may be supposed to have made in his critical articles was made, in all likelihood, with a view to incorporating these articles in his "Literary America," which was to include, not only the writers of New York City (to which the *Literati* papers as published in *Godey's* and the *Democratic Review* had been restricted), but in addition writers of note from all parts of America—in fact, is described, in one of the titles under which it is referred to, as "A Critical History of American Literature."¹⁸

But what most inclines me to doubt that Griswold wrote any considerable part of the matter thought to have been interpolated or substituted by him in Poe's essays is the complete lack of motive for such a course.¹⁹ Griswold

been pointed out, appeared condensed and freely paraphrased in the sketch of Mrs. Lewis included by Griswold in his anthology of *The Female Poets of America*. The papers on Bayard Taylor and William Wallace, which Griswold prints as separate articles (III, pp. 207-209, 240-241), were printed originally in the *Marginalia* (*Virginia Poe*, XVI, pp. 145-148, 175-177).

¹⁷ In the case of the *Marginalia* the order adopted by Griswold is so radically different from that originally adopted as to present a veritable puzzle to one who would unravel the mystery of their arrangement. So far as I can discover, no logical system of arrangement has been followed by Griswold. It looks as though the separate items might have been thrown pellmell into a basket and then taken out at haphazard and published in the order drawn.

¹⁸ See Woodberry, II, p. 96. In a notice of this projected work, in the *Philadelphia Saturday Courier* of July 25, 1846, moreover, the statement is made that it will "embrace the whole Union"; and a similar statement was made by Hirst in his sketch of Poe in the *Saturday Museum*.

¹⁹ This point has been dwelt on by Professor Woodberry, *l. c.*, p. 446.

was a busy man; and there was in the case of these papers—the case was different with Poe's letters—nothing for him to gain by tampering with them: there is in these suspected passages nothing that would tend to exhibit Poe in a darker light, nothing that would in any way inure to Griswold's benefit. And there is, besides, the test of style. Griswold wrote at times with exceptional pungency and vigor; but it is not very difficult to distinguish his manner from Poe's. There is, I feel, no one of the papers—or of the brief passages—whose genuineness has been called in question that does not bear the stamp of Poe's manner.

Accordingly, I believe we are justified in concluding that Griswold's chief delinquencies as editor were the minor delinquencies of careless proofreading, of a willingness to set his own judgment against Poe's in the matter of certain textual readings and probably of the form of certain articles, and of the omission of sundry more or less important items. As editor—that is, merely as editor—he probably performed the task committed to him as well as any other American editor of his time, save possibly Lowell, could have done. It was as biographer, not as editor, that Griswold sinned against Poe.

KILLIS CAMPBELL.

XXI.—THE GERMAN DRAMATIST OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY AND HIS BIBLE

I. INTRODUCTION

The range of subject-matter treated in the German drama of the sixteenth century will appear wide and varied only to the scholar who does not think of the vast expanse of the Biblical field as featureless and barren. Beyond the confines of the Bible-drama there are, of course, some religious battle-plays, of the *Pammachius* type, the morality-plays of the *Homulus-Hekastus* series, a few dramas built on classical material, sundry "Türkenschauispiele," some scattered romantic comedies, drawing on foreign or native legend and, exceptionally, plays from contemporary history; the Latin school-drama often mirrors delightfully the color and bustle of everyday life; but, in the end, all this is of secondary interest: and the fact must be recognized that sixteenth-century drama stands in the sign of the Book.¹ It might be fairly said that there is hardly a chapter in the Bible which was not adapted for dramatic use or, at least, dragged upon the stage. As one reads the titles, the conclusion, as Froning remarks, almost inevitably presents itself: either the dramatists of those times must have possessed an extraor-

¹ Holstein's book, *Die Reformation im Spiegelbilde der dramatischen Litteratur*, Halle, 1886, constitutes a practically complete survey of the subject-matter of religious drama in Germany. The table of contents of the second volume of Creizenach's *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* also gives a bird's-eye view of the field. In addition see Creizenach, *l. c.*, vol. II, pp. 108 ff., 164 ff. and Minor's edition of Ferdinand of Tirol's *Speculum vitae humanae*, Haller Neudrucke (1889), Nrs. 79-80, pp. xxiv-xxxv, mostly after Holstein.

dinary faculty of dramatic adaptation, or else they had no inkling of the demands of stage-craft.

The medieval drama is grounded on the New Testament. As the Middle Ages merged into the sixteenth century it passed from the themes of Resurrection, Nativity, and Passion to the dramatization of New Testament parables, saints' legends, plays in honor of the Virgin Mary (*Frau Jutta*) and the treatment of legendary matter in general, such as the finding of the Holy Cross.² In contrast to the Catholic drama of the Middle Ages, the sixteenth century showed a marked preference for the Old Testament, partly, perhaps, on account of its greater wealth of dramatically-shaped subject-matter.³ Another, and probably more effective reason may have been the harsh, martial temper of the Old Testament, dominated by Israel's Javeh—"ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott"—and more in unison with the fighting spirit of the Reformation. To be sure, by dint of the device known as prefiguration (a later application of the mode of interpreting the popular mythology first employed by the Greek Sophists),⁴ each incident in the Old Testament was infused with a symbolic meaning and held to foreshadow a parallel incident in the New Testament, and the latter could always be seen and felt, so to speak, through the Old Testament. The device, a powerful means of suggestion, is essentially a Catholic one, for allegory is the root of all Catholic stage-craft.⁵ The authors of medieval Passion-plays already

² Cf. Vogt, in Paul's *Grundriss*, 1st ed., vol. II, p. 336.

³ Cf. Wackernagel-Martin, *Gesch. d. d. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 98.

⁴ Cf. Spingarn, *Hist. of Lit. Orit. in the Renaissance*, p. 7.

⁵ Cf. Zeidler, *Studien und Beiträge zur Gesch. der Jesuitenkomödie u. des Klosterdramas*, I (*Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen*, Nr. IV), 1891, p. 20.

made use of it; ⁶ in the late seventeenth century Vienna produced short religious plays which first presented the "Figur," as it was called, from the Old Testament and then the corresponding scene from the New Testament; ⁷ just as to-day, in the Oberammergau Passion-play, each scene from the history of Christ is prefaced by a tableau of typical import from the Old Testament. Protestant and Catholic dramatists alike made use of the "sensus mysticus" of the Old Testament themes. Thiebold Gart drew attention to it in the title of his *Joseph*,⁸ and a Protestant treatise was written on the matter by Joh. Lonicerus.⁹ And, generally, dramatists: Petrus Papeus¹⁰ and Diether,¹¹ Philicinus¹² and Schöpfer¹³ and others eagerly availed themselves of a means for expanding the scope and import of their work.

There was more than the spirit of the Reformation at work in Germany when the era of the Bible-drama began. There was the ancient opposition between Church and Stage, no whit less sharp since the Church-fathers hurled their anathemas at the players.¹⁴ There was also, deeper

⁶ Cf. Wirth, *Oster- und Passionsspiele*, Halle, 1889, p. 231. Also Mone, *Altdeutsche Schauspiele*, vol. IV, p. 145.

⁷ Cf. A. v. Weilen, *Gesch. d. Wiener Theaterwesens*, p. 19. The Jesuits, as is well known, had a preference for subjects like Adam, Abraham, or Jephtha, which could be symbolically connected with the life of Christ.

⁸ *Eine schöne und fruchtbare Comedia, ausz heylicher Biblischer schrift in rheimen bracht, mit anzeygung jrer Allegori und geistlicher bedeutung*, 1540.

⁹ *Συράπορις*, 1560, ap. Creizenach, l. c., vol. III, p. 398.

¹⁰ *De samaritano evangelico*, 1539.

¹¹ *Joseph*, 1543.

¹² *Esther*, prod. 1544, publ. 1563.

¹³ *Monomachia Davidis et Goliae*, 1550; *Abrahamus tentatus*, 1551.

¹⁴ For a survey of this question, which I hope to examine in the

still and even more pervasive, the dislike of Christianity for creative literature, a feeling which forced medieval poetry, in self-defence, to have recourse to allegorical interpretation, a desperate remedy, the results of which are only too well known. Having shaped the literature of the Middle Ages, Church opinion was subsequently offset by the spirit of the Renaissance, but not obliterated: and thus, at the beginning of the Renaissance, two tendencies are found opposed "one representing the humanistic reverence for ancient culture, and for poetry as one of the phases of that culture, and the other representing not only the medieval tradition, but a purism allied to that of early Christianity."¹⁵ Naturally, pagan mythology was the point on which issue could be taken most passionately and, to all appearances, most reasonably. Boccaccio and scores of later writers might try to explain away the compromising denizens of Olympus, but no amount of symbolical interpretation would seem equal to the task.

Such was the situation when the Reformers broke the dikes of dogmatic restraint and temporarily drew all currents of human thought into the mighty vortex. The abhorrence for stage-playing, not lessened because the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages had looked indulgently on its devotional plays, was partly overcome, but resulted in an increased determination to justify the means by greater fastidiousness in the choice of subject-matter and stricter observance of the Christian spirit throughout the play. The objection to creative literature took the shape of rebellion against the rules and subordination of esthetic and technical claims to those of religion

light of detailed material at some future time, see Alt, *Theater und Kirche*, Berlin, 1846, and the short treatise of Sell, *Kirche und Theater*, Leipzig, 1903 (3rd ed.).

¹⁵ Spingarn, *l. c.*, p. 13.

and morality. But the proselytizing spirit of the Reformer, although essentially rebellious, was at the same time eager for approval and support, and therefore willing, in a measure, to make use of the means of attraction and delight provided by the ancient forms of dramatic art. Only the propagandist zeal of the Reformers can account for the fact that they should have taken to hand a means of influencing public opinion tainted alike by the use which the Catholic Middle Ages had made of it and by its association with pagan antiquity.

But the disapproval of heathen subject-matter was nevertheless continually voiced. When the Augsburg school-ordinance of 1581 granted permission to the teachers to have three school-dramas performed, the Meistersinger of the town, assuming that the school-plays would be built on classical themes, protested, and reminded the authorities that, since 1534, the old heathen fables and histories had been banned from their performances and biblical subjects substituted for these.¹⁶ Often the dramatist of the Reformation, having completed a play and apparently satisfied of having gained merit thereby, is found urging his fellow-citizens to make like effort, not infrequently warning against pagan subject-matter.¹⁷ It is quite exceptional when a dramatist like Valentin Boltz ventures to remark how un-Christian it is, at bottom, to despise the art of the ancients.¹⁸ More frequent are the attempts to prove the absolute superiority of Bible-subjects over pagan

¹⁶ Goedeke, *Grundriss*, vol. II, p. 379.

¹⁷ Thus e. g., Dr. Alexander Seitz, *Evangelium des 2. Sonntags nach Trin. vom grossen Abendmahl*, Strassb., 1560, ap. Holstein, *l. c.*, p. 140; the date is really 1540, as Bolte (*Zsch. f. d. Phil.*, vol. XXVI pp. 71 ff.) has pointed out.

¹⁸ Transl. of Terence, 1539/40.

stories.¹⁹ Indeed, if a survey of objectors to the "heathen fables" were intended, the name of practically every author of biblical dramas would have to be quoted. It should be kept in mind, however, that this reactionary attitude, partially in existence before the rise of the biblical drama, also continued to exist after the biblical drama had all but disappeared. There is still ample evidence of it in the seventeenth century, in Opitz and Rist, Harsdörfer and Hoffmannswaldeau, Weise and Menantes.

Such was the background. It explains why German humanists have so consistently evaded the dramatic treatment of the classical themes which formed the very center of their teaching,²⁰ and it will put into their proper perspective the opinions and arguments for and against, and concerning the use of, biblical subject-matter.

II. ADVOCATES OF BIBLICAL SUBJECT-MATTER

The "drama sacrum," as it was sometimes described in the sixteenth century, was practically called into existence by a few sentences of Luther's, which opened wide, to all who could use a pen, the dramatic vistas of both Testaments. The opinion of Erasmus, which Bircken still quoted in the seventeenth century,²¹ was probably help-

¹⁹ See e. g., Martin Butzer's effort to show "quanto praestet argumenta tragoediarum et comoediarum desumere ex sanctis historiis, quam ex ethnicis fabulis" (*De honestis ludis*). Cf. note 75.

²⁰ Cf. Creizenach, *l. c.*, vol. II, p. 162.

²¹ "Der unvergleichliche Roterdamer Erasmus/ schreibt an einem Ort: Es wäre gut/ wann man alle Biblische Historien zu Schauspielen machte/ und die Jugend sich darinn öffentlich üben liesze; maszen solches oftmals mehr als eine übereilte predigt / verfangen und Nutzen schaffen würde" (*Teutsche Rede- Bind- und Dichtkunst*, 1679, p. 339). I am unable at present to give the reference to the original text.

ful, but could never have elicited such a prompt and hearty response. The great reformer's praise of school-performances made a pedagogical pastime into a factor of national importance; his commendation of the Bible as a source for stage-plays forced into the hands of both schoolmasters and laymen the weapon which the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages had used but not improved, and which, reshaped by the dramaturgy of the Renaissance and tempered by the fire of the Reformation, was to be wielded with tenfold increased effectiveness. Luther's statements²² were reprinted, paraphrased, elaborated, and commented upon in treatises and sermons, in prefaces to plays, in prologues and in epilogues. Rebhun reprinted them in very large type after his *Susanna*,²³ and as late as 1697, in the heated polemic concerning the Hamburg opera, they were appealed to by both sides.²⁴ Luther's remark that the Apocryphal *Susanna*, *Beel*, *Abakuk* and *the Dragon* appeared to be religious poems; likewise *Judith* and *Tobias*, the former, he thought, a tragedy, the latter a comedy, made speculation rife amongst the Reformers. The suggestion was hazarded that the Greeks might well have taken their plays from the Jews;²⁵ and mention was

²² Cf. *Tischreden*, *Werke*, vol. LXII, pp. 130 f., 336 f. Walch, vol. XIV, pp. 80, 92. I am sorry not to be able to refer in every case to the same edition of Luther.

²³ Wittenberg, 1536. Josiah Loner, Cyr. Spangenberg, P. Leiser, and Joh. Kromayer also refer to Luther, as Bolte, *Märkische Forschungen*, vol. XVIII, p. 195, note, remarks.

²⁴ Cf. G. Vockerodt's *Missbrauch der freyen Künste insonderheit der Music, nebenst abgenöthigter Erörterung der Frage: Was nach D. Luthers . . . Meinung von Opern und Comödien zu halten sey?* Franckfurt, 1697.

²⁵ Cf. Cyr. Spangenberg, *Geistlich Spiel . . . von dem besessenen tauben, und stummen Menschen*, Schmalkalden, 1590; Nic. Frischlin, *Phasma*, tr. by A. Gläser, 1593.

often made of Ezekiel of Alexandria's attempt at a dramatization of *Exodus*.²⁶ And were not those also the ideas which later prompted Opitz's dramatic version of the *Song of Songs*?²⁷

Meanwhile, under the spell of Luther's word the *drama sacrum* grew with mighty vigor. Indeed, Luther's remarks would seem to have been received (although certainly not conceived) as almost an injunction to write plays. There is significance in the fact that the Reformer who had written a play, Rebhun, Greff, and others, would often urge the reader to sit down and do likewise. The assumption apparently was that whoever could do so was morally obliged to try. The school-teachers, of course, were expected to write school-plays, whether they felt like it or not.²⁸

Some zealots, Cornelius Crocus amongst them,²⁹ were inclined to ban lay subject-matter altogether, and thereby drew upon them the irony and scorn of Betulius.³⁰ Yet

²⁶ Which was to be made into a Euripidean tragedy. Cf. L. H. Gray, in Hastings's *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*, 1911, vol. IV, s. v. *Drama (Jewish)*.

²⁷ 1627. The attempt was several times repeated, recently by W. W. Cannon, *The Song of Songs edited as a dramatic poem*, Cambridge, 1913.

²⁸ The manner in which Luther's remarks were received might well explain Martin Butzer's (see note 75) expostulation: "Optandum tamen, ut quibus Deus dedit in his rebus praestare (our italics), ut id mallent ad eius gloriam explicare, quam aliorum pia studia intempestivis reprehensionibus suis retardare." Had he also been urged to write plays?

²⁹ *Joseph*, 1537.

³⁰ . . . Sic nos sumus (ut diis placet)

Iam sanctuli, quibus istaec sancta cautio est,
Quo non puer tenellus Christo deditus
Ex limpido latice castarum virginum
Ingurgitet quid philtri. . . .

Susanna, 1537.

before the year 1539 Willichius knew of Bible-dramas about *Joseph*, *Judith*, the *Prodigal Son*, and dignified what might almost be called a new species by applying to it his Horatian scholarship,³¹ as Martin Butzer did later by stating the dramatic possibilities of the Bible-drama in terms of Aristotle's *Poetics*.³² In 1549 Hieronymus Ziegler spoke of the "many places where sacred performances are held each year, imitating the Passion of Christ."³³ In Prague, in 1549, Colinus had had to refute the charge of having produced an old heathen comedy instead of a pious Christian one, and in Strassburg, in 1566, the famous rector Johannes Sturm had to defend himself and his colleagues for having mostly presented Terentian comedies.³⁴ Later, in the year 1592, the rector of the Latin School at Kaufbeuren, Johannes Brummer, joined to his *Tragicocomoedia Actapostolica*, which is a dramatic story of the whole life of Christ, an elaborate defence of biblical dramas.

III. OPPOSITION TO BIBLICAL SUBJECT-MATTER

This was, however, only one side of the question: there was criticism as well as commendation. "One person," says Hans von Ruete, "wants a story from the Bible;

³¹ "Idque rectius fieri Horatius afferit, quam si quis nova prius excogitaret . . ." etc. (*Commentaria in Artem Poeticam Horatii*, 1545, pp. 100 ff.).

³² "Omnino refertae sunt hae historiae divinis & heroicis personis, affectionibus, moribus, actionibus euentibus quoque inexpectatis, atque in contrarium quam expectarentur cadentibus, quas Aristoteles vocat περιπέτειας."

³³ *Ophiletes*, Basle, 1551.

³⁴ Cf. Creizenach, *l. c.*, vol. II, p. 94.

another holds that Scripture has its place only in the pulpit." 35

But there are others, Lucas Mai averred,

Die . . . wöllen nicht das Christlich sey
Das man auf solche weis die Schrifft vernew/
Und gsche hierin ein grosse missethat
Das man / ein mal geschehen Göttlich that /
Sich nach zu thun gar fehrlich understeh /
Und das man nur auffs blosse wort solt fehl.³⁶ . . .

This opinion, Martinus Balticus asserted later, grew in strength, and many people insisted that no sacred subject-matter should be used for stage-plays.³⁷

There is nothing to wonder at in this opinion. Wholesale production of Bible-dramas, many by incompetent, uneducated hands, often brutal or ludicrous in their awkwardness, could hardly fail to call forth a reaction. Bible-material was naturally at a premium where hardly any one, it would seem, realized that there might be other subjects. Indeed, the English dramatist Whetstone described the situation correctly when he wrote, at the end of the sixteenth century: "*The German is too holy, for he presents*

" Der eine will "ein Histori han
Die man find in der Bibli stan/
Der ander meint die heilige g'schrifft/
Die syg allein an Cancel g'stiffet."

Wie Noe vom win überwunden etc., 1546.

" Read seh'? *Von der wunderbarlichen vereinigung göttlicher gerechtigkeit und barmhertzigkeit*, Wittemberg, 1562.

" Vil leut findt man zu diser zeit/
An manchen orten nah und weit/
Die starck auff diser meinung sein/
Man soll ausz Heiliger Schrifft kein
Spil machen/ oder richten an/ . . .

Josephus, Erstlich inn Latein gestellt . . . Unnd nachmals durch Ihn selbs verteutscht, 1579.

on every common stage what preachers should pronounce in pulpits." ³⁸

IV. TREATMENT OF BIBLICAL SUBJECT-MATTER

But the question was not only: Shall we choose from the Bible? But also, when that question was answered affirmatively, there was the further and more puzzling query: How shall biblical subject-matter be treated? The question, it should be realized, was a weighty one. Turn back to the tenth century and imagine the pious nun Hrosvitha, searching the Bible for material to supplant the heathen tales of Terence, and then learning of the dubious veracity of the *Apocrypha*, which she had used! An apology was made.³⁹ And several centuries later, consider the liturgical drama; it had a definite mission: to instruct, and guide, or actually to convert. Where the audience, literal-minded and innocent of esthetic detachment, looked upon the play as a part of worship, the danger was great if the image of Scripture were marred or distorted. Hence, very probably, the warning issued by the Frankfurt Burgomasters, on July 17, 1498: that "stricter care be taken to avoid superstitions."⁴⁰ Hence also the manuscript of *Urstend Christi* remarked about the traditional scene of the Knights at the Sepulchre "nit also ergangen, allein erdicht."⁴¹ The dramatists of the

³⁸ Preface to *Promos and Cassandra*, 1578.

³⁹ "Non est crimen praesumptionis iniquae, sed error ignorantiae. quia, quando hujus stamen seriei coeperam ordiri, ignoravi, dubia esse, in quibus disposui laborare" (*Werke*, ed. Barack, Nürnberg, 1858, p. 2).

⁴⁰ "Caveatur amplius ad evitandum supersticiones," ap. Froning, *l. c.*, II, p. 545.

⁴¹ Ap. Wirth, *l. c.*, p. 27.

Reformation might be expected to observe similar caution. Burkard Waldis would not tamper with the Word, and when direct quotations seemed necessary, he had a little child stand up and read Luke 15 in prose, after which the "Actor," or stage-manager continued the "Vorrhede."⁴² And had not Luther, writing to Nicolaus Hausmann in Zwickau and professing his belief in school-plays on the life of the Lord, added that they should be "ordentlich und unverfälscht"?⁴³ Caution, therefore, became the watchword of the Reformers. Sometimes the results were unexpected, quaint, amusing to the modern reader. For instance, when Resatha, cross-questioned by the boy Daniel in Rebhun's *Susanna*, was asked where he had surprised Susanna with her alleged lover, "Sag an, wo thets du sie erhaschen?", Resatha, wishing to preserve the biblical pun⁴⁴ which Luther had rendered with *linde-finden* and *eiche-zeichnen*, answered: "*Ich hascht sie unter einer aschen.*" The pun was saved, but at the expense of literal truth! For mastic-tree and holm an ash-tree had been substituted. Hence an immediate explanation by the author, *in margine!*⁴⁵ As Verlaine said, "Ah, qui dira les méfaits de la rime!"

The fact that the fulness of dramatic presentation necessarily went beyond even the most detailed narrative also worried Rebhun's conscientious soul. And when the source was sketchy and amplification inevitable, as in his *Hochzeit zu Cana*, he had to explain his predicament to

⁴² *Der Verlorene Sohn*, 1527.

⁴³ April 2, 1530. Cf. De Wette, vol. III, p. 566.

⁴⁴ Σχῖνος σε σχίσει and πρῖνος πρίσει σε. See the apocryphal *History of Susanna*, vv. 54-58.

⁴⁵ "Umb gelegenheit des reyms willen seind andere baum genennet denn im text stehen" (v, iv, 1536).

the public.⁴⁶ No dramatist, however, has gone more fully into the question, and is more interesting to follow in this regard, than Joachim Greff. In his Easter-play he defends the introduction of four angels "die on zweiffel allzeit bey Christo und uns jhe geblieben sein"; Mary and Veronica are allowed only mute parts, since there is no record of their having spoken after the Resurrection; the triumphant progress of Christ with the fettered figures of Death and the Devil is not described in the Bible, but Greff *knows* that it happened in this way!⁴⁷ This shows, of course, in Greff a measure of independence. But the responsibility seems to weigh heavily upon his mind. He knows the medieval Passion-plays and the liberties they took. He intimates darkly that "man furzeiten zu der passion mehr gethan und geflickt hienan, dan die Euangelisten melden . . . so möcht geschehen sein." But nevertheless, the great danger of imitating these must be shunned, and "ungewisse Münnichsgedanke und treume"

*He has represented the incidents mentioned in the Bible:

Nicht aber zwar so eigentlich
 Wies dort mag habn zu tragen sich,
 Dann solches man nicht wissen kan
 Die weils die Schrifft nicht zeigt an
 Vnd nür vermeld die wunderthat
 Die Christus da bewisen hat,
 Drümb was daneben wird verzelt

 Das nür ist gsetzt zu guter lehr. . . . 1538.

*Ob es mit Worten hel und klar
 Gleich nicht ist ausgedruckt so gar
 In den vier Euangelisten ebn
 Wie wirs dan hie an den tag gebn
 Da lest nicht an/ Das wissen wir
 Das von Christo sey gschehen hier
 In seiner aufferstehung gwis
 Lasts uns hören on verdries. . . .

must have no quarter. Hence his caution, in spite of his natural bent towards originality and freedom. Sometimes, however, his sense of dramatic values would overcome his respect for the Word. The struggle of faith and credulity in the minds of the disciples at the announcement of the Resurrection tempted his imagination. Having succumbed and written a scene of some dramatic value, he does not fail, however, to warn the reader of the liberty he has taken.⁴⁸ Yet his sense of the dramatic finally led him to solve the problem on a dramaturgic basis, the requirements of the stage balancing and checking the claims of sacred subject-matter: Avoid incidents, thus runs his advice, that cannot be represented. Omit what is not really essential in the subject-matter, but take up and describe literally and fully all that serves the action.⁴⁹ The negative side of the process was in this manner defined: what to avoid and omit; and partly the positive side: what to reproduce integrally. But what of the cases where tempting dramatic material was found in a passage chary of detail and bare of description? There Greff had no more counsel than his fellows, and explanations in the prologue or epilogue or

• Was aber die Apostel fein
 Antreffen thut das sie also
 Furen so seltzam rede do. . . .
 Man weis wol die auszgedruckten wordt
 Findstu nirgent an keinem ort
 Du findest dis wolan
 Kein jünger hat wöln glauben dran.

• Was unmüglich /das lest man stan/
 Zuuor was zu Historien
 Nicht sonderlich mag dienstlich sein/
 Was aber dient zur Action
 Da sol man gantz nicht überschlan
 Sondern von wort zu wort beschreiben
 Und alles lassen darin bleiben.

Abraham, 1540. Drey . . . Historien der dreyer Ertzväter.

in marginal notes remained the only recourse. Or even passages interpolated in the text, as in the *Play of the three Patriarchs*, where Greff explains the appearance of Isaac first as a small boy and immediately after as a grown man with a beard: the intervening stage, he says, has been left out, because the Bible does not mention it; otherwise Greff would surely have shown the youth Isaac as well.⁵⁰ Other dramatists, without showing even as much independence as Greff, emulated or outdid his anxious conscientiousness. Where Waldis merely adorned his "Vorrhede" with Bible-references, Jacob Ruff extended them over the whole printed play.⁵¹ Zacharias Bletz, in the interminable preamble of his *Antichrist*-play, reverted to the methods of Waldis and had the Bible-passages recited in full by four prophets "dormitt wir clare gschrift legen dar."⁵² Besides, the manuscript gives many Bible-references and even the characters sometimes give chapter and verse for their words.

It is exceptional when a dramatist is influenced in his treatment of biblical subject-matter by other than religious considerations. With Greff dramaturgic grounds, as we saw, had their weight. Wickram, who gave the king Sennaherib two sons instead of three, in order to spare

" Dasz Moises (sic) der Lehrer gut
Gar nichts davon berichten thut;
Hätt' er's aber gezeiget an,
Wir wolltens auch eingeführet han.

Ap. Creizenach, *l. c.*, vol. III, p. 397.

⁵⁰ "Ist darumm beschehn/ das man sehe das in disem gerym desz Passion nit anders und übrigs herzu gesetzt syge/ dann was der text selber vermag" (*Das lyden unsers Herren Jesu Christi*, Zurich, 1545. *Vast textlicht und mit wenig zu setzen, onet die Action zu tregt*). Printed "samt den Concordantzen." Cf. also Ruff's *Spyl von der erschaffung Adams und Heua*, Zurich, 1550.

⁵¹ Produced in 1549 at Lucerne. Bible-passages, ll. 259-576.

expense for clothing, otherwise followed the text closely "so das mir nicht ein sententz auszbliben," but his reason is perhaps an esthetic one; for "it would be a pity," he says, "if one had omitted anything from the text, which may justly be called a golden jewel."⁵³ It would be difficult to say whether the freer tendencies finally prevailed. Andreas Pfeilschmidt seemed to follow Greff, making the action an important criterion,⁵⁴ and Christian Zyril shows a decided leaning towards liberalism.⁵⁵ In fact, we find in his words the first intimation that a play, as a work of art, may enjoy a peculiar freedom in regard to its source, even though this be the Bible. And before him, Martinus Hayneccius had made bold to choose the names for the actors of his delightful *Hans Pfriem*-legend from the Bible itself.⁵⁶ But on the other hand, Bible-

⁵³ "Dann schad wer es, so man etwas vom text solt auszelassen haben, welcher billich ein gülden kleynot mag genant werden" (*Tobias*, 1550). It is possible, of course, that Wickram referred to the whole of the Bible, rather than to the *Tobias*-apocryph. But it will be remembered that Luther had a special admiration for that story.

⁵⁴ "Hab ich auch dise Historia . . . so viel mir möglich, gantz textlich durchaus mit wenig vmbeschweiffung, sonder was zu Action des Spiels nottürftig gewesen fürgenommen, damit jedermenniglich bey dem verstand des klaren textes bleiben möcht" (*Esther*, 1555).

⁵⁵ "Dieweil aber . . . der Biblisch Text von Gerichtlichen Sententzen und Urtheiln Salomonis sehr kurtz und mehr nit weder dasz erst Urtheil thut vermelden/ so hab ich guter meinung noch acht Urtheil/ die fast desz schlags/ wie das erst Urtheil Salomonis adiert und hinzu gethon in erwegung disz alles Historischer/ und Comedischer weise/ dem Biblischen text nichts dadurch soll noch mög entzogen werden" (*Urteil Salomonis*, Strasb., 1592). The eight new judgments have been added to the second part. In the preface Zyril charges that "ein fauler Bosz, mit namen Thomas Schmid, Steinmetz zu Heidelberg," appropriated Zyril's *Joseph*, rededicated the reprint and had the play performed "auff der Fürstlichen Schwedischen Heimführung zü Heidelberg."

⁵⁶ *Almansor*, 1582. *Drey neue . . . Oomoedien*.

references still cluttered the margins of printed plays,⁵⁷ and because in the Bible the story of Joseph is interrupted by a chapter on the rape of Tamar, Ægidius Hunnius, in his *Joseph*, saw no way but to have this matter brought up and discussed in a dialogue between Jacob and Leah!⁵⁸

V. THE PASSION-PLAY

There was, however, one theme in the Bible which the sixteenth century consistently tried to avoid, namely the Passion proper, the theme on which most of the medieval plays had centered, on which contemplation of the devout had most lingeringly dwelt. The attitude of the sixteenth century is easily explained, but the explanation to be complete should be twofold: partly dramaturgic, partly religious.

The problem, from a dramaturgic point of view, was one of character and concerned the dramatic possibilities of the person of Christ, considered as a protagonist. The Belgian humanist Jodocus Badius, doubtless familiar with the religious drama of Flanders, perceived unique advantages in the part of Christ, the son of a human mother and a heavenly father,⁵⁹ and early attempts at tragedy, such as Quintianus Stoa's popular *Theandrothanatos*,⁶⁰ Bartholomaeus's *Xtus Xilonicus*,⁶¹ or the earlier effort of Bernardino Campagna,⁶² appear to have been written at a time when no opposition against using the life of Christ

⁵⁷ E. g., Frankfurt a. O. reprint of Stricker's *Düdesche Schlömer*, 1591.

⁵⁸ First part, iv, vi, 1586.

⁵⁹ "Unus verus est heros . . . Jesus cui pater celestis mater vero mortalis est" (*Prenotamenta* to his edition of Terence, 1502).

⁶⁰ Mediolani, 1508.

⁶¹ Paris, 1529.

⁶² *De passione redemptoris Christi*, between 1471 and 1484.

for dramatic purposes had yet manifested itself. But when Aristotle's views on the drama began to be known, the critical theory of *hamartia*, according to which a guiltless and perfect hero would fail to arouse pity and fear and only induce a sense of revolt, was brought to bear on the question. To be sure, Minturno tried his best to refute this opinion⁶³ in a passage to which Corneille later appealed in defence of his *Polyeucte*,⁶⁴ but as far as practice would show, the effort was vain. There were also, however, and chiefly, religious objections. The Protestant sixteenth century was a reaction against the Middle Ages. It told horrible tales of the bigoted Passion-plays of those benighted centuries,⁶⁵ and only very few of its dramatists referred with anything but denunciation to the palmy days of the Catholic church-drama.

Luther declared in 1530 that he would willingly see the doings of Christ presented in Latin or German school-plays.⁶⁶ But in the much-read *Sermon on the contemplation of the holy sufferings of Christ*, many years before, he had emphatically warned against certain abuses in this connection. Not that he was on principle opposed to

⁶³ 'Mors . . . illa salutaris, quam Christus ut vitam mortalibus restitueret, non invitatus ac libenter sane appetivit, non esset profecto tragice deploranda, si minus in theatrum afferri deberent quae viro probo accidissent, ac ferenda indigna potius quam miseranda esse viderentur. Quum enim ille sit Deus, est etiam homo, quem quid probum, quid justum, quid summa virtute praeditum dicam' (*De Poeta*, Venet., 1559, l. III, pp. 182 f.).

⁶⁴ *Examen de Polyeucte*, 1664.

⁶⁵ Which Melanchthon, for one, was fond of repeating. Cf. Creizenach, *l. c.*, vol. III, p. 401, n. 2.

⁶⁶ "Et ego non illibenter viderem gesta Christi in scholis puerorum ludis sue comoediis latine et germanice rite ac pure compositis repraesentari propter rei memoriam et affectum iunioribus augendum" (*Sämmtliche Schriften*, vol. XIV, pp. 82, 89); also ap. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, vol. II, p. 356.

meditation on the life of Christ.⁶⁷ What he opposed with trenchant criticism was the unreality and exteriorisation of this devotional practice. If the spectator failed to identify himself with the Lord, suffering his anxieties and tortures, assuming his humility, forgiveness, and fortitude, the contemplation of the Passion was of no real benefit, but only a passing show, a mere exterior work without power either to chasten or to fortify.⁶⁸ Medieval contemplation, abstract and detached from life, often morbid and sentimental, he strongly deprecated. Christ was not to be pitied and wept over like an innocent man,⁶⁹ but his suffering should cause men to weep over themselves.⁷⁰

Such a view, carried on such authority, spread all the more easily, since Melanchthon concurred in it, and since it was shared in a measure by the much-read Juan Luiz Vives, a pupil and friend of Erasmus. Indeed, this Spanish humanist (1492-1540), a student of the Univer-

⁶⁷ "Meditatio passionis eius [*i. e.*, *Christi*] laudatissimum est" (*Duo sermones de passione Christi*, 1518; *Werke* [Kritische Gesamtausgabe], vol. I, p. 342).

⁶⁸ "Wir haben das weszen yn eynen scheyn vorwandelt und das leyden Christi bedencken alleyn auff die brieff und an die wend gemalet" (*Ein Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi*; *Werke* [Kritische Gesamtausgabe], vol. II, p. 142).

⁶⁹ "Zeum [*sic*] dritten haben sie eyn mit leyden mit Christo, yhn zu clagen und zu beweynen alsz eynen unschuldigen menschen, gleych wie die weyber, die Christo von Jerusalem nach folgten, und von yhm gestrafft wurden, sie solten sich selb beweynen und yhre kinder. Der art seynd, die mitten yn der passion weyt ausz reyszen und von dem abschied Christi zu Bethanien und von der Junckfrawen Marien schmerzen viel eyntrogen und kummen auch nit weyter. Da kumpt es, das man die passion szo vill stund vorzeugt, weysz gott, ab [*sic*] es mehr zum schlaffen ader sum wachen erdacht ist" (*Ein Sermon*, etc., *l. c.*, p. 136).

⁷⁰ "Homini non est necessarium, ut Christum in ipsius passionem deploret, sed magis seipsum in Christo" (*Duo sermones*, etc.).

sity of Paris and a professor at the University of Louvain before he tutored an English princess and lectured at Oxford, has given us one of the most graphic descriptions, unique it would seem, of the performance of a sixteenth-century Passion-play. In the elaborate commentary on Augustine's *City of God* which he prepared at the instance of Erasmus and dedicated to Henry VIII, Vives, à propos of Augustine's remarks on the honor due to martyrs, indulges in a spirited word-picture of a Passion-performance such as it probably had been his privilege to watch, most likely in the Low Countries.⁷¹

But now, euen at the celebration of Christs passion and our redemption it is a custome to present plaies almost as vile as the old stage-games: should I be silent the very absurdity of such shewes in so reuerend a matter, would condemne it sufficiently. There *Iudas* plaieth the most ridiculous *Mimike*, euen then when he betraies Christ. There the *Apostles* run away, and the soldiers follow, and all resounds with laughter. Then comes *Peter*, and cuttes off *Malchus* eare, and then all rings with applause, as if *Christs* betraying were now reuenged. And by and by this great fighter comes and for feare of a girle, denies his *Maister*, all the people laughing at her question, and hissing at his deniall: and in all these reuells and ridiculous stirres Christ onely is serious and seuer: but seeking to mooue passion and sorrow in the audience, hee is so farre from that, that hee is cold euen in the diuine matters: to the great guilt, shame and sinne both of the priests that present this and the people that behold it.⁷²

It was hard then to maintain an atmosphere of reverence around the person representing Christ; and the actors' own attempt at restraint would only result in frigidity. Perhaps Vives's reproach with regard to the actor's "coldness" is not quite fair, first because it was

⁷¹ As it says in *margin*: "The Louanists want this.

⁷² *St. /Augustine,/ of the citie of god:/ with the learned comments of/Io. Lod. Vives./ Englished by J. H. H.(ealey)/ . . . 1610. L. VIII, Cap. 27 (p. 337).*

an ordinary man's only recourse in a difficult situation, and further, because such an attitude, in contrast to the convincing but less dignified mimicry of the professional, was actually recommended by the Church and often by the School.⁷³

The advice on the acting of Biblical plays given by Martin Butzer, the German Reformer known for his opposition to the Augsburg *Interim* of 1548, and in 1549 regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, is expressive of the standpoint of both Church and School: the human, individual element, he holds, should be obliterated and "not so much the things themselves, and the actions of men, their emotions and anxieties" should be represented, but rather their moral proclivities and their intellects. And these should be so represented as to cause them to be imitated. Here again Luther's warning not to confuse emotional pleasure and devotional effort is distinctly perceived.⁷⁴

⁷³ For the school cf. Creizenach, *l. c.*, vol. II, p. 93, and the *Berichtigungen*; Expeditus Schmidt, *Die Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schuldramas*, etc., Berlin, 1903, pp. 35 f., and the author's *Über den Zweck des Schuldramas in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Jan., 1918.

⁷⁴ "Hi (i. e., the authors of sacred dramas) quoque curabunt ne quid leue aut histrionicum in agendo admittatur: sed omnia exhibeantur sanota quadam, & gravi, iucunda tamen, sanctis, duntaxat, actione: qua repraesententur non tam res ipsae, & actione hominum, affectus et perturbationes, quam mores et ingenia: ac ita repraesententur, ut excitetur in spectatoribus studiosa imitatio: eorum autem quae secus sunt instituta & facta, confirmetur detestatio, & excitetur declinatio vigilantior" (Martinus Bucerus, *De honestis ludis*, in his *De Regno Christi, Scripta anglicana*, collecta a. c. Huberto, Cap. LIV [pp. 1-170] p. 141, Basil., 1577, fol. [first ed. 1557?]). Butzer died in 1551. The passage is reproduced in App. A. of H. S. Symmes, *Les Débuts de la Critique dramatique en Angleterre*, Paris, 1903.

There was also another difficulty. To some of the finer minds, even the idea (and how much more the actual presentation) of the death on the cross, meant suffering almost too keen to be borne. "You object to Terence?" queries Betulius. "You would rather approve of Christ, triumphant, to reign forever on the cross?" Yes, a pious drama this would be, he exclaims, but presently the sarcastic smile fades from his lips and hot indignation breaks forth: That people should want actually to see repeated "a crime, whose cruelty the plays of Sophocles have not outdone, the inhumanity of which beggars the memory of all antiquity!"⁷⁵

The Middle Ages, free as in their naïve conceptions they made with even the most sacred subjects, had no feeling of hesitant awe with regard to the actual representation of the person of Christ. Jesus walked and suffered on the stage, and when the "processio" required that he should appear simultaneously at divers stages of his life, as many as five different people would represent him,⁷⁶ and no exception would be taken. To be sure, the part might be taken with all reverence of mood and gesture, as now-a-days Anton Lang, the impersonator of Christ in the Oberammergau Passion-play, shows his appreciation of the honour bestowed on him by a sort of consecration of his daily life. But the sixteenth-century dramatist Hieronymus Linck of Glatz in his *Salomo*-play would

"Magis Christum probaueris
 Qui victor ex ligno regnabit perpetim?
 Pium quidem drama est. . . .
 . . . quid nil crudelius
 Sophocles dedit neque ullum tota antiquitas
 Immanius memorat scelus. . . .

Susanna, 1537.

⁷⁵ As recorded in the diary of Job Rorbach; cf. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, pp. 542 f.

order that, in the "proces" the actor representing God should not appear.⁷⁷ The part of the Lord, indeed, might be taken only with great reluctance. Petrus Mosellanus's very popular *Paedologia*, recommended by Luther and Melanchthon, and mostly read and paraphrased in the next to the lowest class in the schools, reveals the dominant feeling, at that time, concerning the acting of the part of Christ. In one of the little dialogues that make up the *Paedologia*, Leopoldus, asked by Severus about the next day's traditional Passion-play, admits that all persons will be represented. This elicits from Severus the remark that in such a play he would take the part of the hard-hearted soldier or the executioner rather than that of Christ himself; for, even though, he says, "as I may suppose, a fictitious happening is represented, yet it cannot fail that he, who takes the part of Christ, has great troubles thrust upon him."⁷⁸ Since between 1518 and 1706, seventy-six editions of this textbook of Latin con-

⁷⁷ Cf. Creizenach, *l. c.*, vol. III, p. 443, n. 1.

⁷⁸ *Severus*. Sed dic, oro: quid tandem est, quod iactas?

Leopoldus. Tragoediam eorum cruciatum, quos pro nobis tulit servator Christus, histriones agent; sunt enim ad hoc delecti aliquot.

Sev. Quaeso te: omnibus etiam adhibitis personis?

Leop. Omnibus omnino.

Sev. Ipse in hac fabula mallet durissimi militis aut carnificis personam gerere quam ipsius Christi; nam tametsi, ut conicere (sic) possum, res fecte repraesentabitur, sic tamen abire non potest, quin is, qui Christum refert, multas interim molestias in se recipere cogatur.

Leop. Et ipse in hac fabula spectator esse malo quam actor, utcumque res interim agatur seria.

Petrus Mosellanus (Schade). *Paedologia in puerorum usu conscripta*, 1518. *Dialogus XXXII: De spectaculis comoediarum tragoediarumque fabulantur*. H. Michel's edition (*Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler*, Nr. 18).

versation had been used up mainly by the school-youth of Germany⁷⁹ the words of Severus cannot have failed to influence the mental attitude of several generations.

A knowledge of this will make it easier to understand the difficulties with which Greff had to contend, when he set his heart on the writing of a Passion-play. At bottom Greff was in sympathy with the dramatic tendencies of the Middle Ages. He is one of the very few who had a kind word for the plays of "our dear ancestors," who "meant well, of yore, with the Passion-play, wishing to arouse us to devotion and piety."⁸⁰ He was evidently anxious to try his hand at a Passion-play. First, on the basis of the much-read *Passional* of Johannes Bugenhagen, he composed a religious poem on *The Passion and Resurrection of Christ*⁸¹ and in the preface announced his intention of putting on the stage "the Passion together with several miracles and the life of Christ."

He must have known, of course, that in this he would be opposed, and he turned for advice to Nicolaus Haussmann, in October, 1538. Naturally the theologian discouraged the plan, declaring that "this holy story required great seriousness"; and Luther also thought that nothing but a "lecherey" could come of it, and both Luther and Haussmann again pointed to the acts of violence which in many places had accompanied the performances of Passion-plays. Therefore, to all appearances, Greff himself gave it up; "considering," he said, "that the Resurrection or the events after the Resurrection would be easier to

⁷⁹ Six more appeared without date. Cf. Michel's introduction, p. xli.

⁸⁰ "Unser lieben vordere habens gut gemeinet vorzeiten/ mit dem spiel der Passion/ wolten uns zu andacht und fromigkeit reitzen" (*Anlularia*, tr. 1535).

⁸¹ *Leiden und Auferstehung . . . Christi*, Wittenberg, 1538.

represent than the Passion which precedes them, because the Jews, by their jeers at the person of Christ aroused the people's laughter more than they moved them to devotion."⁸² To be sure, against the presentation of Christ's triumph over death, the Reformers had no objection.⁸³ Yet it was rather a lame explanation. One gets distinctly the impression that Greff gave up his plan reluctantly. In his Easter-play, in fact, he attempted to realize as much of it as possible and this Easter-play is really nothing but an abridged Passion-play. Greff must have been well aware of this. Therefore when a pastor in Dessau, in 1543, called the songs and hymns of Palm-Sunday "Narrenwerk und Lotterreime," and other Dessau pastors, heartened by his example maybe, began to harass Greff "ob Actionem quandam Germanicam historiæ Resurrectionis dominicæ,"⁸⁴ the playwright put before a number of theologians the harmless question: "Whether it be permitted to bring before a Christian people in the form of comedies for purposes of representation in any place, holy or profane, sacred histories poetically conceived."⁸⁵ Luther wrote

"... "in Betrachtung/ das die Aufferstehung odder die geschicht nach der Aufferstehung/ besser zu Agiren wehren/ dan die vorgehende Paszion/ Ursach/ das die Jüden/ mit der Spötterey so sie die person Christi angelegt/ das volck mehr zum lachen gereitzt dann zu andacht bewegt" (*Easter-play*, 1541-42). Luther, however, remarked: "Zum ersten bedencken ettlich das leyden Christi alszo, das sie uber die Juden *tzornig* werden werden. . . ." (*Werke* [Kritische Gesamtausgabe], vol. II, p. 136. Our italics).

⁸² Cf. Luther, *Werke*, Erlangen, vol. XX, p. 166: "Und gefället mir wohl," he said, referring to the traditional Easter-plays, "dasz mans also den Einfältigen vormalet, spielet, singet oder sagt" (1533).

⁸³ As Paul Eber expressed it. See note 86.

⁸⁴ "Quaerit Joachimus, an sacras historias carmine redditas, tanquam Comoedias Christiano populo quovis in loco sacro vel profano audiendas et spectandas liceret proponere" (Hier. Noppus's Letter). See following note.

two letters in reply, rather vague in their wording, answering affirmatively, provided no scandal were caused. And so did Melanchthon, and the Zwickau schoolmaster Hieronymus Noppus and Paul Eber, all insisting, however, on reverence in the treatment of the subjects.⁸⁶ Luther's answer had been cautious, and the approval of the others could not possibly be construed as encouragement to write a Passion-play. Yet Greff gained something by this: the impression was abroad that influential men were backing him and thereby, at any rate, Greff's bitter opponents, Star and Busch and their like, were at least temporarily silenced. But the Passion-play was never written.

The greatest practical objection to the Passion-play was the necessity of impersonating the Lord in those awe-inspiring hours. If Naogeorg, in spite of the existing prejudice, brought Christ upon the stage, he could have claimed at least that he had not infringed Luther's warning and that his conception of Christ in *Iudas Iscariotes* (1552) has no touch of the morbid or the sentimental.⁸⁷

There was no hesitation, apparently, in introducing God the Father on the stage. He speaks in Grimald's *Christus Redivivus* (prod. 1556) and Hans Sachs make him quiz the good and naughty children of our first parents on their knowledge of Luther's catechism.⁸⁸ But in John-the-Baptist dramas the baptism of Christ is practically never represented. Sebastian Wild⁸⁹ hides the Crucifixion be-

⁸⁶ The answers were all addressed to Georg Helt. For Luther's see De Wette, *Luther's Briefe*, vol. v, pp. 552 ff.; Melanchthon's *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. v, p. 86; those of Noppus and Paulus Eber, G. Buchwald, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1886, pp. 563 ff.

⁸⁷ Cf. Creizenach, *l. c.*, vol. II, p. 136.

⁸⁸ *Comödie von den ungleichen Kindern Evae*, 1553, in two different forms, as "comödie" and as "spiel."

⁸⁹ *Die Passion und die Auferstehung Christi*, 1566.

hind the scenes. In Bartholomæus Crüger's *Aktion von dem Anfang und Ende der Welt* (1580) the Passion is made to fall in the interval between the second and the third act and is not actually presented. Even the child Jesus in the crib is not shown, although at the end of the second act Christ is baptised in the waters of a stage Jordan. Again, Nicodemus Frischlin lets Christ appear in the last act of his *Phasma* (1592); on the other hand, Voldius makes express provision for the case in which the stage-manager of his *Joseph* should wish to have God the Father and Christ carry on a conversation, "laut und gravitetisch," behind a curtain without bringing them into public view.⁹⁰

Such provisions are, however, to be considered more as the expressions of a mental attitude fostered by Protestantism than as observances of a definite rule. In exceptional cases only does a dramatist seem to have been conscious of a specific prescription on the subject. Thus Martinus Hayneccius declares that except as so-called *protaticae personae* (i. e., characters who appear only once and do not properly take part in the action),⁹¹ divine or heavenly persons must not be introduced into comedies.⁹²

The reluctance to impersonate Christ was not entirely restricted to Protestants. Macropedius gives evidence of

⁹⁰ 1619, Act iv, i. Cf. Bolte, Wickram's *Werke*, vol. vi, p. xc.

⁹¹ Cf. Aelius Donatus's commentary to Terence's *Andria*, ed. Wessner, Act i, viii, where Sosia is described as *πρωτατικὸν πρόσωπον*; "persona autem protatica ea intelligitur, quae semel inducta in principio fabulae in nullis deinceps fabulae partibus adhibetur." Hayneccius probably had it from Scaliger, *Poetice*, 1561, p. 22, col. 1.

⁹² "Dann sonst wird verboten/ eine Göttliche oder Himliche Person einzuführen/ in Comoedien" (*Almansor*, in *Drey neue, schöne und Lustige Comoedien*, 1582). In the *Almansor* of 1603 (*Schulteuffel*) he adds "von rechts wegen" (verbotten) and "in jrdischen" (Comoedien).

it,⁹³ but in his mind the restriction seemed to apply only to Christ as a grown man, for later he put Jesus in the Temple on the stage.⁹⁴ And Greff had shown him restoring the blind man to sight and bidding Zacheus, the publican, come down from the sycamore tree.⁹⁵ Yet Jacob Schöpfer of Dortmund, taking exception to the part played by Christ ("nimis expresse et evidenter") in Jacob Zovitus's *Ovis perdita* (1539), published an amended version under the same title (1553). Apparently no restriction was applied by Macropedius to plays merely intended for reading,⁹⁶ a view on the basis of which Hugo Grotius later tried to justify his *Christus Patiens* (1608).

At the end of the sixteenth century the great period of the Protestant Bible-drama came to an end. By an order of February 27, 1589, the Protestant Elector Joachim Friedrich prohibited all public religious performances in his domains, and on the 30th of May following, the Berlin clergy unanimously approved of this in a resolution, which shows, however, how tenaciously the Passion-play had survived in the hard Protestant soil.⁹⁷

⁹³ *Lazarus*, 1541. Cf. Creizenach, *l. c.*, vol. II, p. 132, who saw the edition of 1557.

⁹⁴ *Jesus Scholasticus*, 1556.

⁹⁵ *Eine schöne neue Action auff das xvij. und xix Capitel . . . Lucae*, 1546.

⁹⁶ "Illos tamen non arguit qui ea scriptitant, si quo legantur, non agantur scriptitant." Fuller information on plays of this character is given in the author's *Drama und Epos in der deutschen Renaissance*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. XV, pp. 10 ff.

⁹⁷ It declares "das mit der Darstellung der Angst und Schmerzen Christi in dem Häuslein am Dom am Palmsonntag billig nachzulassen sei, indem die geistliche Betrachtung des Leidens Christi dadurch verhindert und gleichsam in ein Komödienspiel verwandelt werde; dasz die vermeinte Sepultur am Karfreitag abzuschaffen, das Fusswaschen *spiritualiter* und nicht wie ein Spiel zu halten, das Laufen der Jünger am heil. Ostertage einzustellen sei. . . ." Ap. Holstein, *l. c.*, p. 131.

VI. CONCLUSION

The history of the biblical material in the sixteenth century presents a curious problem of literary survival. Essentially the biblical drama is medieval and Catholic: it found its contents in the Catholic faith and its form in the Middle Ages.

The Catholic Passion-play underwent little change under modern conditions, even when it began to migrate from the towns into the country. In the Protestant world, however, survival into the sixteenth century meant adaptation to changed standards of religion. As a result, the attitude of the public, both inwardly and outwardly, was sharply criticized, and difficulties, unsuspected by the spacious Middle Ages, in connection with the impersonation of Christ, were discovered by the Protestant conscience and variously avoided or conquered.

To both the Catholic and the Protestant world applied the new laws of form, embodied in the classical conception of the drama by the Renaissance. Under their pressure the Protestants, with strikingly little theorizing as to form or technique, evolved the proselytizing *drama sacrum*, a combined product of the church and the school.

As with the beginning of the seventeenth century this species was disappearing (the Catholic Bible-drama, in various guises, meanwhile eking out a feeble existence), the tradition was caught up by the musical and operatic movement. Detached more and more from the stage, it finally reached the realm of the oratorio (Bach's *Matthaeus-passion*, 1729), where apart from scattered Catholic survivals, such as the play at Oberammergau, it still unobtrusively lives.

JOSEPH E. GILLET.

XXII.—MIDDLE ENGLISH *CLANNESSE*

Mr. Bateson's numerous notes on the Middle English *Clannesse* (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XIII, pp. 377-86) renew interest in that curious, though often tantalizing poem. Worthy of acceptance, it seems to me, are those on lines 3, 30, 54, 222, 341, 379, 411, 449, 553, 630, 1048, 1261, 1483, 1566, 1735, a considerable list. About as many others are equally good, but have been proposed before. For example, the *New Eng. Dict.* has anticipated Mr. Bateson in his suggestions for lines 148, 214, 887, 1038, 1469, while the *Cent. Dict.* had preceded the *NED* in the note on line 1514. Besides, the *NED* seems to be misquoted on *tyzt* (1153) and *penitotes* (1472). The former is certainly given under *tight*, v. 2, with this passage among others. Nor have I found where the *NED* reads *ryther* for *ryth* of 1543.

In fact one wonders that Mr. Bateson has so greatly restricted his reading before commenting on the poem. Had he examined the article of Professor Skeat, to which I called attention in reviewing his edition of *Patience* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxviii, p. 171), he would scarcely have written his remarks on lines 48 and 1075, while he might have added Skeat's valuable notes on lines 40, 41, 889, 1383, 1405. Had he used Morris's revised edition of the *Alliterative Poems* (1869), instead of the first edition (1864), he would not have made his suggestions upon lines 765 and 935, and he might not have erred in his proposal for line 1747, to which I shall call attention later. This failure to use the revised Morris is more surprising, since in my review of his *Patience* I pointed out five cases in which his textual errors were due to following

the earlier edition.¹ Again, had Mr. Bateson done me the honor to read my articles in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, x, p. 373 and *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxi, p. 1, he need scarcely have repeated the suggestions on lines 820 and 1520.

While noting these failures of Bateson to give credit to others, it seems well to mention important annotations on the poem by C. F. Brown in *Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xix, p. 149; F. Holthausen in *Archiv für die Neueren Sprachen*, cvi, p. 349; and A. T. Bödtker in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxvi, p. 127. To this growing body of illustrative material the following notes may perhaps make some additions, as well as some further corrections to Mr. Bateson's article. The numbers refer to the lines of the poem and, unless otherwise stated, to the revised edition of Morris. So also references to Bateson are to the article mentioned above.²

17-22. Morris has missed the punctuation and sense. The sentence closes with the latter line, and a comma at most should be placed after line 20.

39. Should not *helded* be *helde*, pr. subj., meaning 'should incline to (approach) the table'? See *schulde be halden* of 42.

63-70. The poem follows the more vivid account of

¹ The later edition has differences in text, notes, and glossary, as does not seem to be generally known. Even the *NED*, under *tevel*, quotes the older *tenel* from the first edition, rather than the later correction.

² Since this paper was written and accepted for publication Mr. Gollancz, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xiv, 152, has noticed Bateson's article and anticipated me in some suggestions. Where Gollancz and I wholly agree I have added a (G) at the close of my note, or to that portion with which he agrees. In other cases I have discussed his suggestions by additions to my original material. As I read proof, the notes of E. Ekwall (*Eng. Stud.* xlix, p. 483) have just come to hand.

Luke in the excuses made, rather than the more concise statement of Matthew.

64. The reading should be *als-tyd* 'at once, immediately,' as indicated in the glossary.

69. Bateson's emendation of the form *sower* to *swer* is unnecessary, since *ow* is used for *w* in several other cases in the poem; cf. *dowyne*, *Pearl*, 326, *dowelled*, *Clan.*, 376 and 1196, *wyndowande*, 1048. The form *swēr* beside *swōr* is found in the preterit.

72. Morris's change of the ms. *plate* to *place* is needless, since *plate* 'place, situation' is possible. The *NED* gives no ME. example, but quotes Phaer's *Æneid* vii T ii b, and the *Eng. Dial. Dict.* shows it is still dialectal in this sense in various parts of England, especially the North Midland. Such a compound as *grass-plat*(*plot*) in standard English preserves the short form of the same word.

106-7. Bateson's new punctuation of 107 is correct, but he has missed the meaning. *Denounced me noȝt* means 'announced (proclaimed, accepted) me not,' in accord with the earlier meaning of *denounce*. The words are thus equivalent to *renayed habbe* in the previous line (G.). The *NED* cites this passage with the questioned meaning of *renounce*, but quotes without *noȝt*, which in the older reading was placed in the second half line.

110. Morris proposed *is* before *demed*, but it is not necessary. The phrase *ȝat demed* modifies *dede* as an appositive.

117. & ay a segge soerly semed by her wedez.
Morris suggested *soberly* for *soerly*, but that does not clear up the passage. The plural *ledez* of 116 and *her wedez* of this show that a plural is intended, and *soerly* is probably *serly* 'severally, individually.' I therefore suggest,

& ay as segges serly semed by her wedez.

The two lost *s*'s have coalesced with those of the following and preceding words. The distribution according to rank, —here the clothing indicating rank,—is thoroughly characteristic of an English feast, though somewhat at variance with the Scripture story.

119. for-knowen 'known before.' The meaning is, 'Men in the company, known before to be clean (excellent), were few.'

127. Morris changes the ms. *poueuer* to *poueren* unnecessarily. The scribe has repeated *ue* here, one of his numerous similar repetitions. The correct form is *pouer* as in *Pearl*, 1075, or *pouere* as in lines 615 and 1074.

168. Morris suggests *fowle* for *sowle*, but needlessly. Perhaps the same as *sowly* with *y* for final *e*. Both *NED* and *EDD* cite a verb *sowl* 'soil, pollute'; cf. Sch. *sule* vb. 'soil.'

201. Bateson's proposal to read *sozt on soundely* for *sozt unsoundely* can scarcely be correct. If *un* were the adverb *on*, modifying *sozt*, it would bear the stress and destroy the alliteration, as it bears the stress in the passage from Layamon's *Brut* which Bateson cites. Besides, *unsoundely* may easily have an appropriate meaning. In *Patience*, 58, and I think in 527, the adj. *unsounde* is used as a substantive in the sense of 'misfortune, evil,' that is 'unhealthiness' to the person implied. Here the adv. has the meaning of 'unsoundly,' not in relation to God the avenger, but to the victim; I suggest 'harshly, grievously' (G.).

204-8. The punctuation is unfortunate. The sentence closes with line 204, and the end of the next line should have a comma, carrying on the sentence to the end of line 208.

211. *tra mountayne*, *tramountayne* in the first edition. The glossary in both cases badly misses the meaning of

OF. *tramontaine* 'pole star,' here 'north' in general. The common medieval notion, based on a misinterpretation of *Is.*, 14, 13-4; see Skeat's excellent note to *Piers Plow.*, B I, 118, although he does not cite this passage. Quotation marks belong at end of 212.

215. Bateson has missed the point, I think. The first *his* refers to the devil, the second to God: 'The Lord drove him to the abyss according to the measure of his (the devil's pride), his (God's) measure (of punishment) nevertheless, except he lost' etc. *Mesure and meþe*, which Bateson proposes because it occurs frequently in alliterative union, is paralleled perhaps quite as often by *mesure and met3*, that is *mets*, OE. *gemet* 'measure.'

Gollancz cannot be right, I think, in proposing an unknown OF. *mes* from the verb *amesen* 'moderate,' nor is his suggestion necessary with the proposal above.

222. Gollancz confirms from the ms. Bateson's conjecture of *sweved*, but rightly opposes his alteration to *sweyed*. *Sweved* would correspond to an OE. **swāfan*, parallel to ON. *sveiva*, the latter used in *Patience*, 253.

224. For *fylter* read *fylter(ed)*; cf. line 1689.

225. Bateson's note on *stynt ne myzt* is one of the most important of his article, especially for its examples of similar uses of *ne*. The late Mr. G. C. Macaulay, in writing of my note on *Pat.*, 231 (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxi, p. 1), expressed the opinion that the difficulty was not so great as I had assumed, and added:

"I am sure that many instances could be collected of this kind of echo of a preceding negative in a clause to which it does not properly belong."

He then cites *Havelok*, 722-3 and 2975-7. It is clear that there should be a fuller examination of the usage.

One may agree with Gollancz that the idiom may be due

to "confusion of two constructions," without agreeing that he has sufficiently explained *Patience*, 231 in his "special note" to that passage.

226. *for-pikke* should be *for pikke*, the adjective as a substantive, a use so common in these poems. For a modern example, compare *the thick of the woods*.

230. Bateson proposes for *wraþed* a word not known to exist. Is there not contrast between *wyȝ* and *wrech*, God and the devil? Cf. *þe wyȝe þat al wroȝt* in lines 280 and 284.

Gollancz's change to *wroth* seems to me unnecessary. *Wrathed* occurs in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 2420, where it has the meaning 'be beguiled, deceived.' The primitive meaning of OE. *wrāðian*, ME. *wrathen* as well as *wrōthen*, should be 'become twisted or turned,' from which both 'be deceived' and 'be angry' are possible derivatives. The primitive meaning 'twist, turn' may also have persisted and explain this passage in *Clannesse*. *Wrathed not þe wyȝ* would then mean 'God (þe wyȝ) turned (changed) not.' This is the meaning of the emended verb Gollancz assumes, although he regards *wyȝ* as referring to Satan. As I have said above I think there is contrast between *wyȝ*, here 'God,' and *þe wrech* 'the wretch,' that is Satan. Morris glossed *wrech* in this place as if it were *wrache* 'vengeance,' as in the preceding line, but in other places in the poems correctly as 'wretch.'

243. *forgart*. The meaning 'forfeit,' justified by ON. usage, is better than 'ruin' here and in *Pearl*, 321.

257-62. In his notes Morris proposed two changes, *forme-fostereȝ* for line 257 and *ledeȝ* for line 261. Bateson rightly opposes the first, but would add an unnecessary *on* before *þe folde*. The passage is clear as it stands, if we assume the meaning 'first generation' or 'offspring' for *forme-foster*, as does the *Ct. Dict.* which quotes this

passage under *foster* (G.). The general term is made more concrete by the next line. The word *lede* in 261 refers to Seth, the next after Adam to have children recognized in the Scripture genealogies; cf. *Gen.*, 5, 3, *Luke*, 3, 38, the poetical OE. *Genesis*, 1147, on the last of which my fuller note has now appeared in the *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xiv, 207.

265-8. Holthausen's note mentioned at the beginning of this paper is not adequate. To it should be added the explanation of Petrus Comestor, that the *filiis hominum* of the *Vulgate* were *de stirpe Cain et victi concupiscentia*. To this Methodius, referred to by Petrus, had joined the further implication of Sodomy. Our poet, however, does not make the *filiis Dei* sons of Seth, and *religiosi*, as in the *Historia Scholastica*, but *fendes*, as noted below.

269. *fende*. The form should be *fendes* to agree with a common medieval interpretation of *Gen.*, 6, 2, by which *filiis Dei* of the *Vulgate* were regarded as the fallen angels; see my 'Legends of Cain' (*Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xxi, p. 920). For the plural form cf. *fende3* of line 221.

271. fallen. We should probably read *fellen* (or *felle*), the past plural as in *Pearl*, 1120. If not a misreading of the ms. the form seems here to have been thought a past participle after *wern* of the preceding line. There is nothing in any interpretation known to me that would make possible the subject *dezter of þe douþe*.

313. Bateson's explanation of *dryven* as of a rare meaning seems to me needless. Is it any other than 'made, produced by the process of the work'?

Gollancz is quite too general in his translation, it seems to me. *Endentur*, which probably should be *endenture3*, may refer to any opening left in the building and requiring "daubing" with pitch. Can it also refer to the holes left by the pins or nails which bind together the

overlapping boards of the ark? In the picture of the boat from which Jonah is thrown (Gollancz's *Patience*) these holes are plainly indicated, and these might explain the poet's *dryven*.

The *NED* gives the meaning 'jointing by means of notches or indentations' with this one passage as an example, but with exactly what idea I can not see. If the boat was clinker built, as in the picture in *Patience*—see Gollancz's edition—a cross section of the side would appear something like teeth, the original meaning of the Old French word *endenteure*(-ure).

322. Gollancz's suggestion that *boskeȝ* is a mistake for *boskineȝ* (see his note on 1075) seems unnecessary in view of what is said of the animals when they leave the ark; compare line 530 f. Noah merely provided *boskeȝ* for such animals as usually lived in them, another bit of the poet's realistic addition to the Scripture.

341. While I agree with Gollancz that it is not necessary to hyphen *god man* because of the alliteration, I think it more than likely the word is a true compound, and for the reason Bateson suggested, that is a "designation of civility."

399. The first edition of the *Alliterative Poems* has no & after *fere*, and the notes to the second edition still retain that reading. I assume, however, that the text of the second edition, *fere &*, is correct.

408. *sprawlyng*. Morris gives no meaning, and Bradley-Stratmann only 'sprawl.' The meaning 'struggle' is here necessary.

421. For *flote* read *floted*, to agree with the tense of *drof* in line 416.

433-4. Gollancz passes over the difficulties of these lines too easily, it seems to me. To gloss *rozly* as 'rough' without accounting for the form is not helpful, and I do

not find *rozly* recorded. Besides, why should it be 'rough for the remnant' because of the loss of life mentioned in the preceding lines? What basis is there for Gollancz's 'mixed up pell-mell within'? *So joyst*, which both he and Bateson translate 'thus lodged' without otherwise explaining the word, is apparently a past participle of ME. *joissen* (cf. *rejoissen*) 'rejoiced, glad,' and the line means 'within which all species so happy were joined together.' This again would seem to require in *rozly* some such idea as Morris suggested by conjecturing *rwly* 'sorrowful,' or Skeat who proposed 'pleasant, glad,' as the meaning.

ME. *joissen* remains in Scotch and is cited for Lancashire by the EDD: "To be peaceably bruiked, joysid, set, used, and disposed upon." In support of the conjecture of Morris it may be said that, in the *Cursor Mundi* account of the flood, Noah pities the drowning people and even prays for their souls.

455. þat rebel wat3 ever. Hebrew legend (Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 1, p. 163) says that the raven rebelled at going from the ark, and proclaimed his hostility to both God and Noah, the former for placing him among the unclean animals. The raven even accused Noah of trying to get rid of him for personal reasons. St. Ambrose later used the raven and dove as types of evil and excellence. Compare *Liber de Noe et Arca*, cap. xviii: "Ut corvus malitiam, sic virtutem columba exprimit."

456. corbyal untrwe. Bateson assumes the form must have been *corbel*, perhaps influenced by Northern *corbie*. In spite of the appearance of *corbel* in *Gaw.*, 1355, I propose here *corby al untrwe* as a simpler settlement of the difficulty (G). The *al untrwe* would agree with the *rebel wat3 ever* in the preceding lines, besides being fully explained by Hebrew legend, as quoted in the preceding note. It is emphasized in the OE. *Genesis*, 1446 f., and in

Cursor Mundi, 1881-96. The latter shows that the raven had already become a type of the negligent or even traitorous messenger (1893-4), an idea which is especially expressed in Holland's *Houlate*: "How Corbie messenger . . . taryit as a traitour (812). The *Houlate* (or *Howlat*) was written about 1450, somewhat less than a century after *Clannesse*.

459. croukes . . . carayne. The story of the carrion, a part of the Hebrew legend, is found in the OE. *Genesis* and in Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*, 413-16. Holthausen notes only that Petrus Comestor (*Hist. Schol.*, cap. xxxiv) gives it as one explanation of the raven's not returning: "forte interceptus aquis, vel inveniens supernatans cadaver in aquis est illectus eo." St. Augustine knew the story (*Dialogus Quaestionum*, lxxv, Migne, 40, col. 750), the probable source of Petrus: "Corvus ut non reverteretur, aut aquis interceptus est, aut alicui cadaveri illectus insedit." The punctuation should be a comma after 459 and semicolon after 460, rather than the reverse.

With the passage may be compared the account of the deluge in the Old French *Mistère du Viel Testament* (*Société des Anciens Textes Français*), I, 6021, where Sem says to Noah:

Le corbeau est fin et ruse,
Peult estre qu'il c'est abuse
A la charongne.

469. Morris reads *doune*, but the correct reading is doubtless *douve* here and *dowve* in line 485. In 481, in which Morris reads *dovene*, we should probably read *dove* on the assumption that *ve* has been repeated by scribal error.

491. dry3ed. I suggest *dry3ehed* 'tediousness, dreariness.'

515. Alle þe mukel mayny molde. Morris's *on* before

molde is not needed. *Mayny* is *maine* with *y* for the final vowel, and means 'great, powerful.' There may be scribal confusion with *mayny* 'company,' but that word regularly appears with *ey*, not *ay*, in these poems. With this interpretation the line is nearer the *Vulgate Gen.*, 8, 21: "Nequaquam ultra maledicam terrae propter homines."

521. The imperative plurals in *-es* of all the other verbs in the passage require *menskeȝ* in this line.

550. Bateson opposes Morris's introduction of *ne* before *syttēȝ*, and the clause may mean only 'so that he is unchaste (sits unclean),' explaining the preceding expression.

Gollancz's interpretation, 'that fits him uncleanly,' takes no account of the fact that in this poet 'uncleanly' should be represented by *unclanly* (*unclanlych*); compare *clanly* in *Pearl*, 2, *clanlych* in *Clannesse*, 264, 310, 1089, 1327. Nor does Gollancz's reading of *me* (553) as an ethic dative seem to me correct. *ȝat schewe me schale* means 'that shall show me (point me out, reveal me),' a not uncommon use of *schewe*.

577. *ȝat* has probably been introduced from the preceding line and should be omitted.

578. The comma should be after *naȝt*, not after *hym*.

590. Morris suggests *ȝer* for *ȝre*, but the alliteration requires a stronger word. *ȝre* may be OE. *ȝrēa* 'rebuke, correction, punishment.' The line carries out the idea of 588, that no deed can escape God's sight, or just retribution.

599. draw allyt. In his notes Morris anticipated Bateson's *a lyt* 'a little.' The latter has otherwise misconceived the line. *Draw* means 'draw out, delay,' and *draw a lyt* is in contrast with *drepeȝ in hast*.

It is not clear to me why Gollancz is so sure the ms.

allyt is intentional, at least without justification of the statement from other examples of the idiom.

629. *cobhous*. Bateson's suggestion makes the word a tautological compound—cattleshed-house. This may be right, but I suggest an alternative which would avoid the difficulty. If *cob* really equals *cub*, it may be the word applied to small ones of the animal kingdom, first the fox, bear, wolf, dog, and perhaps as here the calf. The *Vulgate* has *armentum* 'cattle shed,' but as Abraham took a *vitulum*, and that *tenerrimum et optimum*—the *tender & not toze* of line 630—the poet may well have known that it probably was not in an ordinary cattle shed.

I leave the suggestion above, although if Gollancz is right that the ms. reads *cov-hous* 'cow-house' no comment is necessary on the passage. Morris plainly prints *cobhous* in both editions, but gives in the margin the suggested reading which Gollancz now says appears in the original text.

636-7. The punctuation shows that Morris misunderstood the lines. *Mete* of 637 is not OE. *mete* 'meat, food,' but OE. *mæte* 'meet, fit.' It therefore modifies *messeȝ of mylke*, and begins a new sentence, a semicolon at least being necessary at the close of 636. The meat of the feast is the *potage* of 637.

654. The suggestion of Morris to change *sothly* to *softly* or *sotly* is unnecessary. The words were true enough to Sarah. For the spelling see *sothful* in *Pearl*, 498.

655. for *tykel þat þou tonne moȝteȝ*. The *NED* puts *tykel* under *tickle* adj. meaning 'fickle, unreliable,' but the word also means 'pleasant, wanton.' I conceive it is here an adjective used as a substantive in the latter sense, and translates the *Vulgate voluptati* of Sarah's speech in *Gen.*, 18, 12. For *tonne* no adequate explanation has been

found, and I suggest it may be a misreading of *teme* 'bring forth.' The last two words of the line should translate or paraphrase the Latin *operam dabo*.

695-6. Holthausen (reference above) thinks based on Petrus Comestor, *Hist. Schol.*, cap. 52: "*usque ad ignominiosam libidinem proruperunt*." A better source, as more specific, is *Gen.*, 19, 5 and *Rom.*, 1, 24 f., passages which St. Augustine treats together in his discussion of 'Sodomia,' Migne, 40, col. 1326. *Fylter* of 696 should be *fyltere₃*; cf. line 224.

721. Now fyfty should be *Now if fyfty*, to correspond with the Scripture story.

730. & is here, as in 864 and 1027, and 'if.' Cf. *and* in the same sense in 739.

752. if my lorde, if he. The first *if* should be *of*.

771. This most interesting addition to the Bible account of Abraham's intercession seems to be wholly original with the English poet. At least it is not recorded in Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*, or in any other place so far as I have found. It deserves to rank with the humanizing of the Abraham-Isaac story in the Brome play. The word *meke* must be a verb meaning 'be meek or merciful,' a meaning justified by the Norse verb *m̃kja*. *Mayster* should then be separated as a word of address. In 772 *lef brother* is a strengthening of the relation of uncle to nephew in the Bible.

791. brere flour. The 'briar flower' is doubtless the white heath, *erica arborea*. Brere flour should be a compound.

795. We are indebted to Gollancz for the revised reading *aucly* for the printed *autly*. To his earlier instances of the word may be added from *Brad-Strat.* that of *Prompt. Parv.*, *aukli* 'sinistre, perverse.'

799. If the verb is to be introduced, it should probably

be in the form *sayt*₃, as in line 75, *Pearl*, 457, or perhaps *says* as in *Pearl*, 459.

819-21. The words should be quoted, since they are the exact speech of Lot. A colon should close line 818.

827. *scelt*. Apparently ON. *skella* 'clash,' also 'laugh loudly (as in scorn), scold,' or some derivative of *skjalla* with similar meaning.

846. *zestende sorze*. No change seems necessary in the last word. The first can scarcely be from OE. *gæstan*, as Morris suggests, since it would then have had *g* not *z* as its initial. If from OE. *gest* 'yeast' the meaning seems hardly strong enough, and no verb from that word is recorded. It has not been noticed, I think, that the form might come from OE. *ȳstan* 'storm, rage' through shortening and subsequent modification of the vowel. An OE. *gīst* 'storm' is recorded in Toller-Bosworth, though without reference, but the changes suggested are not impossible. A meaning 'raging' would admirably fit the passage.

Gollancz's attempt to connect *sorze* with the word in *Patience* 275 is unnecessary, since *sorze* 'sorrow' occurs several times in the poems and would here be appropriate to the Sodomites because of the frustration of their designs.

848. I agree with Gollancz that Bateson's proposal of OF. *briche* is not needed. I suggest that OE. *bryce* 'breakable, worthless, bad' may here be a substantive 'evil.' Gollancz's idea of *up-braydez* as two words seems equally needless, since the meaning 'hurl up, throw up' would be practically the same in either case. The alliteration and stress is also clearly on *braydez* as we should expect if part of a compound.

855. *woned no woþe*. The meaning is 'refrained from, turned from,' not 'delay, cease' as Morris in glos-

sary; cf. OE. *wandian*. *Allas* of 953 should be enclosed in quotation marks, as spoken by Lot.

912. End of speech, and quotation marks needed.

915. *hem* should be *hym*.

945. *kayre-ne con*. Morris's form of the first word, in his glossary assumed to be an infinitive *kayrene*, is impossible. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English*, p. 64, gives to *kayre* a meaning 'return' as well as 'go,' and this admirably fits this passage. We should therefore read *kayre ne con* 'can not return.' The change to the past tense in *flowen* is not strange for this writer.

956. *swe*. The suggestion of *sweyed* by Morris perhaps led the *NED* to assume a form *swzy*, OE. **swēgan* 'go, move.' That the form should be past tense is clear from the parallel *gorde* of the next line. The natural past tense of the ms. word would be *swed*, corresponding to *sued* in *Gaw.*, 501, 1705. Nor is *swe* 'follow, pursue, chase,' as in Layamon's *Brut*, 16437, Gloucester's *Chron.* (Rolls), 2941, at all impossible. So also *swyed* in line 87, each possible from OF. *suer*, *suir*. From these must of course be separated forms with *ey*, *e3*, like *swey*, *swez*, which may represent the OE. verb mentioned above as probably existing. It is not clear from Bateson's note whether he had the OF. verb in mind, but his emendation is unnecessary it seems to me.

Professor Ekwall (*Eng. Stud.*, XLIX, p. 483) would make *swe* OE. *swēog*, without accounting for the lack of diphthong or the loss of final *g*.

958. *Abdama & Syboym*. Clearly based on the names of the destroyed cities in the *Vulgate Deut.*, 29, 23—"Adama et Seboim." They are not mentioned in *Genesis* 19 (but see *Gen.*, 14, 2) or in Petrus Comestor, but the *Aldama* cited by Bateson from Mandeville's *Travels* is probably only one of several transformations.

961-2. It is not strange that *þe helle* should here be masculine and referred to by *he* in the next line. The passage would then mean 'For when hell heard the hounds of heaven (that is the winds of 948, thunder of 953, perhaps rain of 953), he was suddenly glad, unfolded (opened) at once.' The *he* of 963 would also refer to hell or the devil. *Houndez of heaven* is a fine figure, one might almost think handed down from heathen times. Hell is made a person also in the OE. *Nicodemus*, xxvi, and in *Curs. Mund.*, 18025, so that the personal use in this passage is not exceptional.

979 f. A number of extra-biblical items. Of Lot's wife, *þat never bode keped* is explained in 996 f. *Over her lyfte shulder* (981) is perhaps the earliest recorded example of this expression, here apparently indicating ill-fortune. *And so ho zet standez* (984) is quoted from Petrus Comestor who himself mentions Josephus as his source. *þay slypped bi & syze hir not* (985) is perhaps the poet's own explanation of a point not cleared up by the Scripture narrative. The reference in 1000 appears in Hebrew legend (Ginzberg I, 255): "The pillar exists unto this day. The cattle lick it all day long, and in the evening it seems to have disappeared, but when morning comes it stands there as large as before."

1003. Morris adds *so* needlessly before *much*. He has taken *nomon* as *no mon* 'no man,' but it is equal to *numen* pp. 'taken.' For *-on* equals *-en* see *schepon*, that is *schepen* 'stable' in 1076.

1035. *angre*. Morris suggests *augré* for *aigré* 'sharp,' but with a question. The word is merely the adj. *angre* in an older meaning 'troublesome, annoying.'

1037. *waxlokes*. In explaining this passage C. F. Brown (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xix, 151) translates this

word as 'wax lumps.' It is perhaps nearer to OE. *locc* 'lock,' since the sticky mass might easily suggest hair.

1040. *festred* bones. Morris suggested *festres*, but the past participle from a ME. *festren* with the meaning 'putrify, rot' better suits the place. The *NED* gives no quotation with that meaning before 1540, but earlier use in that sense is entirely possible.

1053. *clene layk* should be *clenelayk* 'purity, chastity,' Orm's *clænle33c*. This Orm uses of Mary in Vol. 1, 85, 86, 159, beside *clænnesse* on the same page. Alliteration on the secondarily stressed element of the compound is not uncommon; cf. *wayferende* (79), *overþwert* (1084), *Nabigo-de-no3er* (1312), and many others.

1057. *Clopyngel*. The passage in *Rom. of Rose* is 2159-2852 (ME. version 2175-2950). There is little in the god of love's speech which has to do with the subject of this poem, although the lover is asked at the beginning to put aside villainy and pride.

1076. *schroude hous*. The word is a compound *schroude-hous*, corresponding to Icl. *skrūð-hūs* 'vestry,' and we may doubtless assume 'tiring house of priests' as the meaning here.

1092. *ungoderly*. The form has not been explained, but as a Scandinavian word with final (even inflectional) *r* was occasionally borrowed in that form, this may be based on Scand. *gōð-r*, influenced by ME. *gōd* 'good.' Cf. ME. *hazer*, *hazherrle33c*, *hazherrlike*, and Björkman, *Scand. Loan-Words in Middle English*, p. 17. The meaning of the word is clearly 'ungoodly, evil.'

1099. *also-tyd*. Should be *al so tyd* 'all so quickly.'

1111. *sovly*. The change by Morris to *soverly* is unnecessary. A verb *sowl* has remained to Modern English in the sense required. See *sowle* in 168, of which this may be a variant with final *y* for *e*.

1123. & wax ever. The suggestion of Morris, in his notes, that we should read & *wax ho ever* seems necessary.

1124. in pyese. Morris's interpretation 'whole' seems justified, in spite of Bateson's reference to Pliny. That pearls are broken, scaled off, and otherwise divided may easily have been known to the English poet.

If, as Gollancz suggests, *pyese* is OF. *pais* 'peace,' I conjecture some medieval reference to human influence upon the pearl. The passage would then mean, it retains its lustre while "in peace," but loses it when not cherished (1125); it regains it when washed in wine "with worship (renewed appreciation)" as in line 1127. Yet some search has not yet revealed any medieval basis for this idea.

1127. wasch . . . in wyn. Pearls are still cleaned with a dilute solution of alcohol (*Book of the Pearl* by Kunz and Stevenson, p. 396), and a sour wine might have been used for the same purpose in the Middle Ages.

1141. Þene efte lastes hit likkes. Morris makes *lastes* a verb, but it may better be the noun *laste* 'fault, evil': 'Then again evil it likes,' that is 'if it likes evil' etc. In the next line *þewes* must be *þeves*, as Morris suggests with a question. The noun *laste* occurs in *Pat.*, 198.

1165. forloyne. Should be *forloyned*, as in 282.

1226. noble. Probably should be *nobles*; cf. *fende* = *fendes* (269).

1234. tuyred. The *NED* assumes the word is *tyrved*, as in 630 and Gollancz now agrees. Such an assumption makes no attempt to account for the form, or the manner in which it came to exist. I suggest it may be for OE. *teorian* 'tire, cause to fall, weaken,' since the poet sometimes uses *uy* for OE. *eo* before *r*, as in *buyrne* (*Pat.*, 340) beside the commoner *burne* 'man,' and commonly for *i*, as in *huyde* 'hide,' *kuy*, 'ky, cows.' The meaning

of OE. *teorian* would suit as well as ME. *tirren*, or may we not say better? In the line *torne* should be *torned*.

1267. *hokyllen*. The sense requires the past tense of some verb, so that if the suggestion of Morris in his glossary is to be taken it should be *holkked* as in 1222. But the meaning of that word, 'gouge out, hollow out' does not well suit. I propose *hom kyllled* 'struck them' assuming that *ho* should have the bar above indicating *m* or *n*.

1291. *numnend*. Morris's conjecture *nummen* 'taken' must be right, and that form of *numen* occurs in *Pat.* 76.

1303. *modey moder chylde*. The last two words should be a compound, *moder-chylde*, as in *King Horn*, 664 and other places. Note how the reading as a compound improves the matter, as in the case of *brere-flour* (791), and *schroude-hous* (1076).

1336. *ne no*. Clearly should be *ne on*, as Morris conjectures.

1358. *vouche on a vayment*. Bateson labors too unnecessarily on the passage. In his notes to the second edition Morris had put together *avayment*, glossing it 'exhibition' (G.). *On* may be an 'an' without change of form, as in *Pearl*, 9, 530, 869. In our idiom the words mean no more than 'make an exhibition.'

1381. *wunder wrozt*. Bateson suggests a compound, comparing OE. *wunder-weorc*. The comparison is unfortunate, since *wunder* in the oldest period was a sb. In Middle English, however, it became an adj.-adv., and as the latter it here properly modifies *wrozt*; cf. Chaucer's *wonder nyce* in *Troil.*, II, 24.

1381. *wruxeled*. Morris glosses 'raised,' but 'varied' better follows the meaning of the OE. verb. Here we may assume 'ornamented' as the slightly modified sense.

1384. *umbe þour-with . . . palle*. The first words should be *umbe-þour*, the last part for *þōr* 'there' and the

whole for 'thereabout.' An *ou* for *o* appears in other places, as in *fourferde* (560), *four* 'for' (756). Morris glosses *palle* here as 'fine cloth,' as if it were the same word as in 1637. This word is *palle* 'barrier, fence of stakes' from OF. *pal*, Lat. *pālus* 'stake,' as shown by *NED*.

1391. þe halle to hit med. As *hit* is both plural and singular, the words mean 'the hall in their middle or midst.' This is further described in the next line, which should not be separated by any pause. A comma should be put before *þe*.

1393. to usched. Bateson's proposal of *to ysched* destroys the alliteration, which requires a *t*-word. In the glossary to his second edition Morris suggested the word might be *tousched* 'touched,' and the *sch* for *ch* of *church* is not unknown to the poet; cf. *Gaw.* 334 where *schere* is our *cheer* (G.). Knigge, *Die Sprache des Dichters Sir Gawain* etc. (p. 114), also so explains *tousched* of this passage.

1394. dere. Mätzner glosses the word here as 'Menschen,' but that is too weak. It is of course the adj. used as a sb., but in the meaning 'noble, illustrious' rather than 'dear, beloved,' both meanings being found even in Old English. The word is here equivalent to 'nobles,' and in 1399 to 'the illustrious one,' Belshazzar himself.

1396. stayred stones. Morris thought *stayred* was *stared*, which he translated 'shone,' but it is rather ME. *stayren* (*steiren*) 'ascend.' The line may be taken as explaining *sete* of 1395, 'steep raised (ascended) stones of his proud throne.' If this is correct, Morris's proposal of *þe* before *stones* becomes needless.

1397. halle flor. A compound, as in the case of several other words already mentioned.

1398. *bounet*. That is *boured* 'prepared, set themselves,' with final *t* for *d* as often.

1402. *sturnen trumpen*. The first is doubtless *sturne*, since no other certain example of an adj. with *-en* in the plural is found in the poems. *Trumpen* is itself a sufficiently remarkable *-en* plural, since it is a foreign derived word and nominative rather than genitive, as are most other examples; cf. *blonkken bak* of 1412, *besten blod* of 1446, *hellen wombe* of *Pat.*, 306.

1403. *wrasten krakkes*. With this should be compared the description of the feast and the *crakkyng of trumpes* in *Sir Gawain* 116 f. For *wrasten* as applied to music it may be mentioned that OE. *wræstan*, its original, was used for playing the harp, and in *Jos. of Arim.* (EETS p. 49) ME. *wrastes* is used for the notes of the nightingale.

1406. *seerved*. This is the alteration by Morris of the ms. *severed*. I suggest that the latter may be *sewered*, from a verb *sewer* 'serve.' . . . Such a verb *sewer* 'act as sewer at a meal' is given by the *NED* with an example of 1553, but may have been used earlier.

1410. *foler*. The change to *felor*, suggested by Bateson as better, is wholly needless (G.). OF. *ue* quite as often gives ME. *o* as *e*. See the numerous examples in Behrens, *Die Französischen Sprache in England*, p. 152; cf. *NED* under *feloure*.

1414. In spite of Gollancz's agreement with Bateson in accepting *tukket* for ms. *tulket*, I prefer to follow the *NED* in referring the form to ON. *tulka* 'speak, sound.'

1423. *waytez onwyde*. The *NED* defines this as 'widely,' but such a definition will not fit here or in *Cursor Mundi*, 8667. In the latter it is glossed 'not far off,' and here 'not widely' is surely correct. He looks at things near by and sees not the larger relations.

1458. foul. The conjecture *ful* by Morris must be right.

1459. Enbaned under batelment with bantelles quoynt. *Enbaned* here, and in a similar idiom of *Gaw.*, 790, has never been explained. I suggest that it may be OF. *enbandé* (*embandé*) 'surrounded, encompassed, girt, bordered.' The form may then be a miswriting of the French word, or an English past participle based upon it, *enbanded*, perhaps with one *d* lost by a sort of dissimilation. *Bantelles*, that is *bandelles* 'little bands,' makes this identification more probable.

1460. ferlyle. Must be the adv. written *ferlili* in 962. The poet sometimes interchanges final *e* and *y(i)*, as *be* for *by* (819), *by* for *be* in 104, 212, 356, 1610, and *bi* for *be* in 1330.

1463. apert. Bateson's suggestion of OF. *aperti* is not convincing, especially since no other case of that word is recorded in English, while *apert* 'openly' is found in *Pearl.*, 588, and *Gaw.*, 154, 2392 (G.).

1473. tryfled. Doubtless based on OF. *treflé* 'adorned with trefoils,' rather than OF. *trefoil*, *trefuel*, which gave ME. *trefoil*. An OF. form with *i* probably also existed as the nearer ancestor.

1474. Bi uche bekyrande þe bolde, þe brurdes al umbe. To assume that, in this elaborate description of the ornamented and jeweled drinking cups, there is suddenly injected a reference to bickering of bold men, and as sudden return to the description seems to me impossible. I propose therefore *bi uche bekyr ande bole, þe brurdes al umbe*. In line 1461 the poet began the description of the *coperounes of the covacles*, as we must now read the word (see reference to Bödtker at beginning of this paper), that is 'tops of the golden cups.' The descrip-

tion is mainly closed with line 1472, where there should be a semicolon. He then adds of the *brurdes* 'borders': 'So trailed and trefoiled across were all the borders about *bi* (of) each beaker and bowl.' For trailed 'overspread with intertwining tracery' see Spenser, *F. Q.*, V, v. 2. The *NED* gives the first example of *beaker* with the stressed vowel *e* as of 1440, but that need hardly weigh against the reading here proposed. The scribal error *þe bolde* for *bole* may be due to misunderstanding of the passage, or to anticipating the following *þe brurdes*.

1476. *flee3 of golde*. Professor Ekwall (*Eng. Stud.*, XLIX, p. 484) objects to 'fleece,' the gloss of Morris, and proposes 'fly' from OE. *flēoge*. The suggestion is pleasing if the Middle English sense of 'bee' is intended, as in Chaucer's *Parl. of Foules*, 353, but unfortunately the plural of OE. *flēoge* should appear as *flyzes* in the poem, as it does in *Sir Gawain*, 166. In the sense of a flocky or fleece-like background 'fleece' is not impossible. Otherwise, if the suggestion is adopted, we should assume scribal error for *flyzes* or *flyze3*.

1477. *dresset*. For *dressed*, with final *t* for *d* as often.

1484. *waged*. Referred by Morris to OE. *wagian*, but this became *wazien*, *wawen*. The word is Scandinavian *vagga* 'wag, move.'

1491. I suggest inserting *þer* before *soþefast* and repunctuating. A comma should take the place of the semicolon at end of 1490, a comma should be placed after *sanctorum*, and that at the end of the line deleted.

1507. *vus*. In his notes Morris suggests perhaps *bus* 'drink,' MnE. *bouse*, but it is rather *us* 'use' with the alliteration on *bede*.

1512. *machches*. Morris assumes the word is a noun, but surely this is a verb 'matches,' and *machches* with the preceding *for* means no more than 'serves.'

1518. As Bateson mentions, some *d*-word has been omitted, but I think his *dressed dere* can be improved. I suggest, as better metrically, *þenne derely arn dressed*.

1525. *gaules*. Bateson says must be 'wretches,' but without explaining. The word *gall* 'sore on a horse' is recorded as early as 1537 in sense of 'person or thing that harrasses' (*NED*). *Gaul* as a geographical name is first recorded by the *NED* as of 1563. One of these words doubtless accounts for the form in *Clannesse*, and it seems to me the geographical name in an opprobrious sense is quite as likely to be the original.

1532. in contrary of *þe candelstik*. Perhaps the *Vulgate*, *Dan.* 5, 5, *contra candelabrum*, accounts for the words.

1540. *stonde*. Morris glosses 'blow,' but the word is a spelling of *stounde* 'moment, time, hour.' Morris has wrongly glossed the latter form of the word for *Pearl*, 20.

1543. *ryth*. According to Bateson the *NED* alters to *ryther*, but I do not find under *rother* to which it refers the word. The word may be based on an unrecorded OE. **hrīth*, OS. *hrīth*, beside OE. *hrīðer* and with the same meaning 'ox, bull.' (G). On the other hand it has not been pointed out that the word might be OE. *ryðða* 'mastiff, hound,' which might be thought of as roaming and roaring like a bull.

1551. *bok lered*. Should be a compound, OE. *bōcge-lāred*, as Bradley-Stratmann recognizes.

1559. *ede*. The change to *bede*, suggested by Morris, is not absolutely necessary. 'He went to seek men throughout the city' does not necessarily mean that the king himself made the journey.

1595. *redles*. Another case of adj. for sb., since *redlesnes* would be the expected form. Compare, among many others, for *þikke* in 504.

1629. & at beginning of line has probably been brought down by error from the preceding line.

1646-48. *lykes* in the first and *desyre* in the second should be *lyked* and *desyred*, to agree with other verbs of the context. *Bityde* (1647) may be a past tense for *bitydde*, or otherwise should be changed to *bityded*.

1661. blasfemyon. Should be *blasfemy*, with *on* an adv. if it is retained. The length of the line suggests that *on* is probably a mistake.

1681. His hert heldet unhole. The last word is glossed by Morris 'badly,' but I suggest that it is another adj. used as a sb. and means 'evil,' the subject of the verb *heldet*, i. e. *helded*.

1684. ay. Morris in notes conjectures *hay* and that seems likely, although *ay* 'ever' could be retained.

1687. mony þik thyze. In his side-note Morris glosses, 'His thighs grew thick,' but this corresponds to nothing in the Scripture story and is scarcely a good translation. 'There many a thick thigh pressed about his flesh' seems to mean only that the animals of the herd pressed upon him as he fed, that is he was wholly one of them.

1690. wykes. Morris glosses 'member, part,' although referring to ON. *vik*. In *Gaw.*, 1572 the word is used for the corners of a boar's mouth, and such use is probable here. To the poet Nebuchadnezzar has become an ox in reality, and the hair of his neck reaches to his mouth.

1692. clyvy. Morris assumes a verb 'cleave,' but I suggest OE. *clife* 'bur,' with final *y* for *e* as already noticed in some other words.

1695. campe hores. Bradley-Stratman gives no such form, but under *kempe* adj. refers to this place and to Chaucer's *Kt. T.*, 1276:

And lyk a griffon loked he aboute,
With kempe heres on his browes stoute.

The two expressions are undoubtedly connected, but this is a direct ON. borrowing of *kamp-r* 'beard, mustache' and *hār* 'hair.' It means literally 'whisker hairs,' or as we should say 'shaggy,' the somewhat weaker meaning given by Bradley-Stratmann. Both this and the Southern form of Chaucer should be recognized as compounds.

1697. *paune*. To assume *panne* as Morris thought possible does not assist in meaning. Bateson's *paume* is also a less likely form than to take *paune* as an *en*-plural of OF. *pau* 'paw, foot' with final *e* not pronounced as often. (G). The form Bateson suggests does occur in the *Gawain* (1155), but there means 'antlers.' For the *-en* plural cf. *Trumpen* 1402.

1698. *ouer-brawden*. Morris glosses 'covered over,' but I suggest that 'bent over' would better suit the place and complete the idea intended.

1703. *laved*. Morris's conjecture *loved* seems justified by sense, and by other places where *a* and *o* have been confused. This Bödtker pointed out in reference at head of this article, when explaining *canacles* (1461), *conacle3* (1515).

1717. *in þede*. The gloss of Morris, 'brewer's strainer,' although adopted by the *NED*, is surely impossible. Or if Belshazzar did undertake to serve wine in brewer's strainers he should have lost his kingdom. It has not been noted, I think, that the poet has made a somewhat radical departure from the original in *Dan.* 5, 23. In lines 1443-5 he tells us that 'the altar of brass which had been blessed by bishops' hands' had been set up. Here he makes out that 'wine which had been, or should have been, blessed by the bishop had been brought *in þede*.' The sin is not alone in using the consecrated vessels, but in using in them

wine for common purposes. The poet's conception is of the medieval sacramental service. Now *in þede* fits this conception, because it is merely OE. *on (in) þēode* 'among the people, among men.' This is also the meaning of the same expression in *Gaw.*, 1499, while *in are þede* of *Pearl*, 711 means 'among the people of old.' The gloss of Morris, 'country,' is the less natural one from OE. usage, and less appropriate in all these cases.

1747. a lof calde. Such is the reading of the second edition, the first having *alof called*. With the latter reading before him Morris had suggested that *alof* might be for *aloft*, but the emendation was dropped from the second edition. Bateson, without examining the second edition, proposes the form Morris last used. Both are wrong, however. The line should read:

þe comynes al of Calde þat to þe kyng longed.

With the preceding line then the sense is: 'Bold Belshazzar bade that all the commons of Chaldea who belonged to the king should bow to him,' that is Daniel. (G).

1761. þorþ þe lyst of þe lyfte. Morris glosses *lyst* 'path, border,' assuming a word not otherwise found in English, but occurring in Dutch. This seems to depend on his recognizing for *lyfte* only the meanings 'heavens, sky,' rather than the commoner 'air, breeze.' With the latter in mind the expression would seem to mean only 'through the pleasure of the breeze.'

1764. at forþ naztes. The homely reality of the preceding lines suggest that we may have here also a bit of English life. As the light of the sky darkens and the mist drives down, each man hies to his home, sits at supper, sings thereafter, then finds his bedfellow *at forþ naztes*. I conjecture that we may have here a compound word of

time, a derivative of OE. *feorþa* 'fourth' and *naȝt* 'night,' after the manner of OE. *feorþ-rīce*, 'fourth part of a kingdom.' Such a compound, *forþ-naȝt*, 'fourth part of the night,' would then be an equivalent for 'bedtime,' or about nine o'clock at night. This would not be impossible if the true form is *forþ-naȝtes* as Morris prints, with *es* in italics as not written out in the ms.

1776. *scaȝed*. Bateson would alter to *scaled*, but it is unnecessary. The general sense of *scaȝed* 'injured, harmed' is made more specific in the following lines. The description follows the lines of a medieval attack on a walled city.

I see no reason to change my note on account of Gol-lancz's suggestion of *scayed* as the poet's mistake for *scayled*, supporting it from the Northern form *skayles* of *Morte Arthur*, 3034.

1777. *upon*. Sense and syntax require the adverb *up* should be separated from the preposition *on*, the latter alone governing *lofte*.

1808. *telled*. Morris was certainly justified in suggesting *telles*.

The punctuation of the poem needs more complete revision than these notes would indicate. The poet often fails to indicate the relations of parts of his sentences, using parallel or adversative clauses without the usual connectives, besides other peculiar forms of sentence structure.

Perhaps it may be worth noting that, if the suggestions of this paper are accepted, the following words appear at dates earlier than hitherto recorded: *beaker* (1474); *corby* (456); *fester* 'putrify, rot' (1040), *forknowen* 'fore-known' (119); *plate* 'place, situation' (27); *sewer* 'act as sewer at a meal' (1406). Besides, the following compounds should be recognized as such in Middle English

dictionaries: *brere-flour* (791); *campe-hor*, South Midland
kempe-her 'whisker hair, bristly hair' (1695); *clenelaik*
'purity' (1058); *halle-flor* (1397); *schroude-hous* 'tiring
house of priests' (1076).

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

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XXIII.—THE YOUNG MAN BETROTHED TO
A STATUE

I

One of the many interesting stories current in the Middle Ages is that of a young man who puts his marriage ring on the finger of a statue of Venus and is surprised to find that the image, taking the matter *au sérieux*, jealously forbids him the embraces of his earthly bride. Its relation to a large group of miracles of the Virgin has been frequently noticed (for example, by Mussafia¹ and by Ward and Herbert²); it has received some attention from students of Mérimée as the source of his *Vénus d'Ille*; and Massmann, in his edition of the *Kaiserchronik* (1849-1854) collected a large number of variants (together with

¹ *Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden in Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, i (CXIII, 1886, Heft 2, pp. 917 ff.; ii (CXV, 1887, Heft 1, pp. 5 ff.; iii (CXIX, 1889, Abh. 9); iv (CXXIII, 1890, Abh. 8); v (CXXXIX, 1896, Abh. 8); reprinted separately, Heft i, 1887, ii, 1888, etc. My references below are to the *Sitzungsberichte*.

² *Catalogue of Romances*, London, II, 1893, III, 1910.

an almost equal number of faulty references). But Graf³ is the only scholar who has studied it in any detail, and his treatment is far from complete. I propose here to bring together the scattered materials of previous students, both of the story of the ring-betrothal to the Venus statue and of the Virgin miracle. I shall add no new versions of either story, but I shall discuss the former from a point of view radically different from Graf's, and shall endeavour to follow the tale from its obscure beginnings before William of Malmesbury, through its adaptation as a miracle of the Virgin, down to some of its present literary forms.

The materials and motifs of which the Venus story is composed are various, partly primitive folk-lore, and partly classical, post-classical, and early mediæval tradition; but there is no direct evidence for dating the full-formed narrative earlier than about 1100. The earliest known version is that of Malmesbury,⁴ who introduces it

³ Arturo Graf, *Roma nella memoria del medio evo*, Torino, 1883, vol. II.

⁴ A. P. Villemain, *Histoire de Grégoire VII*, Paris, 1873, I, pp. 273-5, relates the story and assigns it to Ekkehard of the tenth century—presumably, therefore, Ekkehard I of St. Gall. Villemain cites Hermann von Corneio, *Chronicon III apud Ekkardum* [Johann Georg von Eckhart, *Corpus Historicum Medii Ævi*, Leipzig, 1723, II, col. 587-8]. Aug. Filon, *Mérimée et ses amis*, Paris, 1894, pp. 97 ff., follows Villemain, and pp. 358-60 reprints, with slight omissions, Korner's version. Now Korner, a Lübeck chronicler who died about 1437-8, does assign the story to Ekkehard; but Korner was notoriously reckless about citing authorities; "sehr unzuverlässiger Compiler," says Potthast, "besonders in Rücksicht seiner Quellenangaben." The principal books that he actually followed were Henry of Herford's *Liber de rebus memorabilioribus*, Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, and the *Chronicon pontificum* of Martin von Troppau. From the first of these he largely acquired the habit of loose citation, and (what interests us chiefly here) derived his practice of ascribing this and that to a vague "Egghardus." His references to Vincent de Beauvais, however, are usually correct; and since he names Vincent in his sentences preliminary to the Venus

simply with the phrase: "ut Romam revertar," and gives no hint of his source. Indeed, wherever he learned it, he must have felt that it was too good a tale to be omitted, and with characteristically mediæval unconcern for a reasonable pretext, he inserted it in his *History* when it occurred to him, assuming—and properly, of course—that no apology was needed.⁵

At Rome there was a wealthy young man of noble birth, and newly married, who was accustomed to entertain his friends with frequent feasts.⁶ One day as they went out into a field to settle their dinner by playing ball he took off his marriage ring and put it on the finger of a bronze statue of Venus nearby. When the game was finished he found the statue's finger so bent that it was impossible to withdraw the ring; nor could he break the finger. He said nothing to his companions about it, but that night went back to the image with a servant; and found the finger again straight and the ring gone. Still concealing his loss, he returned to his wife, but as he got into bed he felt come between him and his wife "quiddam nebulosum et densum, quod posset sentiri, nec posset videri." Then the phantom spoke: 'Lie with me, whom you have married today. I am Venus, on whose finger you placed your ring, and I will not give it back.'

Some time elapsed, during which the youth was prevented by the

story, it is more than likely that he took his version from the *Speculum Historiale* xxvi, 29, and threw in the "secundum Egghardum" a couple of times perhaps as make-weight, perhaps merely for variety's sake. At all events, nothing can be gained by using his phrase as warrant for a literary version of the Venus story before William of Malmesbury. It does not occur, of course, in the Waltharius of Ekkehard I; nor in the *Casuum S. Galli continuati* I of Ekkehard IV; nor in the chronicles of Eccehardus Uraugiensis. (On Korner cf. especially *Die Chronica Novella des Hermann Korner*, ed. J. Schwalm, Göttingen, 1895, pp. xviii ff.)

⁵ *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, Rolls Edition (ed. Wm. Stubbs), London, 1887, I, pp. 256-8 (Book II, §205); Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Ger. Scriptores*, X, p. 471.

⁶ One of the manuscripts has glosses giving the youth's name as Lucianus, and his wife's as Eugenia, which were incorporated in later manuscripts. "These glosses," says the editor, "would seem to show that the story existed in another shape as late as the thirteenth century." But this is not a certain inference.

statue from intimacy with his wife; until finally, aroused by her complaints, he related the whole affair to his parents; and they in turn laid the matter before Palumbus, a certain "presbyter suburbanus," skilled in necromancy. Palumbus, incited by promise of a considerable reward, wrote a letter and gave it to the youth, saying: "Vade illa hora noctis ad compitum ubi se findit in quadruvium, et stans tacite considera"; a company of both sexes, of all ages and conditions, on foot and on horse, some merry and some sad, will pass by, but you must maintain silence. They will be followed by a man "statura procerior, forma corpulentior" than the rest: give him the letter, and he will do forthwith what you wish.

It all happened as the priest said. Among the procession was a woman "ornatu meretricio" riding a mule; "crinis solutus humeris involitabat, quem vitta aurea superne constrinxerat; in manibus aurea virga qua equitaturam regebat; ipsa, pro tenuitate vestium pene nuda, gestus impudicos exaquabatur." The last one was their chief. He gave the youth a terrible look and asked what he wanted. But the young man remained silent and held out the letter. The *dæmon*, not daring to disregard the familiar seal, read the writing, lifted up his hands to heaven and said: 'Almighty God, how long wilt thou suffer the iniquities of the priest Palumbus?' But without delay he dispatched his followers to extort the ring from Venus. At length she gave it up; and the youth regained the long-hindered love of his wife. Palumbus, however, hearing the *dæmon's* cry to God, knew that the end of his days was near, and soon after died a wretched death, all his limbs torn apart—"confessus (adds William) papæ coram populo Romano inaudita flagitia."

About the middle of the thirteenth century Vincent de Beauvais tells the story in his *Speculum Historiale* xxvi, 29, and places it in Rome at the time of Emperor Henry III. From a comparison of Vincent's version with William of Malmesbury's it would seem that the former had William's text before him, which he condensed somewhat, at the same time toning down the rather highflown 'classical' manner. And to these two, William of Malmesbury and Vincent de Beauvais, nearly all the mediæval versions of the story may be directly or indirectly traced.

The English chroniclers draw of course from the former. Ralph of Diceto gives a dry summary of the tale, which he

places in the year 1036.⁷ In the *Flores Historiarum* compiled at St. Albans by John de Cella about 1200 and continued by Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, the story is dated about 1058.⁸ Higden, under the same date, has a condensed version which he introduces with the rubric "Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo,"⁹ and in which he uses the names Lucianus and Eugenia found in some of the manuscripts of Malmesbury. Henry of Knighton borrowed from Higden almost word for word;¹⁰ Bromton's version, probably also dependent on Higden, is about twice as long.¹¹ In Fordun's *Scotochronicon*, lib. vii, cap. xxx, the date is likewise 1058 and the text is very clearly abbreviated from William of Malmesbury.¹²

Besides the historians, who copy it more or less automatically, two of the famous mediæval collections of tales contain the story. The *Speculum Laicorum*, composed in England towards the end of the thirteenth century, and usually attributed to John of Hoveden, introduces it by "Legitur in gestis Romanorum," which is doubtless an error for the *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury.¹³

⁷ *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, in Twysden, *Hist. Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, vol. i, col. 471; Rolls ed., i, pp. 178-80.

⁸ Matthew Paris, Rolls Series, vol. i, p. 527; *Flores Hist.*, Rolls Series, vol. i, p. 577. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, part iii, sec. 2, mem. 1, subs. 1, in telling the story cites as his source "Florilegus ad a. 1058," probably meaning the *Flores Historiarum*.

⁹ *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, vol. vii, pp. 200 ff. Trevisa's translation does not alter the story.

¹⁰ Twysden, vol. ii, col. 2335; Rolls Series, vol. i, p. 44.

¹¹ Twysden, vol. i, col. 950.

¹² Ed. Goodall, Edinburgh, 1759, i, pp. 407-8.

¹³ So in ms. Addit. 11284 of the British Museum (Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, iii, p. 403, No. 538). In the *Thesaurus Exemplorum*, Fascicule V. *Le Speculum Laicorum*, ed. J. Th. Welther, Paris, 1914, it is chap. LXXX: 'De Sortilegio.' It is printed entire by J. K. Ingram in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. ii, ser. ii (1883), p. 140.

As in certain manuscripts of Malmesbury, the Roman youth is named also Lucianus, and his wife Eugenia. The *Alphabetum Narrationum*, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, formerly ascribed to Etienne de Besançon, but more probably by Arnold of Liège, entitles it 'Sponsalia contrahuntur per anuli tradicionem,' and refers it to William of Malmesbury.¹⁴

In the *Myreur des histors* by D'Outremeuse the story is again taken from William of Malmesbury; but it is remarkable as being told from the point of view of Palumbus.¹⁵

From Vincent of Beauvais's version in the *Speculum Historiale* several copies were made. That of Korner has been already mentioned.¹⁶ In the fifteenth-century chronicle of Johann Hagen, there is a prosaic version which puts the incident in the time of Leo IX, and which differs from the usual account in a few details, principally in having the youth give Palumbus's letter not to the man who closes the procession but to the woman who is dressed like a harlot.¹⁷ In the *Chronica sive opus historiarum* of St. Antoninus of Florence the story is referred directly to Vincent.¹⁸ Delrio, *Disquisitiones magicae*,¹⁹ Kornmann,

¹⁴ Herbert, *Catalogue*, III, p. 437, No. 90; on the authorship and date of the *Alphabetum* cf. *ibid.*, pp. 424 ff., and the articles by Toldo in *Archiv. f. Stud. d. neu. Sprachen*, 1906-7. In the fifteenth century English translation it is No. DCCXXX (ed. Mrs. M. M. Banks, EETS, pp. 488-9). In the Catalan translation (Barcelona, 1888) it is No. DCCXXXVIII, vol. II, p. 255.

¹⁵ Ed. Brussels, 1864, III, p. 259; quoted by Toldo, *Archiv*, CXVIII (1907), pp. 79-80.

¹⁶ P. 524, note 4, above.

¹⁷ Printed in Klapper, *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters*, Heidelberg, 1911, No. 51, pp. 40-1; cf. Klapper's notes, p. 85. Cf. also Klapper's article in *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesell. für Volkskunde*, XI (1909), pp. 119 ff. (on this story, pp. 132 ff.).

¹⁸ Nuremberg, 1484, Pars II, tit. xvi, cap. vii, §iiii.

¹⁹ Second ed. 1604, Lib. III, P. I, Q. iiii, Sec. viii.

De annulo triplici,²⁰ Simon Maiolus, *Dies caniculares h. e. Colloquia physica nova*²¹ copy Antoninus verbatim. Philo, *Magiologia*, merely translates Maiolus into German.²² The Archdeacon Balthazar Boniface Rhodiginus relates the "jocunda narratio" in Lib. xiv, caput xiii, of his *Historia Ludicra*. The marginal references are to Antoninus and Delrius, but the language does not in the least resemble theirs.²³ E. G. Happel, in his "Grösseste Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt oder so genandte *Relationes Curiosae*," Hamburg, 1687, gives the story under the title of *Die teuflische Venus*.²⁴

Besides the early version of Malmesbury, however, there is an extremely important variant in the *Kaiserchronik*, which was written 1140-50, from a Latin source, and is

²⁰ Ed. 1672, p. 41.

²¹ Third ed. 1614, Colloq. III, 'De Sagis,' p. 618.—P. J. Begbie, *Supernatural Illusions*, London, 1851, II, pp. 76 ff., gives a translation, from 'Dr. Antonius' and Hildebrand, *Natural Magic*, p. 33.

²² *Magiologia*, 1675. I take this from Massmann (*l. c.*, p. 926, n. 1), who adds: "Nach Paulini, Philosophischen Luststunden (1709), II, 1707, sei die Begebenheit unter König Eduard geschehen." I am unable to trace Paulinus.

²³ *Balthassar Bonifacii Rhodigini Historia Ludicra*, Editio nova et tersior (Brussels, 1656). The conclusion will illustrate the author's manner. "Palumbus verò, quem Venus aliàs amorum suorum conciliatorem & paranympum habuerat, veluti desertor ac proditor, & Veneris volucris lasciviente vocabulo indignus, & Veneris administris Dæmonibus dilaniatus ac discerptus interiit. Adderent fortasse ingeniosi fabulatores, inde factum, ut cùm antè Palumbi caro acriter ad Venerem cieret esitantes hujusmodi postea facultate destitueretur."

²⁴ Vol. III, p. 470, Hamburg, 1687. Cf. Koch's edition of Eichen-dorff in Kürschner's *Deutsche National Litteratur* (146, II, 2), Stuttgart [1893], pp. 157 ff. I have not seen Happel's version; Klapper (*Mitteilungen*, etc., p. 133) describes it as a "fast wörtliche Übersetzung" of William of Malmesbury.

therefore not much later than the *De Gestis*.²⁵ Here the youth is named Astrolabius, and the priest Eusebius.

At Rome there were two brothers whom the Emperor Theodosius could not convert. One day, while they were playing ball, Astrolabius knocked the ball into an enclosure, climbed over the wall after it, and there saw a beautiful statue of Venus that beckoned to him with its hand. He became at once so inflamed with love that he drew a ring from his finger and gave it to Venus as a pledge he would always love her. Meanwhile his friends thought something had happened to him, and having forced open the gate, finally discovered him. But

Mit dem tiuvele wart er besezzen.
Er nemochte trinken noch ezzen,

nor sleep. He grew pale and sick, and was like to die.

One day, realizing that he was in a critical condition, Astrolabius went to consult Eusebius, the Emperor's chaplain, and obtain his help. In the youth's presence one morning Eusebius read from a certain book and commanded the Devil to bring back the ring within half an hour. The Devil replied, however, that it belonged to his companions and he could not himself return it. Then take me thither, said the priest; and the Devil carried him three hundred miles "in einis tiefen meres grunt," and told him there were two rings, and he must choose the right one. Then the priest charged the Devil *in verbo Domini* to say what stone was in the ring. Jasper, replied the Devil. And so Eusebius chose the right one, and obliged the Devil to take him back to Rome and to confess why he had tempted Astrolabius. The Devil explained that the heathen had wrought a statue in honor of Venus and had placed under it an herb of such magic power that whoever looked upon the statue must fall in love with it. Thereupon the Devil was released; the statue was at once taken down; the young man regained his health, and Pope Ignatius consecrated the statue to 'good Saint Michael.' Astrolabius, and many others with him, were baptized.

This version occurs again, in all important details the same, in Ecko von Repkau's chronicle, *Der Koninge*

²⁵ H. F. Massmann, *Der Keiser und der Kunige buoch, oder die sogenannte Kaiserchronik*, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, II, pp. 264 ff., vv. 13102 ff.; also in *Monum. Germ. Hist., Deutsche Chroniken*, I, pp. 319-23.

Buoch, written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century;²⁶ but with this single exception it remained an unproductive variant. That it is a variant, and not the primitive form of the story, goes, I think, almost without saying. It is a tale of magic—black magic and the Devil—pure and simple. The conception of the implied contract sealed by the marriage ring, fundamental in Malmesbury's version, is here subordinated and obscured. But until more is learned of the sources of the *Kaiserchronik*, or earlier forms of the story are discovered, nothing can of course be absolutely proved.

I take therefore for the purpose of analysis William of Malmesbury's version, as being presumably the nearest we can get to the original form of the story. The various ideas which it contains are intimately related, but are easily distinguishable. The most obvious is that of a statue endowed with the human attributes of motion and speech; and at the same time, as representing the goddess Venus under certain aspects, with a jealous and malevolent temperament. The figure of Venus here is a union of a statue as such and a demonic supernatural being; or rather, a supernatural being who appears to mortals in the form of a bronze statue. Perhaps one should also reckon as a subsidiary motif, the rôle of the goddess in love with a mortal; but although this familiar idea may have had a suggestive influence in the origin of the story, yet here the attitude of Venus to the Roman youth is not one of real love, but of jealous ill-will. The fundamental conception of the story is that of the ring as a symbol of marriage or as a promise to marry. A motif of secondary importance is the letter (from Palumbus) to the Devil; and similarly of less intimate relation with the central idea is the Wild

* Vv. 13103 ff.; Massmann, *l. c.*, p. 928.

Hunt, which appears as the nocturnal procession met by the Roman youth at the crossroads. Finally, the whole action is set against a background of contending Christian and pagan forces.

Venus is no longer the resplendent goddess of the classical pantheon, but is debased to the position of a malevolent spirit, a demon. Palumbus, on the other hand, appears to be part heathen and part Christian. He is a "suburban priest," but has direct dealings with the Devil. He is one of those transitional anomalies in which the two religions were for a time blended, on one side a minister of the black arts, and on the other a priest of the church. Nor is the distinction of the two faiths clearly maintained in the rest of the story. There is no definite indication who is meant by the *dominus terribilis* of the nocturnal band who receives the letter and forces Venus to relinquish the ring, but the implication is strong that he is the Evil One himself. At the same time, however, he raises his hands to heaven with a kind of prayer to the *Deus omnipotens*, and this prayer, or curse, seems to be the immediate cause of the horrible death of Palumbus. Does the Devil pray to God to destroy His minister, because he has power over the Devil? Then it is peculiar that God should grant the prayer. But Satan beseeching Heaven for protection against his own kind would cut a poor figure indeed. Certainly he would hate the necromancer whose magic he cannot escape; and perhaps one may suppose that poor Palumbus in his double rôle is bound to suffer either way. Again it seems clear that the 'hero' of the tale is an unconverted Roman, and that his parents (or his wife's) seek out Palumbus because of the latter's skill in the black arts. At any rate, it would be easy to overestimate the amount of Christian feeling in the original version of the story, whatever that may have been precisely; for there is

nothing, even in William of Malmesbury, beyond the address to God Almighty, who visits a terrible penalty on Palumbus seemingly for his command to the Devil, but perhaps because of his necromantic practices, and a vague notion that the spirits of evil are in the end thwarted, to certify that the story had a Christian origin or a Christian author. But some feeling of contrast and more between the two religions is evident.

Statues gifted from time to time with human attributes are familiar to all peoples. A few illustrations will suffice. There is an oriental belief that statues are in truth human beings which lack the soul to give them life and intelligence.²⁷ Something of the sort may be implied in the tradition that God moulded man first in clay and then breathed life into him. Statues that perspire are extremely common.²⁸ Statues have also been known to weep, to brandish their arms, to bow, and so on.²⁹ Lucian tells of one which used to play strange antics.³⁰ Herodotus (v, 85) relates how the Athenians could not get their old images back from Ægina; and there is a similar tale of an Indian god in South America which the Padre brought to his convent, but it twice returned to the moun-

²⁷ Cf. Sébillot, *Superstitions iconographiques*, in *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, II (1887), p. 17; and Wm. Crooke, *The Binding of a God*, in *Folk-Lore*, VIII (1897), p. 336, who cites Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, I, p. 114, n.; IV, p. 1320. For talking statues cf. L. J. B. Béranger-Féraud, *Superstitions et survivances*, Paris, 1896, II, pp. 431-88.

²⁸ Cf. Sébillot, *l. c.*, p. 19, for several references. The newspapers in the spring of 1917, reported a case in Italy, which the peasants interpreted as a favorable omen of an early peace.

²⁹ The idea is still a living one in fiction. In *The National Sunday Magazine* (of the Chicago Sunday Tribune) for June 25, 1916, there was a tale of an active statue encountered by an American soldier at Aden.

³⁰ Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, p. 517 (Crooke).

tains.³¹ The adventures of Pygmalion and of Don Juan are, of course, familiar. Lucian tells of a Venus statue beloved by a mortal;³² and the same motif has persisted apart from the tradition of the Venus story, down to Oscar Wilde's *Charmides*. But although Graf has suggested that the mediæval Venus in love with the Roman youth may be a reminiscence or reflection of the ancient goddess in love with Adonis, I do not think that in the Malmesbury story the statue is to be regarded as *loving* the young man. It is likely that the idea of Aphrodite the *ἐταῖρα πάνδημος* persisted beyond classical times, and at any rate one would naturally expect Venus, who was in fact the last of the Roman gods to submit to the Christian dispensation, to be chosen for such a rôle as the story requires, not so much because she was of old the goddess of love, as because she had become in later times associated with the evil powers.

Fraw Venus, edle fraw so zart,
ir seind ain teufelinne,

says the *Tannhäuserlied*; and

E Venus une femme, ki esteit de lur regné,
De enfern est reine dame, là ert sa poesté,

says Philip of Thaun in his *Livre des creatures*.³³ Friday,

³¹ Sébillot, *l. c.*, p. 18.

³² *Amores* 14, 17; so also Pliny, Valerius Maximus, and Clement of Alexandria (Graf, II, p. 394).

³³ Graf, II, p. 388, n. 45, who also quotes from a manuscript of the *Escuriale*:

Sub Veneris latere debet nemo latere
Nam male Venere plurima devenere.

"Die alte Minne nämlich," says Eichendorff in the introduction to his *Geschichte des Romans des 18. Jahrhunderts*, "verwandelt sich fast unmerklich in die Frau Venus, die indes noch immer auf Zucht und Treue hält; bald aber wird diese Frau Venus eine Heidin, dann gar schon eine Teufelin, wie im 'treuen Eckart'." On the jealousy of immortals, cf. also the scholion to Theocritus, III, 13.

the day of the week sacred to her, had an ominous significance, which still survives in our superstition about undertaking a journey on that day. And as the demonic goddess of illicit love she ruled a mysterious section of the underworld known as the Mountain of Venus, where Tannhäuser and many another yielded to the lures of the flesh and the devil.

Moreover, the idea of a young man enticed by a wicked spirit in female form is familiar, for example, in the Lamia story. Cæsarius of Heisterbach has two tales in which the Devil appears as a beautiful woman.³⁴ In his introduction to the ballad of Tamlane Sir Walter Scott gives a Finnish tale of a "young man who had been carried away, and, after his return, was removed a second time upon the eve of his marriage. He returned in a short time, and narrated that the spirit that had carried him away was in the shape of a most beautiful woman, who pressed him to forsake his bride, and remain with her;

³⁴ Cf. also the tale of Ameil-a-l'œil in Henricourt et Bovy, *Promenades historiques*, II, p. 223; and Wolf, *Niederl. Sagen*, p. 287. These references I take from Massmann, *op. cit.*, III, p. 923, n. 7. Cæsarius, *Dist. v*, cap. iv (Ed. Jos. Strange, 1851, I, pp. 279-81) has still another pertinent story. A great magician named Philippus was asked by some Suabian and Bavarian students to make a display of evil spirits. He drew with his sword a magic circle around the young men, warning them on pain of death not to move outside of it. The spirits attacked them and tried to drive them beyond it, then changed to beautiful maidens, one of whom, by holding out a gold ring and by her passionate gestures, enticed a youth to extend his finger across the line. Then the whole crowd of spirits immediately vanished, taking the student with them. His friends demanded him back, however, and moved by their threats Philippus called the *Princeps Dæmonum*, reminded him of his fidelity, and after some altercation obtained the release of the student; who appeared thin and worn as if from the grave, and told his friends that their studies were displeasing to God.—There is some similarity here also to the relation of Palumbus and the Devil.

urging her own superior beauty, and splendid appearance." ⁸⁵

The central idea of the Venus story is the placing of a ring on the statue's finger; and in this are involved two distinct notions, one that the ring was a token of betrothal, the other that the mere giving of a betrothal ring was equivalent to marriage. The former notion dates back to the early Romans, among whom it was a custom to give a ring as a pledge or earnest after the conclusion of a bargain; and from this custom probably developed that of exchanging rings as a sign of betrothal. It has not been established, moreover, that rings were used for this purpose by either the Greeks or the northern Europeans, though there is slight evidence that the Hebrews used marriage rings; and thus we are in a position to infer with some certainty that the origin of this story was ultimately Roman.⁸⁶ This hypothesis is supported by the circumstantial evidence that the earlier versions make Rome the scene of action. The other notion, that the giving of a betrothal ring was practically equivalent to marriage—and that such was a fact is clearly implied by the action of the statue—may have been somewhat later, and appears more likely to have been Christian than Roman. There is a passage in Tertullian which seems to indicate that by the end of the second century or beginning of the third the Church regarded ring betrothal as a valid and lawful contract.⁸⁷ In our modern times of "raw haste," betrothal has become almost a diversion; but in the earlier sim-

⁸⁵ *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. T. F. Henderson, 1902, vol. II, pp. 304-6.

⁸⁶ The conjecture of Massmann, III, p. 923, that the story was of Greek origin because of the name Astrolabius in one of the versions is too slight to be of importance.

⁸⁷ *Apology*, I, vi.

pler life it was the important contract, of which the subsequent marriage was only a ratification and consummation. The marriage customs of the Middle Ages varied of course at different times and in different localities; there is no need to discuss them in this place, but it must be clear that when the Roman youth put his ring on the finger of Venus, she had a certain technical right to consider it a declaration of love and purpose to marry; and such a declaration was serious and binding. Moreover, the goddess could make the technical plea that his betrothal to her was a precontract which annulled his formal marriage to the earthly bride.

One may reflect that the youth—was he light-hearted and given to whimsical jesting, or rather careless and phlegmatic?—had no serious intention towards the goddess. The answer is that the statue was controlled by a demonic spirit, was in fact an instrument of the Devil, who is always spreading unsuspected nets for the careless and the light-hearted. There is no indication in the William of Malmesbury version that she attracted the youth by her appearance or her attitude. Whatever impulse may have moved him to intrust his ring to her finger, there is never any hint in the story that he looked upon her as a goddess or as a beautiful image. The influence, if there is any, is all in the opposite direction. Venus was not in love with him, but as an agent and emissary of the Devil was lying in wait for whomsoever it might concern; and this particular youth was caught. If he had been of a more pliable nature, a little less devoted to his wife, he might have accepted the *Mecum concumbe* of the statue, and the ending of the story would have been different. But this time the Devil's ace was trumped by Palumbus. And therein lies the moral.

We find nothing, however, in this *leitmotif* of the whole

story, the placing of the ring on the statue's finger, to betray the date of the origin of the tale. The general conception would have been possible at any time after the third century, when Rome had become nominally Christian. The other two motifs mentioned above, the letter to the Devil, and the Wild Hunt, are not integral elements of the story, and so are of no great value in determining its source and origin. After the statue has obtained possession of the ring, the spell can be broken only by its recovery. Since the Powers of Good have always manifested very little inclination to control the Powers of Evil, it is natural that the story-teller should turn to a priest of the black arts for help; and one of the recognized ways of communicating with the Arch-Necromancer is by letter.

The Wild Hunt of Odin belongs to primitive Germanic mythology; it is mentioned, for example, by Tacitus;³⁸ but from its simple origin, probably as a nature myth, it developed a great variety of forms, and in its present variations in European folk-lore it is less a specific motif than a comprehensive type of motifs.³⁹ Moreover, the particular form in which it appears in the Venus story is so different from its characteristic manifestations that one may even question whether the procession witnessed by the Roman youth is properly to be regarded as belonging to the Wild Hunt at all. Such a mixed gathering of all ages and sexes and figures, including the immodest goddess and the terrible-eyed chief who brings up the rear, is unusual even in the extraordinary wealth of variants which the Wild Hunt has come to embrace; and for the tenth century is very unusual. There are, however, several

³⁸ *Germ.*, 43.

³⁹ On the Wild Hunt cf. E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891, §§319 ff.

points of comparison which deserve notice. The Wild Huntsman (here the Devil, if we admit the analogy) is often attended by a miscellaneous rout, the *wildes* or *wütendes Heer*, in France the *mesnie furieuse*. Sometimes he is replaced by a man who drives a wagon or chariot.⁴⁰ Crossroads, which are always associated with a mysterious power, are regularly disconcerting to the Wild Hunt.⁴¹ Sometimes, furthermore, the Hunter is accompanied by a woman, Holda, or Holle, the Germanic sister of Venus.⁴² On the other hand, Graf's mention of the belief recorded by St. Augustine⁴³ that witches gathered together at night under the leadership of the Devil, Diana, and Herodias, is extremely pertinent; and we may have here in the Venus story only a reflection of this belief. But whether we consider our miscellaneous crowd of grave and gay, with the *mulier ornatu meretricio* and the stoutish leader who sat in his chariot, as bona fide representatives of the Wild Hunt or not, it must be clearly understood that this nocturnal procession is an incremental ornament of the Venus story, and therefore not eligible as evidence of the date or origin of the story itself. It does not imply that the fundamental notion of a youth betrothed to a statue by a ring is of German make.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ I. e., *der ewige Fuhrmann*, Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁴¹ Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 241. I doubt, however, if in the Venus story any Christian symbolism of the cross (of the roads) as harmful to demons is to be understood.

⁴² Cf. Wolf, quoted below, p. 544.

⁴³ Graf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 396, and n. 57, citing *De doctrina Christiana*, I, 23. I am unable, however, to find this belief mentioned in Augustine's works.

⁴⁴ With this procession one may compare the company which the knight witnesses in the thirteenth-century *Lai du Trot* (ed. Monmerqué et Michel, Paris, 1832); and the vision of Helinandus, *De Cognitione Sui*, cap. XI, XII, XIII (Migne S. L. 212, 731 ff. H.

Communications by letter with evil spirits was not infrequent. In the Greek life of Bishop Leo of Catana, Heliodorus was given a letter by a necromancer and told to climb a tall column in a cemetery, tear up the letter and scatter the bits; he should not be afraid nor climb down at anyone's command; thus he would obtain what he sought.⁴⁵ In the apocryphal life of St. Basil, ascribed to Amphilochus, a magician gives a man a letter to the devil, with directions to wait by a heathen grave.⁴⁶ With a similar letter Anthemius awaits the Devil on a bridge.⁴⁷ In the *History of Mohammed, Sultan of Cairo*, Shaykh is sent with a letter which he must deliver to the chief of a terrible procession in order to release the Sultan's daughter from a magician's spell.⁴⁸

There are various tales which are of interest here as reflecting analogous ideas, though they do not contain similar incidents, to those of the Venus story. In the Sanskrit *Kāthakoṣa*, for example, a "treasury of tales" which, though modified and edited for the purpose of furthering Jainism, nevertheless contains genuine Oriental folk-lore, there is the following narrative of a man who fell in love with a statue.⁴⁹

Günter, *Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 86, suggests a comparison with the Irish witch in the twelfth-century legend of St. Coemgenus of Glendalough.

* ASS v, 224 [xx Feb.] (Scheible, *Kloster*, v, pp. 122-3).

* ASS xxi, 949 f. [xiv Jun.] (Scheible's reference, *l. c.*, to vol. xx is wrong).

* ASS xviii, 55 [xxix Maii] (Scheible, *l. c.*).

* Burton, *Supplemental Nights*, vol. iv, pp. 44-5. In a note (vi, p. 508) Burton compares the Venus story and also the "Lithuanian (or rather Samoghitian)" story of the King of the Rats (Edm. Veckenstedt, *Mythen, Sagen und Legenden der Zamaiten*, Heidelberg, 1883, ii, pp. 160 ff.).

* *The Story of the Wise Minister Jnānagarbha in The Kāthakoṣa*, translated by C. H. Tawney, London, 1895, pp. 148 ff.

The Prince Amaradatta and Mitrañanda came to a garden in the suburbs of Pataliputra, and in the temple the prince beheld a statue. "Seeing that it was very beautiful, he was afflicted with the arrows of Cupid, and was not able to move a step from the spot."⁴⁸ A merchant comes along, and Mitrañanda asks who had the temple built. "I did," says the merchant, "by an architect named Sûradeva." The remainder of the story (which is rather long) is occupied with the devious and wondrous means by which Mitrañanda obtains possession of Ratnamanjari, whom the architect had modelled the statue from; and brings her to the prince just as he is about to end his life in despair.

"The incident of the ring in connexion with the ancient goddess," says Baring-Gould, "is certainly taken from the old religion of the Teutonic and Scandinavian peoples. Freyja was represented in her temples holding a ring in her hand; so was Thorgerda Hörgabrúda. The Faereyinga Saga relates an event in the life of the Faroese hero Sigmund Brestesson, which is to the point."

The Earl Hakon and Sigmund went to Thorgerd's temple, and when the earl found he could not remove the ring from the statue, he interpreted it as a sign of the goddess's ill-favor. After depositing a large quantity of silver before her and weeping profusely, he succeeded, however, in withdrawing the ring. This ring he then gave to Sigmund, who promised never to part with it. Later King Olaf converted Sigmund to Christianity and asked him to give up the ring as a pagan relic no longer fitting for him to wear. When Sigmund refused, the King in anger foretold that it would be the cause of his death. And so afterwards it came to pass.⁴⁹

This incident is more directly suggestive than the Venus

⁴⁸ In the *Kathá Sarit Sāgara* (translated by Tawney, II, p. 600) "Vikramāditya falls in love with a statue, which turns out to be that of Kalingasenā, the daughter of the King of Kalinga."

⁴⁹ Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, ed. 1869, p. 226. This story is from *Fornmanna Sögur*, Copenhagen, 1852, II, p. 103 (*Faereyingasaga*, c. xxiii). On a statue that pursues a man who had stolen gold from it cf. *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* 13-14, p. 52, which refers to Rohde, *Psyche*, 3rd ed., I, p. 194, and Radermacher in *Gomperz Festschrift*, 1902, pp. 197 ff.

story of the struggle between Christianity and paganism; but it is "to the point" here only in that it tells of a goddess and a ring. Any real connexion is hard to see.⁵¹ That the custom of putting rings upon divine images was not restricted to Teutonic and Scandinavian peoples is obvious from Pliny. "It was the custom at first to wear rings on a single finger only, the one, namely, that is next to the little finger; and this we see the case in the statues of Numa and Servius Tullius. In later times it became the practice to put rings on the finger next to the thumb, even in the case of the statues of the gods."⁵²

Landau, in an article on *Heiratsversprechen*⁵³ gives a number of examples of a young man or maid held, usually by supernatural powers, to a half-hearted or carelessly given promise of marriage; the most important of which here is that of Cydippe.⁵⁴

Acontius met Cydippe in the temple of Artemis and fell in love with her at first sight; but instead of declaring his love he wrote on an apple: 'I swear by the temple of Artemis to marry Acontius,' and let it fall at Cydippe's feet. Her nurse picked up the apple and had Cydippe read the words aloud. Then she threw it away and returned home. Her father had arranged to marry her to another, but when the wedding was about to take place she became seriously ill. The

⁵¹ Graf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 396, says there is no need to seek "such remote origins." Baring-Gould affirms with emphasis, however, that the Venus of the ring story is "unquestionably" the ancient goddess Holda, or Thorgerda.

⁵² Pliny, XXXIII, 6 (Bohn, trans. Bostock-Riley, VI, p. 80).

⁵³ Koch's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, I (1886), pp. 13-36.

⁵⁴ Related first by Callimachus; then by Ovid, *Her.* XX and XXI; cf. 'The Golden Apple' in Charles Kent's *Aletheia*, and 'Cydippe and the Apple' in Bulwer-Lytton's *Lost Tales of Miletos*. Cf. also the story of Hermochares and Ktesylla by Antoninus Liberalis (E. Martini, *Mythographi Graeci*, II (1896), pp. 67 ff.); and that of the weasel and the fountain from the Talmud commentary (H. Günter, *Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, p. 85).

marriage was postponed, and she at once got better. Again the wedding was planned, Cydippe fell sick, and regained her health only upon its postponement. This happened three times. Acontius learned of it, went to her home, and inquired so eagerly about her that he was accused of magic. But finally the Delphic oracle was asked, and it explained that Cydippe's words, read from the apple, had been taken by Artemis as an oath. Cydippe and Acontius were then married.

In the *Kaiserchronik*, there is also, besides a version of the Venus story, a tale of the Emperor Julian which represents a heathen statue in league with the Devil.⁵⁵

In Rome there lived a pious woman who brought up the young Julian as her son, and when her husband died she entrusted all her property to him. Later when she became in sore need and asked the property back, he swore he had never received it and repeated his oath before the pope. One day the poor woman found in the Tiber a statue which the heathens had hidden there and prayed to every morning.⁵⁶ She scorned the image, but the Devil spoke to her out of its mouth, saying he was the god Mercury, and if she would complain of Julian on the morrow he would be asked to swear by his saints ("uf sinen heiligen"); she, however, should require him to swear by the image of Mercury, and then the god would take care that she received her property back. The woman did as she was directed, Julian took the oath, thrusting his hand into the god's mouth: but he was unable to withdraw it, nor could anyone help him. Julian then promised to return the woman's property.

With this illustrative material in mind, and with the above discussion of the principal motifs of the story, we may now endeavor to draw some conclusion regarding the origin of this tale of the ring placed on the Venus statue. By the nature of the subject we are of course obliged to resort to hypothesis; for I have already shown that there is nothing in the character of the different elements of the story to form the basis of a valid argument. The treat-

⁵⁵ Ed. Massmann, vv. 10649 ff.

⁵⁶ On heathen images cast into rivers and lakes cf. Massmann, *l. c.*, p. 928.

ment of Venus as a demon implies the breakdown of the Roman religion, but that came about rather early. Likewise the use of the betrothal ring is consistent with an early date. But these two reasons would be equally effective down to the twelfth century, when we have the story in written form. Perhaps the resort to the black arts as a means of recovering the ring would suggest a period nearer the Middle Ages proper than the Apostolic Age, but this hint also is of little value. We must therefore leave the question of date *in suspenso*, recognizing that while we have no satisfactory ground for dating the story before the twelfth century, it may well have existed at least four or five hundred years earlier.

Baring-Gould, as I have pointed out, was convinced that the story had a northern origin. Wolf takes a similar position: ⁵⁷

Die ganze prächtig ausgestattete sage, ist echtdeutsch . . . 'Ich bin Venus,' sagt die erscheinung zu dem jungen gemal, aber unsere Venus ist nichts als eine elbenkönigin, keine göttin, denn nicht Holda oder eine ihr ähnliche göttin verlockt sterbliche zu ihrer liebe, wohl aber die königlichen elbinnen, die sich auch in den zuerst betrachteten sagen sämtlich aus königsblut entsprossen nennen. sie steht darum auch unter einem höhern gebieter, einem gott, der auf seinem wagen sitzend den zug schliesst und für uns kein andrer als Fro sein kann. dass der zug an einem kreuzweg nur gesehen werden kann, dass schweigen dabei beobachtet werden muss, ist ebenfalls rein deutschheidnisch; ebenso die virga aurea der Venus, die mit dem goldstab der Herodias zusammenfällt, und das lang herabwallende haar, welches alle göttliche frauen tragen, und die vitta aurea, die an die stirnbinde, den goldring am haupt der einen Norn und mehrer weissen frauen mahnt.

Perhaps Wolf is right in seeing more of the elf than of the goddess in this Venus, but surely she is still more a demonic spirit than a wicked fairy queen. And though

⁵⁷ Johann Wilhelm Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, Gött. und Leipzig, 1852, II, p. 257.

the Wild Hunt is unquestionably "rein deutschheidnisch," it is fair to object that the Wild Hunt is not an integral part of the story.

The best and completest discussion of the story is that of Graf already often mentioned. It is too long to be quoted entire, but the main points may be summarized as follows. Everything indicates, he says rightly, that the tale is of Italian origin, and there is no reason to doubt William of Malmesbury's statement that in his time it was still current in Rome.⁵⁸ "Venere è un demonio, ma tale tuttavia che, non solo non ha in sè la orridezza, ma nemmeno la consueta ferità e malignità diabolica. Essa è innamorata, e vuol fruire dell' amor suo; non usa nessuna violenza al giovane, nè sfoga l'ira sua sposa; ma si oppone a che il matrimonio sia da essi consumato, e si fa forte del suo diritto, che pretende sia stato conferito dal giovane mediante l'anello. . . . Ora, in questa bella, dolce e aspassionata figura di demonio, che noi ritroveremo di bel nuovo più oltre, splende, o m'inganno, un riflesso dell'antica divinità," that is, of the Venus who loved young Adonis; and "un concetto, direi così benevolo, di Venere, non poteva sorgire che a medio evo avanzato, spenti i ricordi della lunga ed asprissima lotta fra cristianesimo e paganesimo, e ridischiuso il senso al prestigio della bellezza antica." While the religious rivalry was still acute Venus would have been painted in sombre hues. The statue, moreover, is conceived as an idol or image mysteriously bound to the deity it represents, so that the implied promise of the ring must be performed. "Il

■ "Hoc omnis Romana regis usque hodie praedicat, matresque docent liberos suos ad memoriam posteris transmittendam," (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, x, p. 472). These words are not in the Rolls edition.

caposaldo della leggenda dev'essere appunto una statua esista in Roma, e nulla v'è che contrasti a questa congettura." Let us imagine then, continues Graf, that there existed in Rome in the eleventh century some such statue as that described by Higden.⁵⁹ While the memory of ancient Rome had not entirely disappeared the statue would be admired for its beauty and at the same time looked upon with suspicion because of its evil associations. Let us imagine also that the felicity of a young married couple who lived nearby was broken by some natural cause, which, however, in the Middle Ages would be regarded as due to evil influence. The statue would be blamed, and since jealousy was a principal ground for the exercise of evil power, the Venus would be said to be in love with the young man and jealous. The incident of the ring might have been true or imagined, and added to give the whole greater consistency. Thus the story would have been formed in a fashion "assai facile e spontaneo."⁶⁰

Against this conjecture of Graf's, interesting and suggestive as it is, there is something to be urged. He is right in assuming that stories of this sort—if not of all sorts—take their origin from a fact or concrete instance. And for this actual point of departure Graf properly chooses a particular Venus statue with its aura of mysterious or demonic influence—though he lays unnecessary stress on the beauty of the statue. But led astray by his

⁵⁹ *Polychronicon*, I, 24.

⁶⁰ Graf, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 392 ff. Graf notices also the motifs of the Wild Hunt and the letter to the Devil. As analogous tales he mentions that of a young man persecuted by a demon (Hector Boece, *Hist. Scot.* Book VIII) and Cæsarius of Heisterbach's account of the necromancer Philippus. The miracle of the Virgin (see below) he treats briefly.

conception of the goddess as being in some fashion in love with the Roman youth, Graf assumes as the complicating incident a sudden disturbance of the conjugal happiness of the near-dwelling couple. For myself, I understand the germ of the story to be the ring-betrothal, and therefore I find it more likely that—if we are to imagine at all a definite event as the starting point of the tale—at some time or other a young man, moved by what impulse soever, did actually slip his marriage ring over the outstretched finger of a statue of Venus. To a person at all gifted with the knack of ‘inventing’ stories such an incident would be full of suggestions; and not the least obvious would be that the statue would expect the implied contract to be fulfilled. There is perhaps an initial difficulty in supposing that the incident would ever have taken place. But given a certain type of young man with an odd sense of humor (such as all of us have) and the thing is not at all improbable. It is interesting to see, furthermore, that the particular motivation of the youth’s removing his ring, which is assigned in the early versions, persists in all subsequent versions, even when Venus had been replaced by the Virgin—the fear of injuring it while playing ball. Now the persistence of this unessential trait is probably to be explained by the fact that it would be hard to invent a better motivation; but one may perhaps go a step further and say that it did not have to be invented at all: it was the fact. The more one inquires into the habits of the inventive imagination among practised novelists and story writers, the more one finds that usually those most charming and effective bits of versimilitude are really not the work of the imagination but of memory. So *à fortiori* one is bound to expect observation and memory to play a still larger part in the stories of the untrained. Hence arises

of course the frequent observation that legends are truer than history.

But it is after all of comparatively little importance to argue the matter too closely. The story may have originated in the manner conjectured by Graf or in the manner I have suggested. And I cannot refuse to admit that sometimes what was an unessential element in the beginning has become in the subsequent development of a story its principal motif. In balancing probabilities of this nature one can easily be too dogmatic.

II

Gautier de Coincy (d. 1236), the famous Benedictine monk of St. Médard, in his enormous collection of rimed miracles of the Virgin tells *Du varlet qui se maria a Nostre-Dame, dont ne volt qu'il habitast a autre*.¹ This story, as will appear at once, is in some fashion an adaptation of the story of Venus and the ring which we have just studied.

Mon liure dist et ma matere, says Gautier, that in front of a ruined church there was an image before which sinners left their offerings. One day a troupe of young men were playing ball near by, among them one who had a ring that his *amie* had given him. In order to avoid all risk of injuring this ring he went to the church seeking some safe place to deposit it. When he saw the statue there so fresh and beautiful, he knelt down and saluted it, and was so moved that "Lady,"

¹ Ed. Poquet, Paris, 1857, pp. 355 ff.; Barabzan-Méon, *Fabliaux et contes*, Paris, 1808, II, pp. 420 ff. There is a separate text of Gautier's version in MS. Harley 4401, of about the middle of the thirteenth century. (Ward, II, p. 720.) There is an English translation of this miracle in *Of the Tumbler of Our Lady and other Miracles*, by Alice Kemp-Welch, London, 1908, pp. 59 ff.

This miracle (or one of its parallels) has been recently translated into German by S. Rüttgers; cf. *Jahresberichte für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, XXV (1914; Berlin, 1918), p. 422.

he cried, "I will serve you all my life. You are the fairest lady I have ever seen, a thousand times more beautiful than she who gave me this ring. I will forsake her, and love, and its joys, and give you this ring *par fine amor*." He then put the ring on her finger, and immediately she bent her finger so that none could withdraw the ring. He was frightened by this, and told the bystanders what had happened. They all advised him: *lest le siecle*, serve God all thy life and Our Lady Saint Mary. But the days came and went, and soon he forgot Our Lady, so powerful were the eyes of his *amie*; so that finally he was married to her with great ceremony. But as soon as he approached the bridal bed he forgot his desire and at once fell asleep. Our Lady lay between him and his wife, proving her right by the ring, and upbraiding him for his disloyalty. The clerk awoke in terror, but finding no trace of the image near, he supposed he had been deceived by a dream. Still he could not arise. Then Our Lady reappeared and again angrily chided him. In despair he implored the Holy Spirit to aid him; he forsook the world, and became a monk and a hermit and a servant of God and of *Ma Dame Sainte Marie*.

Gautier's Latin source, which he followed very closely, has been printed by Mussafia² from ms. lat. 18134, fol. 153, of the Bibliothèque Nationale: *Exemplum de clerico qui anulum suum in digito ymaginis beate virginis posuit, promittens ei quod omnium mulierum amore abiecto ipsam solam amaret*. Gautier wrote his miracles about 1220-30. We may assume, then, without yielding overmuch to the prevalent temptation to date a story earlier than the evidence actually warrants, that this miracle of the Virgin was in existence in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, perhaps even by about 1200.

A little later in the thirteenth century Vincent of Beauvais repeats the same story in his *Speculum Historiale*, VII,

² *Über die von Gautier de Coincy benützten Quellen*, Wien, 1894, (*Denkschrift der K. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Cl. XLIX), pp. 35-7. See also Mussafia's *Studien in Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, Heft i (*Sitzungsberichte*, CXIII (1886), p. 986, no. 49). The same text, says Mussafia, is found also in lat. 2333A, fol. 66.

87, in more pedestrian language³—the language of Gautier's Latin source is extremely flowery—and in about one-third the space, but preserving all the essential details. This, however, as well as nearly all the other versions except Gautier's, omits the statement that the image of Mary was standing before a ruined church to attract alms. Vincent says that he took the story "ex Mariali Magno." This work has never been identified,⁴ but the same miracle occurs in various thirteenth-century manuscript collections of Mary legends, some of which Vincent may have known.⁵

In the last quarter of the thirteenth century Jacob van

³ Reprinted by Massmann, III, pp. 924-5.

⁴ Cf. *Histoire littéraire*, XVIII, p. 321, and G. F. Warner in the Introduction to his edition of the Miracles of Mielot (Roxburghe Club, 1885).

⁵ Among these may be mentioned Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12593 (*olim* St. Germain, lat. 486) no. 29 (Mussafla, Heft i, p. 962); Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17491, no. 67 (Mussafla, i, p. 979); Charleville 168, no. 2 (Mussafla, ii, p. 49); Vatican, Reg. 33 (= Vinc. de Beauvais; Mussafla, ii, p. 53); British Museum Addit. 15723, no. 7 (Ward, II, p. 626); British Museum Addit. 17920, no. 9, published by J. Ulrich, *Miracles de Notre Dame en Provençal (Romania, VIII (1879), pp. 12 ff.)*. Mussafla (*Romania, IX (1880), p. 300*) showed that the source of this Provençal collection was identical with Vincent de Beauvais VII, 81-95. Ulrich cites MSS. Arundel 346, fol. 64v and Addit. 11579, fol. 11^a as the original of Addit. 17920, no. 9; but incorrectly, for these two contain the Clerk of Pisa story; see below, p. 552.

The following variant is of interest: Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 1805, fol. 36v, *Du clerc qui donna l'anel a une femme, laquelle espousa*, which contains the peculiarity, says Graf (*op. cit.*, p. 401, n. 66) that "il giovane chierico, destandosi, trova la Vergine coricata fra sè e la sposa, come il giovane romano trova Venere."

In the first of the MSS. listed above (Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12593) the story is entitled *In antiquis temporibus factum de imagine genitricis Dei miraculum*. It begins "Erat quaedam ecclesia in qua imago . . ." Mussafla calls this version SG 29; the others in the above list are probably not identical, but are indicated by Mussafla as "=SG29."

Maerlant told the story, with no important variation, in his *Spigel Historiae*, vii, 61.⁶ His source was Vincent of Beauvais. And at the very end of the century, or the beginning of the fourteenth, Arnoldus, the author of the *Alphabetum Narrationum* copied Malmesbury's version,⁷ condensing and making considerable changes of language, especially towards the end, but not altering the story.

About the middle of the fourteenth century Johannes Gobii Junior included a crudely condensed version in his *Scala Celi* under the rubric *Virgo dei genetrix*. "Legitur," he says, "in Mariali Magno quod . . ."; but whether he drew directly from the mysterious *Mariale Magnum*, or from Vincent de Beauvais is not certain.

A collection of miracles of the Virgin in the language of Christian Abyssinia also contains this story; and from the fact that it places the image of Mary in front of a ruined church to attract contributions it must represent Gautier's version, and indeed apart from the rather elaborate Oriental manner of the telling it follows Gautier or his Latin source very closely.⁸

Sebillot⁹ gives a version from *Curiosités de l'histoire du vieux Paris*, pp. 53-4, which resembles Gautier's except that the image stood before the cathedral of Paris while it was under reconstruction about 1170.

⁶ Ed. Clignett and Steenwinkel, Leyden, 1785, II, p. 213; extract in Massmann, III, pp. 925-6.

⁷ Cf. Ward-Herbert, III, p. 424, and (for the contents of the *Alphabetum Narrationum*) Toldo's articles cited p. 528, n. 14 above; also Mussafia, iii, p. 45, no. 15. In the fifteenth-century English translation of the *Alphabetum* this miracle is no. 656 (ed. Mrs. M. M. Banks, E. E. T. S., p. 438).

⁸ Bibliothèque Nationale ms. éthiopien 2, fol. 101, of the sixteenth century. A French translation is printed in the *Revue bleue*, 23 octobre 1875, pp. 399 ff., by Maurice Vernes.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

The Clerk of Pisa. The story of the Clerk of Pisa is probably one of the earliest and, if we may judge from the number of manuscripts in which it is found, one of the most popular of the countless miracles of the Virgin. It is the second last in a collection which Mussafia¹⁰ says was made in the eleventh century, and probably in England. Later manuscripts have it two and three times repeated in the same collection in only slightly different forms. The earlier manuscripts which contain it, however, date from the twelfth century. It may be summarized briefly.¹¹

A canon of the church of St. Cassianus in Pisa was sincerely devoted to the service of Our Lady. When at the death of his parents he became heir of a considerable fortune he at first rejected the exhortations of his friends to marry, but at length consented. During the wedding ceremony he recalled that he had not said his usual prayers to the Virgin, excused himself from his friends, and withdrew to the church; where Mary appeared to him and charged him with infidelity. That night he left his house secretly, no one knew whither, to give up his life to the service of Our Lady.

As a testimony of the popularity of this miracle I give in a footnote a list of some of the manuscripts in which it is found. Not all the versions are identical, of course, but distinct variants are so far as possible indi-

¹⁰ *Studien*, iii, pp. 53 ff. Mussafia calls it HM; cf. also *Studien*, i. HM comprises the first seventeen of a collection of forty-four miracles wrongly attributed by Bernhard Pez, who edited it from a thirteenth century manuscript, to a certain Potho, a monk of Priefling. Cf. Ward, *Catalogue*, II, pp. 590 ff. The title of Pez's book is *Ven. Agnetis Blannbekin . . . Vita et Revelationes, . . . Accessit Pothonis . . . Liber de Miraculis Sanctæ Dei Genetricis Mariæ . . . edidit R. P. Bernardus Pez, . . . Viennæ . . . 1731.*

¹¹ British Museum ms. Cleopatra C. x. fol. 124; Arundel 346, fol. 64; Royal 20 B xiv, fol. 138; printed by Carl Neuhaus, *Lateinische Vorlagen zu den Altfranzösischen Adgar'schen Marien-Legenden, Aschersleben* [1886-7]. This text is practically identical with Pez.

cated.¹² The story occurs also in the *Legenda Aurea*, cap.

¹² Twelfth century:—Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5268, no. 12 (Muss., ii, p. 6); Bern 137, no. 14 (Muss., ii, p. 16); Arsenal 903, no. 24 (Muss., ii, p. 76), Pisa not mentioned; British Museum Cleopatra C. x. no. 24 (Ward, II, p. 609); B. N. lat. 18168, no. 16 (Muss., ii, p. 12); B. M. Arundel 346, no. 16 (Muss., ii, p. 12); Admont 638 (Muss., i, p. 947); Reun 16, no. 40 (Muss., i, p. 950).

Twelfth-thirteenth cent.:—Montpellier 146, no. 16 (Muss., ii, p. 12); Oxford, Balliol 240, Book II, no. 16 (Muss., ii, p. 31); Ghent 245, no. 16 (cf. Leipzig 821) (Muss., iii, p. 21).

Thirteenth cent.:—B. M. Addit. 32248, no. 6, twenty leonine hexameters; cf. B. N. lat. 14857 below (Ward, II, p. 698; cf. Muss., iii, pp. 7-13, iv, p. 11); B. N. lat. 17491, no. 77 (Muss., i, p. 979); B. N. lat. 18134, no. 10 (Muss., i, p. 983; B. N. lat. 5267, no. 16 (Muss., i, p. 990); Salisbury 97, Book II, no. 41 (Muss., iv, p. 22); Charleville 28, no. 16 = B. N. 5268 (Muss., ii, p. 10); B. M. Harley 3244, no. 100 (Herbert, III, p. 462); B. N. lat. 818, no. 45 (Muss., v, p. 6), this ms. contains also the Marriage of Mary from Gautier de Coincy, the Bachelor of Rome from the Vie des anciens pères, and Love won by Black Arts; B. M. Arundel 406, no. 9 (Ward, II, p. 662); Copenhagen Thott 128, no. 15 (Muss., ii, p. 17); B. N. lat. 5562, no. 7, greatly abbreviated (Muss., ii, p. 45); Kremsmünster 114, no. 16 (Muss., i, p. 946); Ambrosiana C. 150, no. 16 (Muss., i, p. 951).

Fourteenth cent.:—B. M. Addit. 33956, no. 27 (Ward, II, p. 674); B. M. Harl. 495, no. 1 (Herbert, III, p. 534); B. M. Arund. 506, no. 30 (Herbert, III, p. 543); id. no. 75 (Herbert, III, p. 546); id. no. 118 (Herbert, III, p. 549); id. no. 194 (Herbert, III, p. 555); id. no. 230 (Herbert, III, p. 558) (Note: the last four are slightly different from the type); B. N. lat. 2333A, no. 80 = lat. 17491 (Muss., i, p. 981); Toulouse 478, no. 10 (Muss., ii, p. 18); B. N. lat. 10770, no. 11 (Muss., iii, p. 25); Madrid Bb 150 contains Liber Mariae by Gil de Zamora, a friend of Alfonsus X,—Clerk of Pisa, chap, v, no. 9; B. N. lat. 14857, no. 6 (Muss., iii, p. 9); Salzburg. St. Peters a, v 3 (Muss., i, p. 950).

Fourteenth-fifteenth cent.:—Metz 612 = B. N. lat. 14857 (Muss., iii, p. 9).

Fourteenth-fifteenth cent.:—Metz 612 = B. N. lat. 14857 (Muss., ii, p. 76); Florence Laurentiana, Conventi soppressi 747, D. 3 = Arsenal 903 (Muss., ii, p. 76); Vatican 4318 = Metz 612 (Muss., iii, p. 9 = Munich Lat. 4350 = Erfurt (Muss., iii, p. 15).

Cf. also Erfurt 44 (according to Kritz), Munich 4350, Munich 4146 (Muss., iii, p. 15); Cambrai 739, no. 13 (Muss., i, p. 976); B. M. Royal 20 B 14 and Addit. 18364 (Warner, Mielot, pp. xi-xii;

cxxxI; ¹³ in Gautier de Coincy; ¹⁴ in the English translation of Etienne de Besançon's *Alphabetum Narrationum*; ¹⁵ and in the collection of dramatized miracles published by Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert as *Miracles de Notre Dame par Personages*,¹⁶ where the treatment is rather elaborate.

A variant called the *Clerk of Rome*—"Clericus quidem Rome . . . de nobili genere natus"—occurs in several manuscripts ¹⁷ in which the story is "given in great detail, and the husband declares his final resolve in the words 'Quicumque ex parentibus meis vult, accipiat meam conjugem, quia amplius non habebo aliam nisi beatam Mariam, cui semper servire desidero.' The wife then returns to her father, and the husband consults the pope Severinus (A. D. 638-640),¹⁸ who bids him give all he has to the church in which he saw the vision and to become a monk there."¹⁹

Mussafia and the Ward-Herbert Catalogue distinguish as a separate miracle a story which we may here regard as a variant of the Clerk of Pisa type, namely the *Neglected Mary Image*. It is indeed hardly more than

B. N. fr. 819; id. fr. 820; Toldo, *op. cit.* p. 81, n. 1; Poncelet, *Miraculorum b. v. Mariae . . . index in Anal. Boll.*, **xxi** (1902), 301, no. 866.

¹³ Ed. Graesse, p. 592.

¹⁴ Ed. Poquet, Paris, 1857, p. 627, *Du clero qui fame espousa et puis la lessa*.

¹⁵ Ed. M. M. Banks, (EETS, London, 1904-5), no. ccclxv, p. 317.

¹⁶ Vol. III, 1878, pp. 137 ff.

¹⁷ E. g., Harl. 2851, fol. 87^b, no. 11, ca. 1300 (Ward, II, p. 671); Addit. 11579, fol. 11, no. 19, early fourteenth century (Herbert, III, p. 529); Royal 8 F VI, fol. 22^b, no. 55, toward the middle of the fifteenth century (Herbert, III, p. 680).

¹⁸ "Beatus Zepherus" (St. Zephirinus, 202-218) in Harl. 2851 (Ward, II, p. 671).

¹⁹ Warner, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

the same story in different language and unlocalized, and may even have been the original or primitive form of the Clerk of Pisa. A version in Latin prose may be found in the twelfth century collection of *Sermones de Tempore* published by Klapper;²⁰ and one in German verse of the second half of the thirteenth century, in Pfeiffer's *Marienlegenden*.²¹

A similar story appears in Mielot's collection of Miracles, No. ix;²² and in a longer version, No. xx, the Virgin, after he has signified his wish to forsake his earthly marriage for her, stretches out her hand, saying 'Come with me'; and he is suddenly transported to another land, where he leads an exemplary life in her service.

De Vooy's gives a curious variant: 'Van ene clerc die onse lieve vrouwe trouwede mit enen rinc.'

Two clerks returning from school meet a girl, who gives one of them a ring. The clerk puts his ring for safe keeping on the finger of a statue of Mary, but is unable afterwards to get it off. Later he marries the girl, but on the wedding night Mary appears to him and cries scornfully: "Hout, hier is dijn rinc, ontrouwe dienre ende vuyle, snode mensche! Hier is dijn rinc weder, daer du mi dijn trouwe mede gaveste, doe du seitste dat ic scoenre was ende suverliker dan si." At first he thinks it is a dream, but the Virgin strikes him twice on the face; he begs her forgiveness, becomes a hermit, at length regains her favor, and at the end of his life is taken to heaven.²³

²⁰ Jos. Klapper, *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters*, Heidelberg, 1911 (Hilka's *Sammlung Mittellateinischer Texte*, no. 2), no. 50, p. 40.

²¹ Franz Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, Stuttgart, 1846, no. vii, p. 53. Pfeiffer says the source of the collection was largely the *Liber de Miraculis* [= Pez]. The same poem is printed by von der Hagen in *Gesamtabenteuer*, III, no. lxxxix, p. 508. Cf. *ibid.*, p. cxxv.

²² Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²³ C. G. N. de Vooy's, *Middelnederlandsche Legenden en Exempelen*, Gravenhage, 1900, pp. 90-1.

In the *Sermo de conceptione B. M.*, wrongly ascribed to Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109), a clerk who had the rank of deacon and was brother of the King of Hungary in the time of Charles the Great, on his wedding day recalls that he has not prayed as usual to Mary. In the church where he goes to offer prayer the Virgin upbraids him for his infidelity to her, and promises, if he will leave his earthly bride, to be his bride in heaven.²⁴

I add in a note a partial list of the manuscripts which contain the *Neglected Mary Image*. But often it is difficult to make a real distinction between the variants of this miracle and those of the related miracles, and therefore it is possible that some of the items in the list below are out of place.²⁵

The Bachelor of Rome. An extremely interesting, but (I believe) independent adaptation of the Venus story to the mediæval Mary worship is found in the *Vie des anciens Pères*, written about the middle of the thirteenth century.

²⁴ Migne, *Patrologia Latina* CLIX, col. 320; *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CLXXXIX (p. 870). Cf. Mussafia, i, p. 931; Ward, II, p. 609. In the Middle Netherlandish *Legenda Aurea*, *Winterstuc*, fol. 121, *Van een diaken*, the clerk is "des conincs broeder van Zacharien"; cf. C. G. N. DeVooys, *Middelnederlandsche Legenden en Exempelen*, p. 90. In the *Devoet boexken* (ms. Haag L. 50, fol. 82), a Dutch translation of the *Scala Celi*, the same story occurs, says De Vooys (*ibid.*, n. 1), but the bridegroom is "des conincs soen van ungherien."

²⁵ Twelfth century:—B. N. lat. 14463, no. 13 (Muss., i, p. 954).

Twelfth-thirteenth cent.:—Copenhagen Thott 26, no. 27 (Muss., i, p. 971).

Thirteenth cent.:—B. N. lat. 12593, no. 61 (Muss., i, p. 966); Leipzig 819, no. 22 (Muss., i, p. 974); Leipzig 821, no. 27 (Muss., i, p. 971); B. N. lat. 17491, no. 18 (Muss., i, p. 977); B. N. lat. 18134, no. 8 (Muss., i, p. 982); Charleville 168, no. 24 (Muss., ii, p. 51).

Fourteenth cent.: Arund. 506, no. 20 (with variations,—Herbert, III, p. 543).

Cf. also B. N. lat. 16056, no. 29 (Muss., i, p. 960).

It is here entitled *Dun bachelor de Rome qui esposa lymage de pierre*.²⁶ The narrative proper is provided with an introduction of fifty-three verses on the folly and vanity of life.

In a place called the Coliseum, where St. Gregory had had all the heathen images brought, 'li valet bachelor de Rome' were playing ball one holiday; among whom was a rich noble lately married. On joining the game, this youth placed his ring on the finger of an image he saw nearby,—but when the contest was finished he found the finger had closed and he could not recover his ring. At first he was frightened, but he soon returned home and thought no more about it. That night as he was about to embrace his wife, the image interposed itself. Astonished, he arose and made a light, but saw nothing. When he returned to bed the image came back, reproached him for illtreating her whom he had just married and then vanished. In great distress the youth took counsel of his chaplain, who tried by the crucifix and holy water to exorcise the spirit; but the image scorned him, and the Priest, hearing the Devil speak, fled. The following day they consulted the Pope; who counselled the youth to refrain from his wife and keep the matter secret. Thus for a long time he suffered stoically, until one day he heard of a holy hermit far from Rome, and resolved to seek his advice. The hermit bade him persevere in continence and meanwhile devote himself to the service of Our Lady. At the end of a year the Virgin appeared to him and directed him to make a beautiful image of her. But since the making of images was now forbidden by law the Pope urged him to put no trust in dreams. After the vision was twice repeated, however, the Pope gave his approval; and the new statue, by its loveliness, attracted many offerings. Then one day it vanished; the people prayed devoutly for its return; and presently it reappeared—with the young man's ring on its finger. Many unbelievers were converted by the miracle. And thus the youth received his ring, recovered his wife, and henceforth served Our Lady faithfully. St. Gregory commanded images of the Virgin to be made everywhere. Let us all follow the example of this bachelor of Rome, who took good advice and overcame the Devil.

²⁶ Herbert, III, p. 337. Printed by Méon, *Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris, 1823, II, pp. 293-313. The poem contains 662 octosyllabic lines. A fragment of this tale occurs in a fifteenth-century Swiss manuscript, cf. Tobler, *Jahrb. für rom. und engl. Lit.*, VII (1866), p. 434.

Love Obtained by the Black Arts. A tale very similar to the Clerk of Pisa, but much longer and more elaborated, is that which Mussafia calls *Liebe durch Teufelskunst*.

A certain bishop had a clerk whom he loved and cherished as his own son; and this clerk, who fully returned his bishop's affection, was also very devoted to the Virgin. But the "antiquus inimicus" laid his plans to seduce the clerk. So under the diabolic influence he fell desperately in love with a girl who was already betrothed to a rich young nobleman. Being poor and of low birth himself, he did not dare ask her hand, but he resolved to obtain her love by magic. The evil spirits whom he summoned asked if he would renounce the Son of God and his mother Mary. This he refused to do; but he would agree, he said, to whatever else they might demand. Thereupon they promised to fulfil his wish if he would swear to stand by his word, "quia multi Christiani sic eos deceperant, quorum vota ipsi saepe impleverant." The demons then took possession of the girl and inflamed her heart with love of the clerk. So mighty was her passion that she threatened to elope if she were not honorably bestowed upon him. Finally her parents consented. But in the midst of the marriage feast he recalled his omission of the usual *sponsus* and *nonae* and asked permission of his guests to perform his due service to Mary. While he was chanting his prayers before her image he fell asleep, and the Virgin appeared to him in a dream charging him with the crime and sacrilege of deserting her for an earthly bride. He then implored her help and favor. She relented. He dissolved his marriage, and after confession and a great penance performed became a holy man; so that when he died a dove issued from his mouth and flew straight upward.

There are two, slightly differing, early versions of this story in Latin, one in prose in the collection of Mary miracles by William of Malmesbury,²⁷ the other in riming hexameters of the twelfth century.²⁸ The former begins:

Eiusdem austeritatis suavitatem pro commissis alter habuit clericus immanius quam iste scelus ausus. Nam cum eum episcopus suus

²⁷ This miracle is printed from Salisbury ms. 97 by Mussafia, iv, pp. 53 ff.

²⁸ Printed by Mussafia, v, pp. 48 ff.; and in Pez, no. xxxv. My summary is based in the main on this version.

tenero et sincero dignaretur amore, omnis ei literature commodum apposuit. Quibus dum ille non frivole intenderet licitas artes medullitus insectatus curiositate (ut fit) humana, etiam illicitas attigit. Per quosdam itaque quos dicunt characteres edoctus ad hoc sacrilegii devenerat, ut cuicumque femine etiam luctanti basis raperet, pudorem expugnaret.

The latter begins:

Nunc venite et audite, omnes servi domini;
Volo namque rem narrare, quam a quodam didici,
Ut Maria die sponsa deinceps ab omnibus
Sit amate et laudata, sicut decet, amplius;

and ends:

Ergo ipsa benedicta sit per omne seculum
et det nobis sine fine sempiternum gaudium,
Una secum et cum nato qui vivos et mortuos
Indicabit et extremum et per ignem seculum.

But in the latter version the metrical rhythm is not always preserved. For example, in *Pez*, which is printed as prose, the beginning is—

Huc venite & audite omnes servi Domini. Volo namque narrare, quod a quodam didici, ut Maria, Domini sponsa, deinceps ab omnibus sit amplius amanda & laudanda;

and the ending is—

Ergo ipsa sit benedicta per omnia sæcula, detque nobis sempiterna gaudia una secum & cum Nato suo, Redemptore omnium, qui in fine judicabit omnia, reddens bonis & malis juxta sua merita, cui laus, & potestas in sæcula Amen.²⁹

The popularity of this (originally) metrical version is attested by its presence in a large number of manuscripts. William's version was perhaps less well known.³⁰

²⁹ It is obvious that the rhythm is not entirely lost in the "prose" version of *Pez*; and doubtless many texts which are not strictly metrical preserve it better than others.

³⁰ Manuscripts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries containing the metrical version are:—B. N. lat. 14463, Brussels 7797,

William of Malmesbury's collection was turned into verse by Adgar, an Anglo-Norman poet of the end of the twelfth century, whose translation is preserved in Egerton ms. 612, of the early thirteenth century; and again by a later Anglo-Norman versifier, whose work is preserved in ms. Royal 20 B xiv. The two French texts are printed by Mussafia in parallel columns and their relations studied in his Heft iv. The variations are mainly in treatment; the story itself is not altered. William, after his narrative is finished continues with some not too relevant moral

7806, Phillips 336, B. N. lat. 12593 (Mussafia's text is based on the first of these, with collation of the others); B. N. lat. 2672, 16056, 17491, 3333A, 18134, 18168, 6560, Montpellier 146, Egerton 612, Arundel 346, Charleville 79, 158 (mentioned by Mussafia, v, but not examined by him); B. M. Cleop. C. x, Vespas. D. xix. (Muss., iii, p. 6; Ward, II, p. 694); Madrid Bb 150 (Muss., iii, p. 28, greatly abbreviated); and a version in 48 distichs occurs in the same ms. of the Amplonian Collection at Erfurt as that which contains the Clerk of Pisa (cf. n. 12 above, and Muss., iii, p. 17).

William of Malmesbury's version is found in the Salisbury ms. and also in Oxford, Balliol 240 (which is practically a copy of Royal 20 B 14,—Muss., ii, p. 32), Camb. Univ. Lib. Mm 6. 15 (slightly different, Muss., ii, p. 39 and n. 4), Toulouse 478 (entirely different text, but from the extract in Muss., ii, p. 29, appears certainly to be based on William of Malmesbury). Warner (introduction to Mielot, p. xviii; Herbert III, pp. 513, 523) mentions Sloane 2478, fol. 5^b and Harl. 2385, fol. 54^b, in prose, which give the title of the book of magic: *Hic incipit mors animæ* (not mentioned by William) and adds at the end that when the clerk died those standing by saw a dove issue from his mouth and rise into the clouds. These two manuscripts seem therefore to show a contamination of the metrical and Malmesbury's versions. Related is B. N. lat. 5562, described by Mussafia thus (ii, p. 45): *Clericus quidem cum esset in arte nigromantie, cujus titulus est hic: 'incipit mors anime,' non mediocriter instructus et de quadam puella esset graviter temptatus, arte sua dyabolum alloquitur.* "Wie ich auf indirectem Weg, mit ziemlicher Sicherheit vermuthe, zur Fassung von Oxf. III^b 12, Toul. III^c 19 [i. e. Balliol 240, Toulouse 478, as above] gehörig. Die Diction muss aber sehr stark abgekürzt sein."

reflections, and these Adgar translated, while the other omitted them.

Ms. fr. 818 of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains a translation of the metrical version entitled *Du clerc que la virge gita de pechie*. It begins:

Escotez, seignor, et venez,
Vos qui la virgine amez,
Qui el euer l'avez nuit et jor,
La sainte mere de doucor,
Por amor de li suspirez.

The whole consists of 456 verses: a prologue of 44 lines; then the narrative, rather slow-moving; and a conclusion of 29 lines, a sort of hymn to Mary.⁸¹

Étienne de Bourbon (d. ca. 1261) tells in his *De septem donis* of a clerk who was very devoted to the Virgin, but fell madly in love and wanted to leave the church and marry. The wedding was about to take place, but

voluit prius dictus clericus horas beate Virginis consummare antequam ad mensam accederet; quod cum faceret, sopor irruit super eum, et audivit beatam Mariam conquerentem repudiatam ab eo pro alia. Qui, facti penitens et omnia episcopo confitens, intacta uxore, ad religionem transivit et obsequio beate (Virginis) devotus perseveravit. Et hec in ejus obitu dicitur affuisse, et eum secum suscepisse et duxisse.⁸²

Here the story is confused, the black magic element is omitted, but the conclusion suggests Love Obtained by the Black Arts more than any of the other miracles.

Mielot has a rendering, Miracle xxv, which seems to be based on William of Malmesbury's version, though it can hardly be a direct translation: *D'un clerc qui delaissa a servir la vierge Marie pour soy marier, au quel sapparut*

⁸¹ Printed by Mussafia, v, pp. 54-9.

⁸² *De septem donis*, Paris II, Tit. vi, no. 140 (ed. Lecoy de la Marche, p. 120). Cf. Toldo, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

*la ditte vierge, en tant quil renuncea a sa femme et retourna au service de la glorieuse vierge Marie.*³³

Analogous Miracles. Besides the miracles already discussed, I have noted various stories which are more or less closely related to the main group, and which do not seem to have been so well known or so widespread. The most important of these is the legend of St. Agnes.

Paulinus, sacerdos huius ecclesiae [i. e., Romae], mira carnis temptatione vexabatur, et cum nollet Deum offendere, a summo pontifice petiit dispensationem contrahendi. Cuius bonitatem papa intuens anulum ei cum smaragdo dedit, et iussit ut supra altare in ciborium, ubi picta est Agnetis ymago formosa ascenderet, et ei ex parte papa preciperet ut se permetteret sibi desponsari. Illa continuo digitum anularem porrigens, et anulo suscepto retrahens, omnem tentationem a sacerdote fugavit. Ille qui vidit ymationem et anulum hoc testatur.³⁴

An interesting medley of several motifs is the story of the knight who, passionately in love with a lady, threatens, when she refuses him, to learn magic in order to obtain his desire.

The lady declares she is not afraid. The knight meets a priest in a little chapel, and relates his purpose. The priest asks if he will abandon his attempt for the sake of a far more beautiful woman;

³³ Warner, p. 20.

³⁴ Bartholomew of Trent (d. 1240), quoted by Graf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 402, n. 69. Same in *Legenda Aurea*, cap. XXIV (Graesse, p. 116). Graf mentions also the abbreviated form in Herman von Fritzlar, *Heiligenleben*, p. 69; *Mirabilia* (ed. Parthey, p. 61) in which the priest is named John and the Pope is Paschasius (same in British Museum MS. Addit. 18347.—Herbert, III, p. 599, no. 2); and the chronicle of St. Egidius in which the priest's name is Leopardus, the Pope's Innocentius (same in Klapper, *Exempla*, no. 52, p. 41). In the English translation of the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, ed. M. M. Banks, EETS., it is no. XLVIII, pp. 32-3. Cf. also Herbert, III, p. 470, no. 57. There is a variant in Etienne de Bourbon, *ed. cit.*, p. 84; cf. Herbert, III, p. 607, no. 18. Klapper refers to *Alem.*, XVII, 14, no. 22.

and the knight admits that he will. The priest then counsels him to pray a hundred and fifty Aves a day for a year: at the end of that time he will have a lady one hundred times fairer than the one he sought before. When the knight has fulfilled his compact he prays to Mary: "Quia sacerdos meus tibi me promisit fore copulandam, veni ut tibi nuberem." She puts a ring on his finger, but warns him that when it disappears he will die. Meanwhile he becomes very rich. At the close of one of the banquets he was accustomed to give his friends he prays aloud to God that he may have what he most desires. Suddenly he looks at his finger—the ring is gone. He recognizes, therefore, that his end is near, and relates the whole story to his guests.*

In an Italian manuscript written about 1400 is a rather similar story in Latin.

A "French knight invokes the Virgin's help to win a lady's love; he has a vision of her with the lady, and at once transfers his love to her; he becomes a monk, and has a second vision of the Virgin, in which she gives him a betrothal ring; he is chosen abbot, and soon after a third vision, in which the Virgin rebukes him for letting the cares of office distract him, and withdraws the ring; on his deathbed devils assail him, but the Virgin comforts him and restores the ring, which is preserved 'usque hodie' in the abbey."*

Cæsarius of Heisterbach has a related miracle, in which, however, there is no ring and no vow.

A fine young knight is inspired by the Devil with a passion for his master's wife. Being repulsed, he consults a hermit, who bids him say a hundred aves a day for one year. When the last ave is said, the Virgin appears to him and consecrates their marriage with a kiss. His carnal temptations at once leave him, and soon thereafter he gives up the ghost and enters upon the promised nuptials in heaven.†

Thomas of Cantimpré relates a story which more closely

* Wright, *Latin Stories*, no. 71 (from MS. Harley 219); Mussafia, ii, pp. 67-8; Herbert, III, p. 52.

† British Museum, MS. Addit. 11872, fol. 133 (Herbert, III, p. 696, no. 37).

‡ Dist. VII, cap. 32; cf. Herolt, *Promptuarium*, no. 27; Mussafia, ii, p. 60, and iii, p. 46.

resembles in its conclusion the Clerk of Pisa and Neglected Mary Image type but belongs to the Hundred Aves group.

A young man who, remaining chaste, squanders his substance in gambling and high living, is advised by his uncle to pray fifty, a hundred, a hundred fifty aves daily for three years; then he will find a bride. The uncle's prediction comes true, but at the wedding feast the young man recalls that he has not offered his usual prayers. In the church Mary appears with a book of a hundred and fifty aves written in gold letters, and tells him he will die in three days. He returns to the feast, recounts his vision, and then leaves his bride.²⁸

A similar miracle is in Mielot's collection, No. xxxviii.²⁹

It is unnecessary to add many examples of the mediæval tales in which Christ espouses an earthly maid,

²⁸ *Bonum univ. de apibus*, II, cap. xxix. 6; Herolt, *Promptuarium*, no. 38; Mussafia, II, p. 62, III, p. 46. Cf. also Ward-Herbert, II, pp. 634, 684; III, pp. 360, 527, 541, 614.

²⁹ Of remoter interest here is the following:

"How a clerk, taking shelter in a porch, found an image of the Virgin there, and placed a clasp upon its finger; how he afterwards saw in a church a second image of the Virgin with the same clasp on its finger; and how a voice from it taught him a new 'Gaude'." British Museum MS. Addit. 18929 (late thirteenth century), fol. 85; Ward, II, p. 659, no. 26; printed in Mone, *Lat. Hymnen des Mittelalters*, II, p. 169.

"German clerk has nothing else to offer at the mass of the Virgin but a broach which he meant for his sweetheart Mariota; the Virgin appears to him that night, wearing the broach and calling herself Mariota, and claiming his allegiance henceforth." British Museum MS. Sloane 2478 (early fourteenth century), fol. 6; Herbert, III, p. 513, no. 11. Cf. MS. Egerton 1117, no. 3, in which the clerk's offering is a silver necklace; Ward, II, p. 666. In MS. Addit. 32248 (which also contains the Clerk of Pisa) the clerk makes a pedestal for the image with branches of trees, and crowns it with flowers; Ward, II, p. 698, no. 17. Cf. also Herbert, III, p. 543, no. 20.

On the Girl of Arras cf. Ward-Herbert, II, p. 703, III, p. 661, etc.; Mussafia, I, pp. 28, 56.

An immoral monk is seized and thrown into a river by the Devil, but is rescued by Mary because he has been accustomed to say an *Ave Maria* whenever he passed her statue.—*Liber Exemplorum* (thirteenth century), ed. A. G. Little, Aberdeen, 1908, p. 32, no. 52.

or the Virgin chooses an earthly husband. They represent, says Toldo (p. 81) "un concetto puerile insieme e pagano che il Medio Evo aveva del cielo e in pari tempo spiegghino il rapido diffondersi della leggenda dell' anello, che, secondo ogni probabilità, ha origini orientali." The following story illustrates the Oriental side. That the idea originated in the East and was borrowed by the Western story-tellers cannot be proved; but it is equally probable that such a simple and natural conception would arise spontaneously and independently in East and West both.

Ananda, a follower of Buddha, wishes to abandon his divinity in order to marry a girl he loves and who loves him. Buddha seeing all other reasoning would be useless, takes him to heaven and shows him the celestial maidens, and asks if his lady is more beautiful than these. He lowers his head and signifies his disposition to live chastely the rest of his days, in order that, after this life, he may be united with a celestial maiden.*

A few more Western examples will suffice. Jesus gave a ring as a symbol of betrothal to St. Catherine of Alexandria (ASS 25 Nov.), St. Margaret of Florence (ASS 26 Aug.) and St. Helen (ASS 23 April). In the *Specchio d'esempi* Jesus causes a girl to find three violets in a garden in the dead of winter and a ring representing two clasped hands as a sign that he regarded her as his spouse. And in the same work the Virgin, not wishing St. Edmund's devotion to pass unrecognized, accepted a ring he offered her and then returned it "con la salvation sua scritta in esso."⁴¹ Just before the birth of St. Robert of

* Kern, *Histoire de Bouddhisme*, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1882, p. 164 (Toldo, *l. o.*).

⁴¹ Toldo, *op. cit.*, p. 81, n. 1, and p. 80. In the *De relationibus* of Alain de la Roche (ca. 1460), chap. iv (ed. 1691, p. 120 ff.) it is related that Mary gave a betrothal ring woven of her own hair to a monk who had been severely tempted by the Devil (H. Günter, *Legenden Studien*, Köln, 1906, p. 184).

Champagne the Virgin appeared to his mother Ermen-garde with a gold ring, saying she wished to be betrothed to him as soon as he was born (ASS 29 April). In spite of his unwillingness to accept, the Virgin promised to wed St. Herman of Cologne; on earth he was to represent Joseph, and in heaven he was to be with her (ASS 7 April). Mielot relates (No. LIX [LII]) a "miracle de l'enfant que fiança l'ymage de la vierge Marie." In the Braybrooke Collection of rings there is one of the fourteenth century with this inscription in Longobardic letters: "O cest anel seu espose de Jheusu Crist."⁴²

Moreover, the practice of heavenly marriages was not confined to saints' legends in the Middle Ages. Edmund Rich, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1234, had as a young man made a vow of celibacy, and in order "that he might be able to keep it, he wedded himself to the mother of our Lord. He had two rings made with 'Ave Maria' engraved on each. One he placed on the finger of an image of the Virgin, which stood in a church at Oxford, and the other he wore on his own finger, considering himself espoused in this manner to the Virgin."⁴³ One of the daughters of King John vowed on the death of her husband to become the true spouse of Christ with a ring, but afterwards broke her vow to marry Simon de Montfort. The Lady Alice West, in her will dated 1395, left to her son Thomas among other things "a ring with whiche I was yspoused to God" during her widowhood.⁴⁴

From one point of view Toldo is correct in calling the idea of these supernatural marriages a "puerile conceit." But there is another point of view from which they must

⁴² William Jones, *Finger Ring Lore*, London, 1898, p. 240.

⁴³ Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-8.

⁴⁴ Harrod, *Archæologia*, XL, part 2 (Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 241).

be regarded as something sacred and profound. The high mysticism which many men and women of the Middle Ages seem to have been capable of is not to be lightly repudiated as futile and insincere. The greater naturalness and simplicity of mediæval life in comparison with our own was conducive to a steadier kind of spirituality. Complete renunciation of the "world" was for many a constant ideal; and in the life of contemplation (with its inevitable echoes and memories of the life of the flesh) into which such extatic dreamers withdrew, a mystic marriage with the great and holy of their new world was both natural and necessary. The sexual depravity of mediæval monastic life is not for a moment to be denied or lost sight of, but it was not all so. There were some who could wholly and purely, without sham or self-deception, be united in a sacred union with Jesus or Mary; and for these, and indeed for all who could sympathetically comprehend their attitude, the stories of the Clerk of Pisa and of the ring on the image of Mary, with all their variants, would have a true and serious meaning. There were many men in the Middle Ages who had no doubt the Virgin Mary had appeared to them and spoken to them; and the Church was busy teaching those who had not enjoyed this miracle that it was possible to them also if they lived devoutly and obeyed the priest. Thus, while for the practical minded these divine marriages are a childish notion, for the mystics and the religious idealists they are a consummation of exalted contemplation and denial of the flesh. They may be amusing now, but in their day and for their purpose they were genuine reflections of human life.

We may now turn to study the probable relationship of all these tales which throughout the Middle Ages played so many variations on a few well-recognized themes. And

the discussion will be clearest if we begin with those which appear to be the simplest, that is, to contain the important motifs in the least complicated combination. The Venus story is the natural starting point; the Marriage of Mary with the ring its most obvious parallel; and the Clerk of Pisa, which is perhaps the simplest of all, occupies a middle ground between them, with important elements of each.⁴⁵ We may therefore begin conveniently with these three.

It is reasonably certain, though not demonstrable, that the Venus story is the earliest. Of the other two, the Clerk of Pisa appears to be the earlier; it dates certainly from before 1100. The story of the ring placed on the statue of the Virgin, or Marriage of Mary, does not occur, so far as we have direct evidence, before 1200; but by about 1225 (or earlier) Gautier de Coincy had already translated it from Latin into French. We may therefore assume with reasonable probability that it existed by 1200. But it is obvious that the meagre evidence we possess is entirely insufficient to form the basis of a sound argument for their genetic relations. And the fact that we have the Clerk of Pisa in a written form which antedates the earliest written form of the Marriage of Mary is of course inconclusive evidence of their relative date.

Let us assume, however, the priority of the Venus story. The conception of a statue endowed with certain human attributes is primitive, and pagan. The association of the classical gods with evil spirits, and the belief in the malevolent power of Venus, are early Christian ideas; but the story itself is Christian only in this remote back-

* With the Clerk of Pisa I here include its variant (or original) the Neglected Mary Image; for they represent the very same story. Whether the former is actually a more developed form of the latter I shall not pretend to say.

ground. The feeling and atmosphere of the story are pagan. When in the eleventh century the cult of the Virgin Mary began to make great strides, pious minds would look about for whatever could readily be adapted to the new worship, and it was inevitable that some one should see the potentialities of this tale of Venus and the ring. And yet how to make over the figure of a cruel goddess into something like the divine Virgin is not altogether obvious, unless there is some intermediate link to be used as a suggestion.⁴⁶

Let us assume again that before the transformation of the Venus statue to the Mary image took place the Clerk of Pisa was already known. This is a comparatively simple story of a youth devoted to the Virgin; he yields to the entreaties of his friends to marry, but on his wedding day the Virgin in a vision claims him as her own, and he abandons his marriage, accepts the love of Mary, and ends his life in her service. That is, a devout youth prefers the mystic marriage with the mother of Jesus to an earthly union—a very simple and useful motif for one who desired to encourage the growing Mary-cultus. And this simple motif was converted into a story by the device, equally simple, of a vision. One may grant, then, that the Clerk of Pisa may well have arisen as an independent narrative with the didactic purpose of advancing the worship of the Virgin.⁴⁷

*One recalls that William of Malmesbury was acquainted with both the Venus story and Love Obtained by the Black Arts, and yet William did not apparently regard the two as mutually related or suggestive one of the other.

*Mussafia conjectured that HM, the eleventh-century collection of Mary miracles which contains the earliest occurrence of the Clerk of Pisa was compiled in England. If this is so, the story must have already been in circulation; for an Englishman would not localize it in Pisa, and name the particular church, without special reason. Perhaps the tale had a remote basis of fact, or of local tradition.

Now it is noticeable that the whole interest of this story centres in the conclusion. The introduction is merely perfunctory: the young man has a natural inclination to celibacy and religion, but his friends urge him to marry. If one should replace this uninteresting introduction with something more lively—say, for example, the opening of the Venus story, the moral would be equally cogent, the narrative would be more attractive, and the whole would be *à fortiori* more effective. The connecting link between the two stories is this: when the young man is about to consummate his marriage with an earthly bride, the *other* betrothed appears to him in a vision and asserts her claim. With this incident as the middle term, how would the amalgamation take place?

The pagan story relates that to avoid injuring it while he is playing a game on his wedding day, a youth places his betrothal ring on the finger of a statue of Venus. When the game is finished he cannot get back his ring because the statue has bent its finger. That night he is prevented from consummating the marriage by an invisible obstacle, and Venus then appears to him and claims him as her own. Now, for *Venus* read *Mary*, for *invisible obstacle* read *sleep*, and add the conclusion of the Clerk of Pisa as I have outlined it in the last paragraph but one: “. . . claims him as her own, and he abandons his marriage, accepts the love of Mary, and ends his life in her service.” Here we have in all its essential details the *exemplum de clericulo qui anulum suum in digito ymaginis beate virginis posuit*, the familiar miracle.

Perhaps one may say that this explanation, with all its simplicity is too ingenious. But there it is, at least possible, if not probable; and certainly natural. I do not claim anything more for it. It makes two preliminary assumptions, first that the Venus story preceded the others in

point of time, and second that the Clerk of Pisa was earlier than the Marriage of Mary. Both these assumptions are in agreement with the facts so far as we can recover them; and so the internal evidence harmonizes with the external and supports it, though neither is conclusive by itself. Their combined force, however, produces what I should like to call a sufficient probability. In the nature of the case no stronger argument is practicable, and no closer approach to certainty is possible.

The Bachelor of Rome appears to be an independent adaptation of the Venus story to the Virgin worship. It is more complex than the usual Marriage of Mary, and closer to its original, and does not seem to have been so popular. The malevolent image is not called Venus, but it behaves precisely like the Venus statue of Malmesbury's version. The incidents are substantially the same until the Bachelor of Rome takes steps to break the spell. In the earlier tale the hero turns to Palumbus, a converted necromancer; here, after getting no help from the Pope, he tries a pious hermit who makes him a devotee of the Virgin. Then the vision motif is repeated, Our Lady taking the place of Venus. Finally his devotion to the Virgin earns him the reward of his prayers. But in both tales Palumbus and the hermit have the same rôle: they put the Roman youth on the right path to regain his ring.

With Gautier's story there can hardly be any real relationship. While in many respects the Bachelor of Rome is a better and more interesting narrative, it has not the simplicity of outline and effective directness of Gautier's version. The latter carries the adaptation one step further in merging the figure of Venus and that of Mary; and thus the plot is relieved of the repetition of the two vision incidents and of the suspense in which the bachelor seeks for the right advice but still hesitates to carry out

the Virgin's commands. The dénouement of Gautier's version is therefore swifter and more pointed, and the whole is better adapted for exemplum or didactic use. But the elements of unlikeness between the two with reference to their common source are such as seem to preclude any theory that the Bachelor of Rome was somehow an intermediate step between the Venus story and the Marriage of Mary. The Bachelor follows its source as closely as is consistent with its religious *raison d'être*; while the very points of similarity between the Marriage of Mary and the Venus story are points of dissimilarity between it and the Bachelor of Rome. It can therefore hardly be a question of the latter's being the source or model of the Marriage of Mary. Of course it is possible, notwithstanding, that if the Bachelor of Rome existed before 1200 it may have given some one the suggestion of combining the story of Venus and the Clerk of Pisa with the purpose of advancing the cult of the Virgin; but there is no reason to suppose such an early date for it.

The story of Love Obtained by the Black Arts is certainly a developed form of the Clerk of Pisa type, and probably was based on some early version of the latter before it became localized in Pisa. The two are fundamentally the same in dénouement, except that in the simpler story the Virgin appears immediately to the clerk and addresses him directly, while in Love by the Black Arts he falls asleep and has a vision. Where they differ is in the introduction. One is straightforward and almost bare, the other is elaborated with diabolic obsession and dealings in necromancy. This fuller introduction involves of course minor changes in the latter parts of the story, but it does not affect the principal incident or the climax, unless perhaps to overshadow it slightly. Indeed, the very fact that the interest of the reader is aroused at once, that

the story does not depend for its appeal entirely on the vision and sudden conversion of the clerk, that thus the miraculous element is subordinated, is evidence that *Love Obtained by the Black Arts* is an elaboration of the simpler *Pisa* story.

There is no need to attempt a schematic outline of the relations of the miscellaneous variants. I have included them above as an indication of the popularity of the themes with mediæval story-tellers and listeners. It is of interest to find the old ideas in new connexions and combinations. And in the unadorned narratives of the Middle Ages one can easily see the same working and reworking, the same shuffling and reshuffling, of a few simple motifs or incidents which it requires greater analysis to recognize in the more sophisticated fiction of the present, but which are equally manifest to the student.

Sometime during those transitional centuries, then, between the Christianization of Rome and the opening of the mediæval period there came into being a strange story of a young Roman who unintentionally betrothed himself to a statue of Venus, the demon-goddess, by placing his marriage ring on its finger; who was persecuted by the malevolent and jealous image; and finally obtained release by means of a necromancer. This story enjoyed a considerable currency in the Middle Ages, and being transformed into a miracle of the Virgin attained a tremendously increased popularity. It is not one of the finest examples of mediæval narrative art. It never attracted any of the more skilful story writers—one wishes Chaucer had taken it down from the lips of one of the Canterbury pilgrims (the Clerk, say, might have told it on the way back to London); it never received anything like literary interpretation. But the fact that it has continued to com-

mand the interest of readers since the Renaissance is a proof of its intrinsic worth as a story.

During the Middle Ages it led a double life. But while its *other* manifestation passed out of common currency along with the bulk of mediæval miracles of the Virgin, its original form has maintained itself, and has at length from the hands of Mérimée won its literary laurels.

III

The old traditions of Venus as a love-demon have naturally attracted many modern writers, and there are several interesting poems and tales based on this idea of the supernatural powers of the transformed goddess, but they are pertinent here only when they contain actual reminiscences of the statue-and-ring motif. Eichendorff's very pretty romantic story, *Das Marmorbild*, is eminently successful in suggesting an atmosphere in which our disbelief in enchantment and diabolic influence is very willingly suspended: the whole tale is so conducted that the reader hardly knows, until the author carefully disillusion him at the end, which of Florio's friends and which of the lovely gardens and palaces are real and which are imaginary. Here Venus appears sometimes as a marble statue, but there is no ring-betrothal.¹

Eichendorff returned, however, to this same theme in his narrative poem *Julian* (1853), in which the Emperor Julian pledges himself to the ancient gods by placing a

¹ Eichendorff, in a letter to Fouqué (Dec. 2, 1817) explained that he took the hint for this story from Happel's *Curiositates*; see the extract in Koch's introduction to *Das Marmorbild* in Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, 146, II, 2, pp. 157 ff. Koch mentions other stories and poems which involve a similar theme. The German critics find a sort of literary allegory in Eichendorff's tale. On Happel's version of Venus and the ring see above, p. 529.

ring on the finger of a Venus statue—"Ich grüss' als Braut dich!" It is a long poem, in various metres, and has some interest for its narrative vigor, but none for its handling of the supernatural.

Among the Juvenile Poems of Tom Moore is a ballad in sixty-two quatrains called *The Ring*. Here the youth's name is Rupert, the bride's Isabel, the necromancer's Austin. Moore probably intended it to be of the 'simple and stirring' variety. To apologize for its badness by hoping it may have been intended as a burlesque is futile. The last stanza is a fair example of its qualities:

He took the ring, the rabble pass'd,
He home return'd again;
His wife was then the happiest fair,
The happiest he of men.

The German poet Franz Freiherr von Gaudy has a prose rifacimento of the Malmesbury version in his *Venetianische Novellen* (1838). At Verona, in the time of Can Signorio della Scala, young Ottaviano Sagramoso is betrothed to the lovely Vergogna, a daughter of the Castellani family, which has long been hostile to the Sagramosi. The setting is elaborate, some of the incidents are happily expanded, and the Montague-Capulet motif adds a certain interest to the situation. On the whole, Gaudy's *Frau Venus* is a respectable though hardly a distinguished retelling of the old tale.²

Mérimée's *Vénus d'Ille* (1837) is an extraordinarily fine short-story, and as an example of the possibilities of

²G. W. H. Häring (1798-1871), who wrote under the name of Willibald Alexis, published in the *Taschenbuch für Damen* for 1828 a *Venus in Rom* (also in *Gesammelte Novellen*, III, Berlin, 1831), which I believe is the story of the statue and the ring; but I have been unable to obtain a copy of it. (Cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, IX, pp. 436, 466.)

terror in fiction deserves closer study than would be appropriate here. One may compare it with Henry James's *The Last of the Valerii*, in which also there is an antique statue which exercises a power of evil in the modern world. It has been said that without a malignant woman for inspiration Mérimée had no talent; here he has another element of success: fear of the supernatural. His immediate source has not been discovered; but that is of little importance. While following generally the outline of the old story, he has made it completely his own; he has given it a vigor, an intensity, a life which none of the other versions possesses. For concentration and heightening of effect he has omitted the Palumbus incident, the nocturnal procession, and the return of the ring, and placed the tragic consequence where it is most true and impressive artistically, not on Palumbus, but on the bridegroom; thus at the same time simplifying the narrative and increasing its dramatic power. The bronze Venus of Ille is more distinctly than in any of the earlier redactions of the story the ancient love goddess become a malicious demon. And perhaps the most significant characteristic of Mérimée's handling is the boldness with which he placed the old material in the full light of modern life.*

In the Fourth Part of *The Earthly Paradise* (1870)

* Cf. Augustin Filon, *Mérimée et ses amis*, Paris, 1894, p. 98.

Mr. Arthur Symons, *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*, New York, 1919, pp. 58 ff., interprets Mérimée's story rather differently; and indeed finds a "spiritual meaning," which Mérimée rejected, in the mediæval story:—"The ring which the bridegroom sets on the finger of Venus and which the statue's finger closes upon, accepting it, symbolizes the pact between love and sensuality, the lover's abdication of all but the physical part of love."

Mérimée's *Vénus d'Ille* was translated into English by Edgar Saltus, in *Tales before Supper*, Brentano's, 1887; cf. C. Van Vechten, *The Merry-go-round*, New York, 1918, p. 58.

Morris retold the story, not without a certain charm, to be sure, but with none of the skill and subtlety of Mérimée's version. Morris did little more than expand, with poetical embellishments, the mediæval tale of Malmesbury and the chroniclers. The scene is on the coast of England; the hero is Lawrence, a wealthy merchant who has been in the East; the magician is Palumbus, an old friend of the bride's father. The whole effect of this version is one of dilution. There are upwards of thirteen hundred lines, but the actual story is slight. The descriptions are often good, but almost never excellent. Though he makes many obvious attempts, only once does Morris produce the mysterious atmosphere of the supernatural—when the cloudy column closed round the youth and

It was as though his lips were kissed.

The different groups of the nocturnal procession, suggesting vaguely the companies in Chaucer's *House of Fame*, are fairly vivid and interesting, but the vision as a whole fails to make a really great impression. And throughout the poem Morris displays all the weaknesses that are natural to the short narrative couplet, lack of concentration and intensity, loose grammatical structure, and rime-padding. There is apparently no effort at characterization, and though many of the ornamental passages are pleasing and pretty enough, the story itself is hardly more moving than in the bare mediæval versions.

In absolute contrast to Eichendorff's story, which hovers in a misty mid-region whence it is almost natural to cross into the adjoining world of spirits, and to Mérimée's masterpiece, which brings the supernatural into a mysterious but poignant relation with everyday life, is *The Tinted Venus: a Farcical Romance* (1885), of F. Anstey (Thomas Anstey Guthrie). Here we are obliged to sus-

pend disbelief because the supernatural is interwoven into a very realistic pattern of London life, and because the story is only an extraordinarily clever farce. There is no apparent effort to make the supernatural seem probable, but after our first shock at the disappearance of the statue from its pedestal and its reappearance in the omnibus we are no more inclined to question the right of the goddess to appear in the story than was Leander himself. The figures of the (in Victorian phrase) middle-lower-class Londoners are sufficiently lifelike, especially in the Dickensian scene of the Sunday dinner. We accept Mr. Tweddle and his friends because they are natural and amusing; we accept the august imperious divinity because Mr. Tweddle accepts her and because she is part of the farce. In two chapter headings (III and IX) Anstey quotes from *The Earthly Paradise*; in Chapter VIII Mr. Freemoult, the scholar whom Leander consults on the antecedent history of his deity, says that the story of the ring occurs in *The Earthly Paradise* and also in Burton's *Anatomy*; and the mention of a tennis game and a bronze statue shows that Anstey probably knew Mérimée's version as well.

It is far from Anstey's farcical novelette to Mérimée's study of terror and malignant jealousy, and farther still to the miracle of the Clerk of Pisa and the simple tale of William of Malmesbury, yet they are all one story; they have in common the situation of a bridegroom pursued by a jealous divinity on whose finger he has slipped a marriage ring; and what is important is not so much to compare this with any example whatsoever of an immortal interfering with a mortal lover, or of a person committing an imprudent act which brings on serious consequences, as to observe what meanings, what effects are obtained from this situation. The mediæval story-tellers were in

the main too unskilled and too unliterary to make it mean anything in particular; they repeated it merely as a good tale. The Maryolaters, on the other hand, saw an opportunity to adapt it to holy uses, and changed the malevolent Venus to an equally jealous and importunate Mary acting, however, with benevolent intent. The modern writers have perceived its latent possibilities—Eichendorff for dreamy romanticism, Morris for poetical narrative (though his work is hardly an artistic success), Mérimée for characterization and terror, and Anstey for farce. One by one the undeveloped mediæval tales are coming into their own. This one of the ring and the statue may be said to have arrived.

PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM.

XXIV.—PLAY-PUBLISHING IN ELIZABETHAN TIMES

Two modern spectacles have become so familiar that we find it difficult to imagine even a prehistoric state without them: the author stalking a publisher, and the play treated as pure literature. There are, indeed, many plays—and even some successful ones—that do not reach print; but the closet-drama is established, and unquestioned as a literary form, in prose as well as verse. Hence it is difficult to visualize conditions that no more than three hundred years ago were the reverse of these: the play regarded as mere stage directions, not at all comparable with pure literature in prose or verse; and the publisher pursuing, satyr-like, the nymph-coy author for something to print. Yet the understanding of these surprising conditions is a pre-requisite to any establishing of Shakspearean or other Elizabethan texts, especially plays; for on it rests finally the main question of authenticity. A short survey of the following four aspects of Elizabethan publishing may help to show both their universality and their significance.

1. *A general disinclination, on the part of authors, to publish.* That this state of things would be likely to exist is obvious, chiefly of course because there was no such thing as authors' copyright; because when a man's ms. left his hands to go into a printing office it left not only his possession but his control, and belonged to the printer, —as Nash put it,¹—"and his heyres . . . successiue-ly to the thirteenth and fourteenth generation, *Cum Priuile-*

¹ *Have with you to Saffron-Walden*, McKerrow ed. (London, 1905), III, pp. 27 f.

gio, forbidding all other to print . . . but the lineall offspring of their race *in sempiternum*." To be sure, one's control was very ineffective, often, when one's ms. was in the hands of even a "very Frende"; but beyond that there was none at all. And there was plainly a feeling, especially among the courtly writers, that such publicity was not only a thing offering no advantages that they cared for, but something that would spoil the fine sociable sharing of their writings among their friends,—with and for whom they were very often written. This, of course, is but a roundabout way of stating the obvious fact: Literature was still chiefly regarded as an accomplishment; and had scarcely begun to be a profession. Those who wrote, therefore,—i. e., the accomplished classes,—when they thought of selling their writings to be printed, found no allurements in the thought: for they must bargain with disagreeable inferiors, and get but a few dirty shillings in exchange for the dear offspring of their fancy,—a transaction thus mercenary and degrading, and at its best unprofitable. That this disinclination to publish was actually the state of things, everyone knows. It is a commonplace that all of Sidney's writings circulated in ms. for years—during his life because no one dared to print them against the declared desire of so important a person, and even some time after, until the stationers could get possession of them. It is equally commonplace that most of the sonnetteers and their friends enjoyed the great numbers of sonnets that circulated, in ms., and usually a long time before their mss. got printed. We wonder, not that Shakspeare's were published without his sanction, but that they remained unpublished till 1609. Many Elizabethan writings were not published till some time after the author's death; in any case years may have elapsed,—and often are known to have elapsed,—between the writing

and the printing. Frequent instances of lawlessness among stationers show that this ms. habit, and the distrust of going into print, or at least the preferring to keep one's writings for friendly and private uses, was as strong with Sir Thomas Browne as it had been with Barnabe Googe eighty years before. And that they were in this neither unusual nor peculiar, many recurrent examples of other writers reveal all through the interval; with such outspoken statements as Nash makes about *The Terrors of the Night*,² Bacon about the *Essays*,³ Heywood about *The Foure Prentises of London*⁴ and *The English Traveller*,⁵ and the like.

2. *A special disinclination to publish plays.* Established upon this general distrust of the press and persistence of the ms. habit, was a special tendency away from the publishing of plays. This was due primarily to the (then) general disregard of plays as literature; and this again was due to the conditions within the theatre, and also to those without. All the external conditions of stage-playing, after the church gave over its control, and until after Shakspeare's time, made against its general reputation; and that reputation was made as much worse by the Puritans as they were able to make it. Among the courtly "makers," that is among those who produced, chiefly, the real literature, so considered, there could be little regard, much less any feeling of equality, for any part of this playwriting profession, which was (to them) disreputable, bourgeois, and at its best mercenary. A significant echo of this comes from Sir Richard Baker's

² McKerrow ed., I, p. 341.

³ Abbott ed., II, pp. 273 f.

⁴ *Dramatic Works* (London, 1874), II, pp. 159-62.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 5.

Chronicle (1643); in which, after recording the chief "men of note" in Elizabeth's time among "Statesmen," "Writers," and "Divines," Sir Richard continues (p. 120):

After such men, it might be thought ridiculous to speak of Stage-players; but seeing excellency in the meanest things deserve remembering, and *Roscius* the Comedian is recorded in History with such commendation, it may be allowed us to do the like with some of our Nation.*

Evidence that plays were not literature comes from Edmund Bolton's *Hypercritica; or a Rule of Judgment for writing or reading our histories*, the preliminary sketch of which (written about 1610 and preserved in the Rawlinson mss. at Oxford) gives "An Enumeration of the best Authors for written English,"—"the books . . . out of which wee gather the most warrantable English." Bolton adds that they "are not many to my remembrance, . . . But among the cheife, or rather the cheife, are in my opinion these." He then names Sir Thomas More, Chapman's *Iliad*, Samuel Daniel, Drayton's *Heroicall Epistles*, "Marlowe his excellent fragment of Hero and Leander," and

Shakespere, Mr Francis Beamont, & innumerable other writers for the stage; and presse tenderly to be used in this Argument . . .

concluding with, "Southwell, Parsons, & some fewe other of that sort." But in the printed and completed text of this treatise (first published 1722) all mention of these plays as sources of "warrantable English" is omitted.⁷

This opinion of plays as not being themselves a part of literature was of course not confined to any class or group, but was common and prevalent; and expressions of it are

* Quoted in *Shakspere Allusion-Book*, I, p. 487.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 213 f.

to be found most often and most unmistakably in the practice and the statements of the publishers and playwrights themselves. The printer Creede (or Harrison), in his 1615 preface to Fletcher's *Cupids Revenge*,⁸ protests that plays, "as well as . . . other works," should have dedications:

It is a custom used by some writers in this age to dedicate their plays to worthy persons, as well as their other works; and there is reason for it, because they are the best Minervas of their brain, and express more purity of conceit in the ingenious circle of an act or scene than is to be found in the vast circumference of larger volumes, and therefore worthy an answerable Mæcenas to honour and be honoured by them.

That this was not the practice, however, in a number of conspicuous cases, is generally recognized. Peele seems to have taken some pains with the publishing of his poems and masques, but usually little or none with his plays, which were commonly issued with anonymous title-pages, while the poems were ascribed. Kyd's plays were all anonymous, except his *Cornelia*,—translated from Garnier; whereas the *Housholders Philosophie* was obviously published by Kyd himself. Lyly personally published both parts of *Euphues*; but all his plays and other published writings except *The Woman in the Moone* and *Loves Metamorphosis* appeared without his name and apparently without his co-operation. And, most strikingly of all, Shakspeare, as everyone knows, took obvious care with the setting forth of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, but none whatever with any of his plays, even to the extent of ignoring grossly bad versions of plays really his, and the ascription to him of very poor plays not his at all. The only rumor, even, of his notice or displeasure

⁸ Dyce ed. (London, 1843), II, p. 355.

concerning the capital made of his name, among all the traditions that have descended to us, is Heywood's statement that Shakspeare was "much offended" by Jaggard's printing two of Heywood's poems as his—hence even then a matter of poems, not of plays.⁹ Chapman asks, in the "Prologus" of *Al Fooles* (1605),

Who can shew cause, why your wits, that in ayme
At higher Obiects, scorne to compose Playes;
(Though we are sure they could, would they vouchsafe it?)¹⁰

And in the dedications of *The Widdowes Teares*, 1612, *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, 1613, and *Caesar and Pompey*, 1631, he apologizes rather elaborately for presuming so far with a mere play. This is the dedication of *The Widdowes Teares*:

To the right Vertuous and truly *noble Gentleman*,

Mr IO. REED of Mitton, in the Countie of Glocester Esquire.

Sir, if any worke of this nature be worth the presenting to Friends Worthie, and Noble; I presume this, will not want much of that value. Other Countrie men haue thought the like worthie of Dukes and Princes acceptations; *Iniusti sdegnij*; *Il Pentamento Amoroze*; *Calisthe*, *Pastor fido*, &c. (all being but plaies) were all dedicate to Princes of Italie. And therefore only discourse to shew my loue to your right vertuous and noble disposition. This poore Comedie (of many desired to see printed) I thought not vtterly vnworthie that affectionate designe in me: Well knowing that your free iudgement weighs nothing by the Name, or Forme; or any vaine estimation of the vulgar; but will accept acceptable matter, as well in Plaies; as

⁹ Malone (in the Boswell-Malone *Shakespeare*, 1821, III, pp. 329 f.) says that "We . . . can now pronounce with certainty that our poet was entirely careless about literary fame, and could patiently endure to be made answerable for compositions which were not his own, without using any means to undeceive the publick." But of course his literary fame rested on his poems, and the two earliest of those he had provided for; his plays gave him no valid claim to *literary* standing in his own time.

¹⁰ *Comedies and Tragedies* (London, 1873), I, p. 113.

in many lesse materialls, masking in more serious Titles: And so, till some worke more worthie I can select, and perfect, out of my other Studies, that may better expresse me; and more fit the grauitie of your ripe inclination, I rest.

Yours at all parts most truly affected.

GEO. CHAPMAN.¹¹

These are the opening sentences of the dedication of *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*:

To the Right Vertuous, and truely Noble Knight, Sr *Thomas Howard*, &c.

Sir,

Since Workes of this kinde haue beene lately esteemed worthy the Patronage of some of our worthiest Nobles, I haue made no doubt to preferre this of mine to your vndoubted Vertue, and exceeding true Noblesse: as contayning matter no lesse deseruing your reading, and excitation to Heroycall life, then any such late Dedication. Nor haue the greatest Princes of Italie, and other Countries, conceiued it any least diminution to their greatnesse, to haue their Names wing'd with these Tragicke Plumes, and disperst by way of Patronage, through the most Noble Notices of Europe. . . .

Your true Vertues

most true obseruer,

GEO. CHAPMAN.¹²

And in the *Caesar and Pompey* dedication to the Earl of Middlesex, Chapman uses the justifying phrase,

since scenicall representation is so farre from giuing iust cause of any least dimimution.¹³

When Jonson published his nine plays in 1616 as *The Workes of Beniamin Jonson*, he precipitated a long series of comments on the difference between "plays" and "works," which further confirm what I have just been saying. Fitzgeoffrey writes in a satire in his *Certaine Elegies* (1618) of

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 99 f.

¹³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 125.

Bookes, made of Ballades: Workes, of Playes.¹⁴

Heywood, in his preface to *The English Traveller* (1633), takes a fling:

True it is, that my Playes are not exposed vnto the world in Volumes, to beare the title of *Workes*, (as others).¹⁵

The same year (and possibly before Heywood wrote that sentence), Sheares published six of Marston's plays first as *Tragedies and Comedies* and then as *The Workes of Mr. Iohn Marston*, in the second issue with a dedication beginning thus:¹⁶

Many opprobies and aspersions have not long since been cast upon Plays in general, and it were requisite and expedient that they were vindicated from them; . . . Yet, for my part, I cannot perceive wherein they should appear so vile and abominable, that they should be so vehemently inveighed against. Is it because they are PLAYS? The name, it seems, somewhat offends them; whereas, if they were styled WORKS, they might have their approbation also. I hope that I have now somewhat pacified that precise sect, by reducing all our Author's several Plays into one volume, and so styled them THE WORKS OF MR. JOHN MARSTON, who was not inferior unto any, . . .

Some time before 1639 "R. C." (Robert Chamberlain), in *Conceits, Clinches, Flashes, and Whimzies* (published that year) was credited with this anecdote:

One asked another what Shakespeares works were worth, all being bound together. He answered, not a farthing. Not worth a farthing! said he; why so? He answered that his plays were worth a great deale of mony, but he never heard, that his works were worth any thing at all.¹⁷

Richard West, writing in Ferrand's *Erotomania* in 1640, speaks satirically of popular opinion:

¹⁴ *Shakspeare Allusion-Book*, I, p. 457.

¹⁵ *Dramatic Works* (London, 1874), IV, p. 5.

¹⁶ Bullen ed. (London, 1887), I, pp. lvii f.

¹⁷ *Shak. Allus.-B.*, I, p. 438.

As twere the only office of a Friend
 To Rhyme, and 'gainst his Conscience to commend;
 And sweare like Poets of the Post, This Play
 Exceeds all Johnson's Works:¹⁸

Prefixed to *Shakespeare's Poems* (1640) are these lines among the complimentary verses by Digges:

First, that he was a Poet none would doubt,
 That heard th' applause of what he sees set out
 Imprinted; where thou hast (I will not say
 Reader his Workes for to contrive a Play
 To him twas none) the patterne of all wit.¹⁹

And in an anonymous play of about 1640 (called by Bullen *Captain Underwit*, and by him attributed to Shirley) Underwit is reading the list of martial works bought for him by his servant:

. . . the Booke of Cannons . . . Shakespeares workes—why Shakespeares Workes?

Tho: I had nothing for the pikemen before,
 Vn: they are playes,²⁰

Sir John Suckling, in his "Sessions of the Poets" in *Fragmenta Aurea* (1646), has these lines:

The first that broke silence was good old Ben,
 Prepar'd before with Canary wine,
 And he told them plainly he deserv'd the Bays,
 For his were call'd Works, where others were but Plaies.²¹

And (to make an end of these) Whalley, in his life of Jonson (1756), quotes these epigrams:

Pray tell me, Ben, where does the myst'ry lurk?
 What others call a Play, you call a work.

The author's friend thus for the author says:
 Ben's plays are works, when others works are plays.²²

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 450.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 466.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 457 f.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 455.

²² *Ibid.*, I, p. 457.

Part of the point in these allusions is of course the already old tradition of Shakspeare's "facetious grace in writing" and Jonson's "oil and sweat"; but quite as much is plainly directed at Jonson's taking his plays so much more seriously than his or any plays were then believed to deserve being taken.

Of course the real point in the attitude of the playwrights themselves is that repeatedly voiced by Marston—in prefaces to *The Malcontent* (1604) and *Parasitaster* (1606):

I would fain leave the paper; only one thing afflicts me, to think that scenes, invented merely to be spoken, should be enforcively published to be read, . . . but I shall entreat . . . that the unhand-some shape which this trifle in reading presents, may be pardoned for the pleasure it once afforded you when it was presented with the soul of lively action.²³

If any shall wonder why I print a comedy, whose life rests much in the actor's voice, let such know that it cannot avoid publishing.²⁴

Comedies are writ to be spoken, not read; remember the life of these things consists in action; ²⁵

and by Webster in *The Devils Law-case*, "To the Judicious Reader":

A great part of the grace of this, I confess, lay in action; ²⁶

and in *The White Divel* ("To the Reader"):

it wanted (that which is the only grace and setting-out of a tragedy) a full and understanding auditory.²⁷

In fact, then, the play was not considered a book at all—especially not by the theater people; but as a ms. of directions to the actors, and for use exclusively behind the scenes (if one may so speak of the Elizabethan stage). The

²³ Bullen ed., I, p. 198.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 110.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 113.

²⁶ Dyce ed. (London, 1859), p. 105.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.

"life of these things" rested—and still rests—so much in their "action" that only the desperate importunities of stationers, with the un-Elizabethan seriousness and self-consciousness of Ben Jonson, got any really popular plays into print at that time; and this fundamental distinction keeps "closet-drama" off the stage and "popular" drama out of print even now: for a large proportion of dramatic literature—like *The Old Homestead* and many less famous plays—is to this day treated as dramatic material, but not as literature. We can never afford to forget in approaching these Shakspeare phenomena, what very many students of that time have forgotten, that his plays were then subject to the same conditions as all the rest: and that their translation and transmigration into the kingdom of poetry and belles lettres did not begin until the eighteenth century; but that this transmigration has been so complete that now when actors attempt Shakspeare, they produce his great dramatic poems under theatrical conditions which are abnormal to the last degree.

This distinction between the dramatic and the literary is, of course, the secret of nearly all hesitancy, modern or ancient, on the part of dramatists to publish. It is the secret of the apologies and explanations the Elizabethan dramatists felt called to make—sometimes very elaborately—when they did publish. And often there was a good reason, which they made the most of as their excuse for venturing into print with a play—whether failure on the stage, corruption or piracy of the text, or something else. Sackville and Norton are said by Day²⁸ to have had no intention of publishing *Ferrex and Porrex*. Vavasour, prefacing Samuel Rowley's *Noble Souldier*, says

The Poet might conceive a compleat satisfaction upon the Stages approbation: But the Printer rests not there,"

²⁸ *Tudor Facsimiles*, ed. Farmer, 1908.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1913.

and so on—an admirable summary of the situation. Heywood insists that although he has had a hand “or at least a maine finger” in two hundred and twenty plays, yet

it neuer was any great ambition in me, to bee in this kind Volumni-ously read.²⁰

I. e., “in Volumes . . . (as others).” And again (in *The Rape of Lucrece*):³¹

It hath been no custome in me of all other men (courteous Readers) to commit my Playes to the Presse: . . . though some have used a double sale of their labours, first to the Stage, and after to the Presse; For my owne part, I here proclaime my selfe euer faithfull in the first, and never guilty of the last.

Ford makes his protestation in his dedication of *The Lovers Melancholy* (1629):

To my worthily respected Friends, Nathaniel Finch, Iohn Ford, Esquires; Mr. Henry Blvnt, Mr. Robert Ellice, and all the rest of the Noble Society of *Grayes* Inne.

My Honour'd Friends,

The account of some leisurable houres, is here summ'd vp, and offered to examination. Importunity of Others, or Opinion of mine owne, hath not vrg'd on any confidence of running the hazard of a censure. . . . My presumption of comming in Print in this kind,²² hath hitherto been vn-reprooveable. This Piece, being the first, that euer courted Reader; and it is very possible, that the like complement with Me, may soone grow out of fashion. . . .

Iohn Ford.²³

Dekker dedicates three plays: *If It Be Not Good* (1612) to the Queen's Company; *The Whore of Babylon* (1607) “Lectori”; and *Match mee in London* (1631) to “Lodowick Carlell, Esq.,” to whom he addresses this sentence:

²⁰ *Dramatic Works* (London, 1874), iv, p. 5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, v, p. 163.

²² Note by Gifford: “i. e., the Drama: he had previously printed ‘Fame's Memorial,’ and, probably, other poems, now lost.” (Gifford's ed. of Ford, i, p. 3.)

²³ Bang ed., *Materialien*, Bd. xxiii, Louvain, 1908.

Nor is it any Over-daring in mee, to put a Play-Booke into your hands, being a Courtier; *Roman* Poets did so to their Emperours, the *Spanish*, (Now) to their Grandi'es, the *Italians* to their Illustriissimoes, and our owne Nation, to the Great-ones.⁸⁴

The Whore of Babylon had evidently been badly treated by the actors, hence was published that those who pleased might "heare now how himselfe can speake."⁸⁵ Middleton in publishing a masque, *The World Tost at Tennis*, felt called upon to explain that it was

a toy brought to the press rather by the printer than the poet.⁸⁶

And even Jonson takes some pains to justify his publication of *The Queen's Masques* (presented 1605), as a point of duty:

The honour and splendor of these spectacles was such in the performance, as, could those hours have lasted, this of mine, now, had been a most unprofitable work. But (when it is the fate, even of the greatest, and most absolute births, to need and borrow a life of posterity) little had been done to the study of magnificence in these, if presently with the rage of the people, who (as a part of greatness) are privileged by custom, to deface their carcasses, the spirits had also perished. In duty therefore to that majesty, who gave them their authority and grace, and no less than the most royal of predecessors, deserves eminent celebration for these solemnities, I add this later hand, to redcem them as well from ignorance as envy, two common evils, the one of censure, the other of oblivion.⁸⁷

Webster published *The White Divel* in 1612 because he felt it had not had a fair reception in the theater:

To the Reader.

In publishing this Tragedy, I doe but challenge to myselfe that liberty, which other men have tane before mee; not that I affect praise by it, for, nos haec nouimus esse nihil, onely, since it was

⁸⁴ *Dramatic Works* (London, 1873), iv, p. 133.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 190.

⁸⁶ Bullen ed. (London, 1886), VII, p. 143.

⁸⁷ (London, 1756), v, p. 232.

acted in so dull a time of Winter, presented in so open and blacke a theater, that it wanted (that which is the onely grace and setting-out of a tragedy) a full and understanding Auditory; and that since that time I haue noted, most of the people that come to that play-house resemble those ignorant asses (who, visiting stationers' shoppes, their use is not to inquire for good books, but new books), I present it to the generall view with this confidence:

Nec rhoncos metues maligniorum,
Nec scombris tunicas dabis molestas.*

Likewise, Jonson published *The New Inne* (1631) because it had failed at the Blackfriars; and for the same reason Fletcher published *The Faithful Shepherdess* (before 1610), preparing it for press so elaborately as to suggest that this was the only play he himself published. Field, Beaumont, Jonson, and Chapman contributed complimentary verses, with one accord damning the stupid pit; and Fletcher himself furnished a dedication to Sir Walter Aston, verses to Sir William Skipwith and Sir Robert Townshend, and a preface to the reader. These lines seem worth quoting from the dedication:

Sir, I must ask your patience and be true;
This play was never lik'd, unless by few
That brought their judgments with 'em; for, of late,
First the infection, then the common prate
Of common people, have such customs got,
Either to silence plays or like them not:
Under the last of which this interlude
Had faln for ever, prest down by the rude,

.
Had not the saving sense of better men
Redeem'd it from corruption.

.
Given to your service,

John Fletcher.**

In the reader's preface he very carefully defines what he means by pastoral; the opening and close are as follows:

* Hazlitt ed. (London, 1857), II, p. 6.

** Dyce ed. (London, 1843), II, p. 13.

To the Reader. If you be not reasonably assured of your knowledge in this kind of poem, lay down the book, or read this, which I would wish had been the prologue. It is a pastoral tragi-comedy, which the people seeing when it was played, having ever had a singular gift in defining, concluded to be a play of country hired shepherds in gray cloaks, with curtailed dogs in strings, sometimes laughing together, and sometimes killing one another; and, missing Whitsun-ales, cream, wassail, and morris-dances, began to be angry. In their error I would not have you fall, lest you incur their censure. . . . Thus much I hope will serve to justify my poem, and make you understand it; to teach you more for nothing, I do not know that I am in conscience bound.

John Fletcher.*

The long and short of this seems to be, then, that whenever a playwright went so far out of the beaten path as to publish in book form what had been written for the action of the stage, he felt he had to have or find a very good reason. That the "closet-drama" had not been invented, is plain from all these citations, but plainer still from the exclamation of a versifying friend of Nabbes, "E. B.," who appears in the forefront of Nabbes's *Unfortunate Mother* (1640). (The play could not be got on the stage for even one night, it was so poor. Its misfortune seems to have been that Nabbes did not wait until after 1642.) The exclamation is this:

Printed before 'tis Acted! such a tricke
As few men will judge to bee politicke.^a

A very curious analogy to this unwillingness to confine in print what was written to be acted upon the stage, appears in the similar reluctance of such popular fifteenth and sixteenth century preachers as Stephen Egerton, Henry Smith, and Nathaniel Hardy, who left on record

* *Ibid.*, II, pp. 16 f.

^a Bullen's *Old English Plays*, New Series (London, 1887-90), II, p. 88.

repeated protests against the reporting of their sermons for publication, and consented to publish only for their own protection. And so far as these men were moving and popular speakers, their objection to printing would have been fundamentally that of the playwright: that the life of their discourse lay much in the voice. Indeed, a remark made by Henry Smith himself (the greatest of the three) showed that with him printing was a last resort:

Because sicknesse hath restrained mee from preaching,
I am content to doe any good by writing.*

3. *The playwright not the possessor of his play.* Even if the preceding evidences did not exist, and if plays had been regarded as appropriate for publication, the stationers would have encountered a still more serious obstacle in their hunt for copy; as things were, they encountered it in addition to the others that hindered their efforts. It was the circumstance that the playwrights sold their plays unreservedly to the companies, and had in them therefore no remaining rights. This was probably the best general arrangement, since it divided the risks between playwright and management pretty equitably. The arrangement was almost totally different from the modern royalty and percentage system, in that the playwright was really doing piecework: patching together fragments, working over obsolescent pieces, and doing hack-work of every sort on his own initiative or the management's suggestion, that would make in the shortest possible time something fit to be put on as a "new" play. Henslowe's famous *Diary* is the revealing document in these matters; and it shows that the less competent men really sold themselves for what they could get, and then paid instalments of work as they

* "To the Reader," in his *Sermons*, collected ed. of 1622, p. 6.

had to or were able. The Henslowe-Alleyn ménage was not a sweat-shop; and yet there was certainly more perspiration than inspiration, and the system used there was essentially that of day-labor whose products were the sole property of the proprietors. There is no reason to believe that the principle of ownership was different in the other companies.⁴³

There are, as might be expected, independent corroborations of the testimony in Henslowe. Jonson's title-page of *The New Inn* is one:

The Nevv Inn. Or, the light Heart. A Comoedy. As it was neuer acted, but most negligently play'd, by some, the Kings Seruants. And more squeamishly beheld, and censured by others, the Kings Subiects. 1629. Now, at last, set at liberty to the Readers, his Maties Seruants, and Subiects, to be iudg'd. 1631. By the Author, Ben Ionson. . . . Thomas Harper, for Thomas Alchorne, . . . MDCXXXI.

Heywood, in the preface to *The English Traveller*, says that one reason his plays have not been "voluminously" published is that some of them "are still retained in the hands of some Actors."⁴⁴ In *The Rape of Lucrece* he says that some dishonest writers "have used a double sale of their labours, first to the stage, and after to the Presse"; a dishonesty which he himself has not been guilty of. Later in the same preface he explains that this play he "was the willinger to furnish out in his native habit; first being by consent, next because the rest have been so wronged, in being publisht in such savage and ragged ornaments."⁴⁵ Greene was accused in the *Defence of Cony-Catching* (1592) of selling *Orlando Furioso* to the Queen's

⁴³ See *The Facts about Shakespeare*, pp. 31, 131; Lee's *Life* (London, 1919), p. 99; Delius, "Über den ursprünglichen Text des King Lear," *Shak. Jahrb.*, x, p. 65.

⁴⁴ *Dramatic Works*, iv, p. 5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, v, p. 163.

players "for twenty nobles, and when they were in the country [selling] the same play to the Lord Admiral's men for as many more."⁴⁶ And the Lord Chamberlain's 1637 proclamation to the Stationers' Company,⁴⁷ and all other such statements which stress the property rights of the companies in the plays they were producing, are of course confirmatory evidences of this practice of selling plays outright.

4. *The companies concerned to keep their plays unpublished.* Finally, with the ownership of plays vested in the producing companies, the stationers encountered organized business opposition to their attempts to publish plays; for "there are few points in our early stage-history more clear, than that the different companies took every precaution in order to prevent the publication of plays belonging to them."⁴⁸ This would be natural, since it would keep the plays exclusively in the owners' hands, to the end that the public could enjoy them only by attending that theater; but more important still, it would keep the other companies from presenting them; and thus would give the owners the fullest possible opportunities for revenue.⁴⁹ That this

* Lee's *Life*, p. 99, note. May this double-dealing be the cause of the difference between the Danter Q (1594) and the *Alleyn* MS. of *Orlando Furioso*?

* "Boswell's Malone" *Shakespeare* (1821), III, pp. 159 f.

* Collier, *Shakespeare* (1858), v, p. 614.

* Lee: "The playhouse authorities deprecated the publishing of plays in the belief that their dissemination in print was injurious to the receipts of the theatre, . . . Professional opinion condemned such playwrights as sought 'a double sale of their labours, first to the stage and after to the press' (Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1638. Address to Reader). A very small proportion of plays acted in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I—some 600 out of a total of 3000—consequently reached the printing press, and the bulk of them is now lost." (*Life*, p. 100, note.) Gifford, speaking of Jonson's play *Richard Crook-back*, said: "It has perished, like most of the pieces

was precisely the situation, there is much contemporary evidence. Strong indirect evidence is the fact that unusually large numbers of plays were entered for publication by the stationers *after* periods of closed theaters; which in the light of all the probabilities can hardly fail to mean that during those periods the regular income of playwrights, actors, and all others who had been living on the proceeds of play-production, utterly ceased; and in order to live the companies and the playwrights had to sell their plays to the stationers—the only way left, at such times, of converting them into bread and butter.⁵⁰

But we are not forced to guess about this. Bonian and Walley take credit to themselves for publishing *Troilus and Cressida* (1609):

thanke fortune for the scape it hath made amongst you. Since by the grand possessors wills, I beleeeve you should have prayd for them ["his Commedies"] rather than beene prayd.⁵¹

And Heywood again furnishes direct evidence: by his admission in the *Rape of Lucrece* preface that he was publishing "by consent," i. e., that consent had been necessary; and by the *English Traveller* preface that

many of them ["my Playes"] by shifting and change of Companies, haue beene negligently lost, Others of them are still retained in the hands of some Actors, who thinke it against their peculiar profit to haue them come in Print.⁵²

More striking still, because it shows the Lord Chamberlain taking the part of the companies in their efforts to

brought out at their [Henslowe and Alleyn's] theatre; because they endeavoured to keep them in their own hands as long as possible." (Jonson's *Works* (1843), p. 19.)

⁵⁰ See *The Facts about Shakespeare*, p. 137; and for further particulars, Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, pp. 9 f.

⁵¹ *Shakspeare Allusion-Book* (London, 1909), I, p. 208.

⁵² *Works*, IV, p. 5.

keep their plays unpublished, against the Stationers' Company, is the "admonition" which Malone says⁵³ was "directed to the Stationers' Company in the year 1637, by Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, then Lord Chamberlain." Its very specific language bears so pointedly on this whole question that I quote the paper in full:

After my hearty commendations.—Whereas complaint was heretofore presented to my dear brother and predecessor, by his majesties servants, the players, that some of the company of printers and stationers had procured, published, and printed, diverse of their books of comedyes and tragedyes, chronicle historyes, and the like, which they had (for the special service of his majesty and for their own use) bought and provided at very dear and high rates. By means whereof, not only they themselves had much prejudice, but the books much corruption, to the injury and disgrace of the authors. And thereupon the master and wardens of the company of printers and stationers were advised by my brother to take notice thereof, and to take order for the stay of any further impression of any of the playes or interludes of his majesties servants without their consents: which being a caution given with such respect, and grounded on such weighty reasons, both for his majesties service and the particular interest of the players, and soe agreeable to common justice and that indifferent measure which every man would look for in his own particular, it might have been presumed that they would have needed no further order or direction in the business, notwithstanding which, I am informed that some copies of playes belonging to the king and queenes servants, the players, and purchased by them at dear rates, having been lately stollen or gotten from them by indirect means, are now attempted to be printed; which, if it should be suffered, would directly tend to their apparent detriment and prejudice, and to the disabling them to do their majesties service: for prevention and redresse whereof, it is desired that order be given and entered by the master and wardens of the company of printers and stationers, that if any playes be already entered, or shall hereafter be brought unto the hall to be entered for printing, that notice thereof be given to the king and queenes servants, the players, and an enquiry made of them to whom they do belong; and that none bee suffered to be printed untill the assent of their majesties' said servants be made appear to the Master and Wardens of the company

⁵³ "Boswell's Malone" *Shakespeare* (1821), III, pp. 160 f., note.

of printers and stationers, by some certificate in writing under the hands of John Lowen, and Joseph Taylor, for the kings servants, and of Christopher Beeston for the king and queenes young company, or of such other persons as shall from time to time have *the direction* of these companies; which is a course that can be hurtfull unto none but such as are about unjustly to peravayle themselves of others' goods, without respect of order or good government; which I am confident you will be careful to avoyd, and therefore I recommend it to your special care. And if you shall have need of any further authority or power either from his majestye or the counsell-table, the better to enable you in the execution thereof, upon notice given to mee either by yourselves or the players, I will endeavor to apply that further remedy thereto, which shall be requisite. And soe I bidd you very heartily farewell, and rest

Your very loving friend

P. and M.

June 10, 1637.

To the Master and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers.

The significance of these things is patent. Such a state of affairs means—since neither the law nor the idea of modern copyright had yet taken effective shape—that surreptitious and unauthorized publishing, especially of plays, would have been, *a priori*, not the unreasonable, but the reasonable thing; that shorthand, and any other means available, would have been used to accomplish the stationer's (to him more or less justifiable) ends; and that some of the far-reaching problems of authentic texts and textual readings may be simplified and possibly solved by their reference to these conditions. And this *a priori* belief is impressively confirmed by much direct evidence.

H. ROBINSON SHIPHERD.

XXV.—THE PROSE DIALOGUE OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE RESTORATION

Literary historians, in characterizing the pamphlet literature of the English Civil War and the early years of the Restoration have, as a rule, contented themselves with the statement that much of the prose of the period was written in dialogue. It is the purpose of this paper to give some idea of the varying popularity of the dialogue during the period from 1640 to 1700, to characterize the commonest type more precisely than has been customary, and briefly to suggest its possible relation to English predecessors and to foreign works, ancient and contemporary.

After an investigation in which the large number of titles gathered from a variety of sources has been greatly reduced by the elimination of all verse dialogues and all others marked by a strongly dramatic quality, it is at last possible to determine the years when the prose dialogue was most popular.¹ From a careful tabulation of 1,500 dialogues dated before 1750 we learn that the times of

¹ Allowance must, of course, be made for lack of continuity in our sources of information. The superior thoroughness of the Thomason Catalogue (1640-1661) and the Term Catalogue (1668-1709) as compared to the Stationers' Register, which covers the entire period from 1554-1708, makes natural some increase in the totals for the years which they cover. It is not surprising to see a sharp advance from 1640 to 1645, and a sharp decline from 1660 to 1665. But not all the irregularities can be thus accounted for. From 1645 to 1655 there is a decided falling off, and in the following half decade a considerable revival of production, all in the Thomason period; while the whole record of the second burst of popularity can be traced strictly within the limits of the Term Catalogue.

excess production were years of political excitement: 1641-2, 1660, 1680-1. In the year 1641 50 dialogues appeared; in 1642, 24; in 1660, 24; in 1680, 25; in 1681, 40; and yet, excluding these years, the average production is less than ten.

These temporary increases in publication were furthermore accompanied by a rise in the percentage of purely political dialogues. Although this percentage is high all through the two decades from 1640 to 1660, it rises in 1642 to 68%, in 1660 to 70%, and in 1641 to 76%. Even more striking is the situation in 1681. Here a percentage of 72 is attained, although in the years from 1660 to 1680 political dialogues had formed a bare 20% of the whole.

From these facts it is evident that in the larger periods of production, political dialogues formed a great part of the whole, and, in fact, that the increase in the high years was almost wholly political.

Now, what was the character of these dialogues? The typical product may be characterized in several ways. To begin with, it was almost always short. Many times it was printed on a single sheet, not infrequently on one side of a sheet. In this form it was well adapted to wide distribution. It could be disposed of for little or nothing, it could be got rapidly into circulation, and it lent itself to purposes of display. Again, it had as a rule but two speakers, differentiated rather by the views they held or the doctrines they expounded than by the details of characterization. Because the dialogue was a convenient instrument for setting in opposition the views or doctrines which, to the man in the street, were characteristic of trades or professions, these two characters are frequently representatives of classes or parties. L'Estrange's *Observer* (1681-1684), most famous of the periodicals

of the time, has as speakers in its dialogues, Whig and Tory, Whig and Observator, Courantier and Whig, Courantier and Trimmer, and finally Observator and Trimmer. Moreover, even where both speakers are of the same occupation, interest centers in the topics discussed, not in the men themselves.

In the numerous instances where the aim is to attack individuals and where prominent figures of the time appear as characters, there is much personal satire; but usually it is built upon the acts of the victims, or, if disaster has perchance overtaken them, directed at their present plight. Rarely is there an attempt to reflect personal foibles in speeches put into the mouths of characters. Public men like Cromwell, Strafford, and Laud were often accused, openly, or by innuendo, of acts or designs dangerous to the state. Sometimes the proportion of truth in such pamphlets was considerable, but as a class they were given to exaggeration and unrestrained invective.

The two most hated men in England during the early years of the Civil War were, without much question, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. In a work entitled, "The Poets' Knavery Discovered, in all their lying Pamphlets, wittily and very ingeniously composed—" (1641) the author says that "there have been above three hundred lying pamphlets printed to my credible enumeration." Among these the author enumerates "Dialogue between him and the Lord's grace of Canterbury," "Dialogue between Dr. Cosins and a fellow of his college," "A Dialogue betwixt the King of France and Spain."

The reaction came in the early years of the Restoration, when the pent-up energies of the Royalists spent themselves in vilification of all the leaders of the Cromwellian

régime. Dialogues of ghosts had been popular for some time, and the idea of a dialogue between "the Ghost of Charles I, late King of England, and Oliver, the late usurping Protector," particularly appealed to the popular fancy. Just so there were conferences between Oliver and his wife, Oliver and his son Richard, Oliver and his faithful lieutenant, the Reverend Hugh Peters, while Lambert, Bradshaw, Vane, Joyce, Tichburn and Ireton, Haslerig all were assaulted individually and collectively.

In such dialogues as these, and, indeed, in a large proportion of the entire product, the tone was satirical and humorous. Ludicrous details were seized upon with avidity. Rough jests abounded. There was a deal of rough and tumble banter, of brisk exchange of witticisms. Statesmen were made to berate one another like fishwives, or quarrel like children, the humour of the piece appearing in the very inappropriateness of the epithets. The tone of these sheets may be gathered from one specimen aimed at Laud—"The Bishop's Potion: Or a Dialogue between the Bishop and his Physician; wherein he desireth the Doctor to have a Care of his Body, and to preserve him from being let Blood in the Neck, when the sign is in Taurus" (1641). The bishop having complained of a feeling of heaviness, the doctor administers an emetic, remarking that "there are certain raw Crudities, that lie heavy and undigested upon your Stomach which will, without Remedy, and that speedily, ascend on high, until it stifle and suffocate your Grace." Thereupon the patient brings up in succession, evidence of his connivance at "the tobacco patent, the Book of Pastimes on the Sunday which he caused to be made, a star-chamber order against Mr. Prynne, Mr. Burton, and Dr. Bastwicke, the Instruments creating absentee clergymen" (whose work was

done by Curates), "The Book of Canons." When the Mitre follows, he admits relief.

Sometimes, in the effort to win converts for parties, a more serious tone was adopted, and the giving of political information substituted for mere raillery. When this was the scheme, one speaker was not infrequently a countryman and the other from the city, or the one a mere citizen, and the other some person possessed of peculiar opportunities to acquire information. Frequently two fictitious characters discussed the latest news, as where a Cavalier and a Convert discuss the intrigues of the Queen to bring in the Papacy, the attempt to make Oxford a stronghold of Catholicism, or the double dealing of the King; or where a Citizen and a Country Gentleman exchange views regarding the Guild Hall trouble, "the Skirmish at S. Paul's," and "the passages at the Sessions house." Naturally, the lion's share of the talking is likely to fall to the informer. These news sheets bear an unquestionable relation to the early periodical, and, in particular, to the newspaper extra.

In the time of Sir Roger L'Estrange and the Popish Plot, such conversations were often loaded down with quotations and references to documents. The conversations might be jocular at times, and highly colloquial always, but the purpose was far more than mere amusement. L'Estrange was a shrewd and powerful man, uncommonly skillful in meeting the charges of numerous bitter enemies—and his liberal use of the dialogue proves the esteem in which it was held.

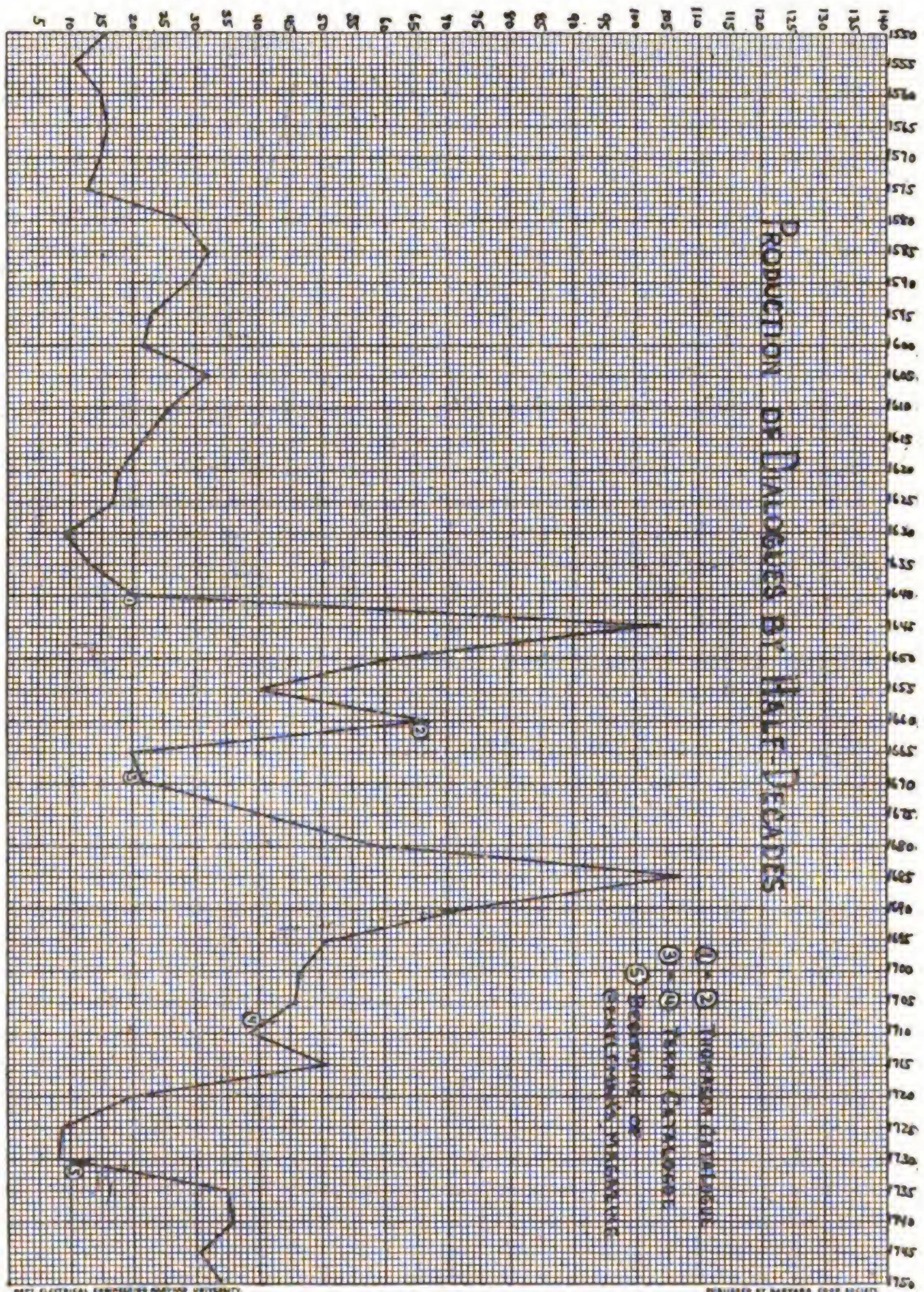
Almost never was the purpose of the dialogue anything but utilitarian. Its object, to defeat or discomfit an antagonist, might be gained in various ways, now serious, now jocular; by satire, personal or general. The aim of the political dialogue was, however, rarely deliberately

artistic. In a piece designed for the man on the street, such labor would have seemed misdirected.

Of the non-political dialogues of the period, though their number is small, much might be said. As I have shown elsewhere² the dialogue of the Commonwealth and the Restoration touched on many subjects and reflected various aspects of the life of the times. But requirements of space prevent extended discussion of this point. Suffice it to say, that, at least so far as the number of speakers involved, and the length of the entire composition, these dialogues closely resembled that described as the typical political variety.

The variety of dialogue which attained immense popularity in 1641 and the years that followed, was, as might be expected, not quite unknown before that time. Occasional dialogues may be cited which were short, involved but two speakers, lacked formal or deliberately devised setting, were colloquial or jocose in tone, and minimized characterization. In many particulars, the Martin Marprelate pamphlets, several of which were in dialogue, satisfy such a description. The rude vigor of their phrases and their enormous significance must have gone far to establish such a style as they exemplified. However, it is really striking how slight is the demonstrable connection with the past in the case of the Marprelate tracts or of those of which we have previously been speaking. The earlier dialogue, more frequently educational or religious than political, was many times a mere text book, manual of devotion, or theological disputation of the sort which

² The facts presented in this paper are drawn from the first three chapters of my dissertation, "The Non-dramatic Dialogue in English Prose before 1750," offered in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard University, June, 1918.



throve to such an extent after 1681. The distinguished dialogists of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, men like Nash, Chettle, Munday, Elyot, Heywood, Sackville, and Greene, busied themselves with works of many sorts. Nicholas Breton produced no fewer than eleven dialogues, inconsiderable in substance, yet sometimes not unattractive in style, varying greatly in rapidity of conversational exchange, but always unpractical, fantastic, and extravagant. There were numerous dialogues of manners wherein were treated enclosure of lands, the plague, usury, witchcraft, gambling, the theatre, extravagance of dress and like subjects, but the manner was not that which we have remarked in the political dialogues of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. Even where it turns itself to such topics as the divorce of Henry VIII, the prospective marriage of Elizabeth and of Prince Charles, the Armada, the state of Ireland, the Siege of Ostend in 1602, the prerogative of Parliament, and the allegiance owed by subjects to their king, the dialogue is more deliberate and serious than that which followed.

There were, therefore, in the literature of the previous century, suggestions which, gathered here and there, might make possible the dialogue which we are considering; but the impetus to the combination, and the perfecting touch must have come from the needs and opportunities of contemporary politics.

A glance at the dialogue on the Continent warrants an identical conclusion. The classical dialogue of Plato, Cicero, and Lucian; the scholastic dialogue of the early fathers and the mediæval church; the religious polemics of Germany; the immensely popular dialogue literature of Italy—none of these is what we are seeking. The manner of Plato and Cicero is absurdly dissimilar. The dialogue of Lucian, despite its light and humorous tone,

and rapid exchange, is not represented with adequacy until the revival of dialogues of the dead in the early eighteenth century. The works of Sachs, Wingfield, Barlow, and Turner, closely related in certain respects to the Marprelate pamphlets, lack the numerous and continuous following in England which we like to associate with real influence. Their popularity was short-lived and restricted in extent by the lack of a real reading public: the issues they raised were temporary. Even the literature of Italy, tremendously influential upon English life in the sixteenth century, was wholly different in form and subject matter. Its conduct books influenced education rather than politics; the works of Machiavelli, Bruno, and Occhino, were large in scope and anything but popular in subject matter.

Once again we are driven for an explanation to the atmosphere of the times. In a day of public excitement, of civil discord, when party lines were growing in sharpness, when the newspaper extra was better established than the periodical itself, circumstances conspired to call the political dialogue into being. That it was of no permanent literary value is neither here nor there. It was an efficient instrument for doing what the generation wanted done, and its popularity gives it a significance as a true expression of the spirit of the times.

BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD.

APPENDIX

REPORT OF THE TRESURER
FOR THE YEAR 1918

MINUTES OF THE TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST
HELD AT
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
NOVEMBER 30, 1918

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

By vote of the Executive Council and of the Executive Committee of the Central Division the annual meetings of the Association and the Central Division were omitted in 1918. The Treasurer of the Association, Professor W. G. Howard, presented to the Executive Council the following report:

A. CURRENT RECEITS AND EXPENDITURES

RECEITS

Balance on hand, Dec. 24, 1917,	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 599 68
From Members for 1906,	-	-	\$	3	00	
“ “ “ 1914,	-	-		3	00	
“ “ “ 1915,	-	-		6	00	
“ “ “ 1916,	-	-		24	00	
“ “ “ 1917,	-	-		114	00	
“ “ “ 1918,	-	-		3,435	75	
“ “ “ 1919,	-	-		210	25	
“ “ “ Life,	-	-		65	00	
						\$3,861 00
From Libraries, for Publ. I-XXXII,	\$	137	90			
“ “ “ “ XXXIII,		217	85			
“ “ “ “ XXXIV,		127	63			
“ “ “ “ XXXV,		2	70			
						486 08
For Publ. I-XXXII,	-	-	\$	25	40	
“ “ XXXIII,	-	-	-	14	65	
						40 05
For Reprints from Publ. XXXII,	-			4	50	
“ “ “ “ XXXIII,	-			24	60	
						29 10
For Corrections in Publ. XXXIII,	-					54 60
From Advertisers in Publ. XXXII,	-			97	50	
“ “ “ “ XXXIII,	-			22	50	
						120 00

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

Interest, Permanent Fund, - - -	\$ 262 75	
“ Liberty Bonds, - - -	13 24	
“ Charles River Trust Co., - - -	26 62	
	<u> </u>	\$ 302 61
		<u> </u> \$4,893 44
		<u> </u> \$5,493 12

EXPENDITURES

To Secretary-Treasurer,

for Salary, - - - - -	\$ 750 00	
“ Printing, - - - - -	122 85	
“ Stationery, - - - - -	2 15	
“ Postage, - - - - -	258 22	
“ Expressage, - - - - -	9 55	
“ Telegrams, - - - - -	7 12	
“ Bond, - - - - -	12 50	
	<u> </u>	\$1,162 39

To Secretary, Central Division,

for Salary, - - - - -	\$ 100 00	
“ Postage, - - - - -	8 26	
“ Printing, - - - - -	19 40	
	<u> </u>	127 66

To Chairman, Central Division,

for Telegrams, - - - - -	1 98	
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To W. A. Neilson, <i>Managing Trustee</i> , - - -	65 00	
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To E. H. Wilkins, <i>Chairman</i> , - - - - -	78 95	
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Subscription returned, - - - - -	2 00	
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For Publ. XXV, XXVI, - - - - -	2 70	
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For Publ. XXXIII, 1, - - - - -	\$1,085 83	
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“ “ XXXIII, 2, - - - - -	870 81	
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“ “ XXXIII, 3, - - - - -	1,002 21	
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“ “ XXXIII, 4, - - - - -	938 98	
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 \$3,897 83

 \$5,338 51

Balance on hand, Dec. 27, 1918, - - - - -	154 61	
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 \$5,493 12

B. INVESTED FUNDS

Bright Fund (Eutaw Savings Bank),

Principal, Dec. 24, 1917,	-	-	\$1,941 88
Interest, Apr. 1, 1918,	-	-	67 90
			<hr/>
			\$2,009 78
Withdrawn, Apr. 23, 1918,	-	-	500 00

Principal, Dec. 27, 1918,	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$1,509 78
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von Jagemann Fund (Cambridge Savings Bank),

Principal, Dec. 24, 1917,	-	-	\$1,389 20
Interest, July 25, 1918,	-	-	63 20

Principal, Dec. 27, 1918,	-	-					1,452 40
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Liberty Bonds,	-	-	-	-	-	-	600 00
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Total, Dec. 27, 1918,	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$3,562 18
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C. BALANCE SHEET, 1918

Deficit, Current Funds,	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 445 07
Surplus, Invested Funds,	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 131 10
Added to Permanent Fund,	-	-	-	-	-	65 00

196 10 196 10

Net Decrease of Cash Assets, 1918,	-	-	\$ 248 97
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D. BILLS RECEIVABLE

From Advertisers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 97 50
" Booksellers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14 40
" Libraries,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	105 50
" Members,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	601 50
									<hr/>
									\$ 818 90 ¹

E. BILLS PAYABLE

None.

Examined and found correct,

JAMES GEDDES, JR.,

J. L. LOWES,

*Committee of the Executive Council.*¹ Of this sum there has been received by Feb. 15, 1919:

From Advertisers,	-	-	-	-	-	\$97 50
" Booksellers,	-	-	-	-	-	90
" Libraries,	-	-	-	-	-	00 00
" Members,	-	-	-	-	-	90 00
						<hr/>
						\$188 40

MEETING OF THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

The twentieth annual meeting of the PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST was held in the San Francisco School of Fine Arts, November 30, 1918, with Professor Gilbert Chinard, of the University of California, in the chair.

The Treasurer made the following report for the year 1917-1918:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, December 1, 1917....	\$172.71
Dues	425.50
Interest	6.82
	<hr/> \$605.03

EXPENDITURES

Dues to American Philological Association	\$145.00
Dues to Modern Language Association of America	168.00
Postage, printing, and stationery.....	27.80
Office supplies.....	4.45
Services of stenographer.....	18.55
Services of janitor.....	5.00
Balance on hand, November 30, 1918....	236.23
	<hr/> \$605.03

On motion the report was accepted and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The Secretary gave the statistics of membership for the past year. He reported also four recommendations of the Executive Committee, the first and second carrying special appropriations from the treasury of the Association, the third giving specific instructions to the Secretary as to the

dropping of names from the roll of members published with the program of the annual meeting, the fourth proposing to eliminate two of the usual committees of the Association, viz., the Membership Committee and the Committee on Time and Place of Meeting, and to leave the duties of these committees to the Executive Committee. On motion the report of the Secretary was accepted and the recommendations of the Executive Committee were adopted.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were approved as printed in the *Proceedings* of the American Philological Association and the *Publications* of the Modern Language Association of America.

The President appointed the following committees:

Nominations: Professors Johnston, J. T. Allen, Paschall.

Auditing: Dr. Kennedy, Professors Deutsch, Linforth.

Social: Professors Hart, Murray, Carruth.

The Nominating Committee proposed the following officers for the ensuing year:

President: H. C. Nutting.

Vice-Presidents: J. S. P. Tatlock, W. A. Cooper.

Secretary: S. G. Morley.

Treasurer: G. M. Calhoun.

Executive Committee: The above-named officers and C. G. Allen, B. O. Foster, Kelley Rees, H. G. Shearin.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted and these officers elected.

The Auditing Committee reported that the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer were correct and in order.

On motion the report was adopted.

On motion a vote of thanks for hospitality was extended to the Regents of the University of California, the Directors of the San Francisco School of Fine Arts, and the Directors of the University Club.

Just before adjournment the above minutes were read and approved.

The evening session was held after the annual dinner, at the University Club, the only item on the program being the annual address of the President of the Association, the rest of the evening being reserved for impromptu remarks on the address, and informal social intercourse.

The attendance at the sessions numbered 35, 41, and 33, respectively.

Thirteen new members were elected.

W. A. COOPER,
Secretary.

PROGRAM

First Session

Saturday, November 30th, 10:00 a. m.

1. "The *Poimandres*, A Type of Second-Century Religious Philosophy." By Dr. William J. Wilson, of the Hitchcock Military Academy.
2. "The Four Daughters of God in Spain." By Professor Hope Traver, of Mills College.
3. "The Canterbury Tales at Chaucer's Death." By Professor John S. P. Tatlock, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.
4. "Notes on Stevenson's *Olalla*." By Professor Ramón Jaén, of the University of California.

Second Session

Saturday, November 30th, 2 p. m.

5. "Latin Adjectival Clauses with the Subjunctive." By Professor Frank H. Fowler, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

6. "More Light on the Greek Theater of the Fifth Century, B. C." By Professor James T. Allen, of the University of California.

7. "Chaucer's Prioress's Tale." By Professor Walter Morris Hart, of the University of California.

8. "The Real Nature of Dissimilation." By Professor Albert J. Carnoy, of the University of California.

9. "The Wrath of Achilles." By Professor Augustus T. Murray, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

Third Session

Saturday, November 30th, 8 p. m., at the University Club.

10. Annual Address of the President of the Association, Professor Gilbert Chinard, of the University of California: "Literature and International Misinterpretations."

READ BY TITLE ONLY

11. "On Some Passages in the *Silvae* of Statius." By Professor William A. Merrill, of the University of California.

12. "Hrozný's Conception of Hittite." By Professor George Hempl, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

13. "An Idiomatic Use of 'This'." By Professor William H. Carruth, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

14. "A Note on Goethe's Advocacy of Burns." By Dr. Lawrence M. Price, of the University of California.

15. "Interpretation of the First Canto of the *Divine Comedy*." By Professor Oliver M. Johnston, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

16. "New Gods for Old." By Dr. William Chislett, Jr., of the University of California.

17. "Aristotle's Theory of Poetry in the Light of the New Aesthetic." By Professor Jefferson Elmore, of the Leland Stanford Junior University. .

18. "Vowel Germination in English Spelling." By Dr. Arthur G. Kennedy, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

19. "Bunyan's Works in Germany." By Mr. Rudolph A. Eifert, of the California Concordia College.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

ADOPTED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1903

AMENDED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1915

I

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II

1. The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures thru the promotion of friendly relations among scholars, thru the publication of the results of investigations by members, and thru the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting.

2. The meeting of the Association shall be held at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. But at least as often as once in four years there shall be held a Union Meeting, for which some central point in the interior of the country shall be chosen.

III

1. Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary-Treasurer may become a member on the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

2. Persons who for twenty years or more have been active

members in good and regular standing may, on retiring from activ servis as teachers, be continued as activ members without further payment of dues.

3. Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a life member by a single payment of forty dollars or by the payment of fifteen dollars a year for three successiv years. Persons who for fifteen years or more hav been activ members in good and regular standing may become life members upon the single payment of twenty-five dollars.

4. Distinguisht foren scolars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on nomination by the Executiv Council. But the number of honorary members shal not at any time excede forty.

IV

1. The officers and governing boards of the Association shal be: a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Tresurer; an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shal be Chairman *ex officio*), the Secretaries of the several Divisions, and three other members; and an Executiv Council consisting of the aforementioned officers, the Chairmen of the several Divisions, and seven other members.

2. The President and the Vice-Presidents shal be elected by the Association, to hold offis for one year.

3. The Chairmen and Secretaries of Divisions shal be chosen by the respectiv Divisions.

4. The other officers shal be elected by the Association at a Union Meeting, to hold offis until the next Union Meeting. Vacancies occurring between two Union Meetings shal be fild by the Executiv Council.

V

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the usual duties of such officers. The Secretary shall, furthermore, have charge of the Publications of the Association and the preparation of the program of the annual meeting.

2. The Executive Council shall perform the duties assigned to it in Articles II, III, IV, VII, and VIII; it shall, moreover, determine such questions of policy as may be referred to it by the Association and such as may arise in the course of the year and call for immediate decision.

3. The Editorial Committee shall render such assistance as the Secretary may need in editing the Publications of the Association and preparing the annual program.

VI

1. The Association may, to further investigation in any special branch of Modern Language study, create a Section devoted to that end.

2. The officers of a Section shall be a Chairman and a Secretary, elected annually by the Association. They shall form a standing committee of the Association, and may add to their number any other members interested in the same subject.

VII

1. When, for geographical reasons, the members from any group of States shall find it expedient to hold a separate annual meeting, the Executive Council may arrange with these members to form a Division, with power to call a meeting at such place and time as the members of the Division shall select; but no Division meeting shall be

held during the year in which the Association holds a Union Meeting. The expense of Division meetings shall be borne by the Association. The total number of Divisions shall not at any time exceed three. The present Division is hereby continued.

2. The members of a Division shall pay their dues to the Treasurer of the Association, and shall enjoy the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same conditions as other members of the Association.

3. The officers of a Division shall be a Chairman and a Secretary. The Division shall, moreover, have power to create such committees as may be needed for its own business. The program of the Division meeting shall be prepared by the Secretary of the Division in consultation with the Secretary of the Association.

VIII

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any Union Meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council.

ACTS OF THE EXECUTIV COUNCIL

- I. In accordance with propositions of date November 18, 1918, *Voted*:

To approve the recommendations of the Committee on a Cumulativ Index, as folloes:

1. That a general alfabetical index to volumes I-XXXIII of the *Publications* be prepared.
2. That the index contain, for each article, an author entry and as many subject entries as ar necessary to indicate the main lines of scholarly interest.
3. That the Index be prepared by a member of this Association, to be selected by this Committee.
4. That the indexer be paid by the Association a a fee of one hundred and fifty dollars.
5. That the index, when redy, be issued as a separate volume.
6. That after the appearance of the index the present system of printing tables of contents be discontinued (except that each yearly volume shud hav its own table of contents).
7. That in the last number of each yearly volume issued thereafter there be an index for the year of the same caracter as the general index.
8. That after the appearance of volume XL a second general index be issued covering volumes XXXIV-XL.
9. That the Secretary of the Association notify the Editorial Boards of the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, *Modern Language Notes*, *Modern Philology*, and the *Romanic*

Review of the plan of the Modern Language Association for indexing the *Publications*, and suggest that each Board prepare for its own periodical, first, an index of the same type as that which we are proposing for the *Publications*, to cover the period ending simultaneously with the period proposed for our index; and secondly, later indices corresponding similarly to those proposed for the *Publications*.

10. That there be appointed after the war an International Committee to consider the preparation of a general cumulative bibliography covering scholarly publications in the field of modern languages.

II. In accordance with a proposition of date December 2, 1918, *Voted*:

To accept the invitation of the Ohio State University to hold the next meeting of the Association at Columbus, December 29, 30, 31, 1919.

III. In accordance with propositions of date April 4, 1919, *Voted*:

1. That an index be published.
2. That Professor William Kurrelmeyer be offered a fee of two hundred dollars for compiling the index and reading the proofs thereof.
3. That in order to finance the enterprise the Treasurer be authorized to draw upon savings bank accounts for a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars.
4. That the Secretary be authorized to send a circular letter to all members and all subscrib-

ing libraries inviting subscriptions to the index at the rate of one dollar and a half to be paid on delivery thereof.

IV. In accordance with a proposition of date September 23, 1919, *Voted*:

To recommend the election of Professor Alfred Morel-Fatio and Sir Walter Raleigh to Honorary Membership in the Association.

V. In accordance with propositions of date October 18, 1919, *Voted*:

1. To appoint Professors E. H. Wilkins, H. H. Bender, R. H. Fife, Jr., E. C. Hills, and B. E. Young a committee, with power of substitution for each and power to add to their number, to co-operate with the Committee of Fifteen of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers in the preparation of a statement of the aims and purposes of modern language work in the United States.

2. To recommend that the Association ratify the constitution of The American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies and thereby become entitled to representation therein.

VI. In accordance with a proposition of date October 27, 1919, *Voted*:

To present at the invitation of the Library of Congress and thru the Smithsonian Institution a set of the *Publications* of the Association to the Library of the University of Louvain.

W. G. HOWARD,
Secretary.

MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE
ASSOCIATION

Names of Life Members are printed in small capitals

Adams, Arthur, Professor of English and Librarian, Trinity College,
Hartford, Conn.

ADAMS, EDWARD LARRABEE, Assistant Professor of French and Span-
ish, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1333 Washtenaw Ave.]

Adams, Gertrude Mason, Instructor in English, Pennsylvania State
College, State College, Pa. [107 Park Ave.]

Adams, John Chester, Assistant Professor of English and Faculty
Adviser in Undergraduate Literary Activities, Yale Univer-
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Adams, Joseph Quincy, Professor of English, Cornell University,
Ithaca, N. Y. [167 Goldwin Smith Hall]

Adams, Warren Austin, Professor of German, Dartmouth College,
Hanover, N. H.

Adler, Frederick Henry Herbert, Professor and Head of the Depart-
ment of German, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.
[603 Highland Ave.]

Albaladejo, José M., Instructor in Spanish, University of Kansas,
Lawrence, Kas. [1420 Ohio St.]

Alberti, Christine, Head of the French Department, Allegheny High
School, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa. [318 W. North Ave.]

Albright, Evelyn May, Instructor in English, University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill. [1227 E. 57th St.]

Alden, Earle Stanley, The Gilman School, Roland Park, Md.

Alden, Raymond Macdonald, Professor of English, Leland Stanford
Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.

Alderman, William E., Instructor in English, University of Wiscon-
sin, Madison, Wis. [1918 Vilas St.]

Alexander, Luther Herbert, Instructor in Romance Languages,
Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Allen, Beverly Sprague, Assistant Professor of English, New York
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- ALLEN, EDWARD ARCHIBALD, Professor Emeritus of the English Language and Literature, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
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- Allen, Hope Emily, Kenwood, Oneida, N. Y.
- Allen, William H., Bookseller, Temple, Pa. [R. F. D. 1]
- Almstedt, Hermann, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Alonso, Antonio, Instructor in Spanish, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Altrocchi, Rudolph, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5756 Blackstone Ave.]
- Amberton, Clare, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [23 Lynwood Place]
- Amos, Flora Ross, Assistant Professor of English, College for Women, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Anderson, Frederick Pope, Instructor in Spanish and Italian, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. [277 Dwight St.]
- Andrews, Albert LeRoy, Instructor in German and Scandinavian, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Andrews, Clarence Edward, Assistant Professor of English, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Anger, Henri, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.
- Arbib-Costa, Alfonso, Instructor in Romance Languages, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [500 W. 144th St.]
- Armstrong, Edward C., Professor of the French Language, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Arnold, Frank Russell, Professor of Modern Languages, State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah.
- Arnold, Morris LeRoy, Professor of English Literature, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. [2628 Park Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.]
- Aron, Albert W., Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill. [132 Elm St.]
- Arvin, Neil Cole, Instructor in French, The Rice Institute, Houston, Texas.
- Ashby, Stanley Royal, Instructor in English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [University Station]
- Ashley, Edgar Louis, Associate Professor of German, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Mass. [M. A. C. Faculty Club]
- Atkin, Ernest George, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

- Atkinson, Geoffroy, New York, N. Y. [434 W. 120th St.]
Atkinson, Thomas Prater, Paintsville, Ky.
Austin, Herbert Douglas, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Aydelotte, Frank, Professor of English, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.
Ayer, Charles Carlton, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col.
Ayres, Harry Morgan, Assistant Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Westport, Conn.]
- Babbitt, Irving, Professor of French Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [6 Kirkland Road]
Babcock, Charlotte Farrington, Instructor in English, Simmons College, Boston, Mass. [11 Downer Ave., Dorchester, Mass.]
Babcock, Earle Brownell, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, New York University, New York, N. Y. [University Heights]
Babson, Herman, Professor, and Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind. [1012 7th St.]
Bach, Matthew G., Instructor in German, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Livingston Hall]
Bachelor, Joseph Morris, Editor, 215 W. 23d St., New York, N. Y.
de Bacourt, Pierre, Instructor in Romance Languages and Literatures, School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Bagster-Collins, Elijah William, Associate Professor of German, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Baillot, Edouard Paul, Professor of Romance Languages, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Baker, Asa George, In Charge of Editorial Work, G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers of Webster's Dictionaries, Springfield, Mass.
Baker, Edwin Lathrop, Assistant Professor of French, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. [P. O. Box 54]
Baker, Fannie Anna, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Fort Smith High School, Fort Smith, Ark. [515 N. 15th St.]
Baker, Franklin Thomas, Professor of English, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [525 W. 120th St.]
Baker, George Pierce, Professor of Dramatic Literature, Department of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [195 Brattle St.]
Baker, Thomas Stockham, Secretary, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa.

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- Baldwin, Charles Sears, Professor of Rhetoric, Columbia University,
New York, N. Y.
- Baldwin, Edward Chauncey, Assistant Professor of English Literature,
University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1002 S. Lincoln Ave.]
- Baldwin, Thomas Whitfield, Professor and Head of the Department
of English, South Dakota State College, Brookings, S. D.
[Station A]
- Ball, Margaret, Associate Professor of English, Mount Holyoke College,
So. Hadley, Mass.
- Ballard, Anna Woods, Assistant Professor of French, Teachers' College,
Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [120 W. 103d St.]
- Balph, Helen Rose, Wilkesburg, Pa. [200 Trenton Ave.]
- Barba, Preston Albert, Associate Professor of English, Heidelberg University,
Tiffin, O. [42 Clinton Ave.]
- Barbour, Alice Maud, Instructor in English, Smith College, Northampton,
Mass.
- Barbour, Lizzie M., Superintendent of Schools, Brownsville, Tex.
- Bardin, James Cook, Adjunct Professor of Romanic Languages, University
of Virginia, University, Va.
- Bargy, Henry, Professor of French, Hunter College of the City of New York,
New York, N. Y.
- Barlow, William M., Instructor in German, Commercial High School,
Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Barney, Winfield Supply, Dorchester, Mass. [261 Columbia Road.]
- Barnicle, Mary Elizabeth, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
[182 Broad St.]
- Barrett, Florence M., Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky. [Box 600]
- Barrow, Sarah Field, Instructor in English, College for Women, Western Reserve
University, Cleveland, O.
- Barrows, Sarah Tracy, Assistant Professor of German, Ohio State University,
Columbus, O.
- BARTLETT, Mrs. DAVID LEWIS, Baltimore, Md. [16 W. Monument St.]
- Barto, Philip Stephen, Associate Professor of German, Carnegie Institute of
Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa. [5539 Beeler St.]
- Barton, Francis Brown, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University
of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Baskervill, Charles Read, Professor of English, University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.

- Bass, Clare Reynolds, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Western College, Oxford, O.
- Bates, Madison Clair, Assistant Principal, Burr and Burton Seminary, Manchester, Vt.
- Batt, Max, Professor of Modern Languages, John Marshall High School, Chicago, Ill. [458 Fullerton Parkway]
- Battelle, Estella R., Instructor in Spanish, Denison University, Granville, O.
- BATTIN, BENJAMIN F., Professor of German, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Baudin, M. C., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- Baugh, Albert C., Instructor in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [638 S. 54th St.]
- Baum, Paull Franklin, Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [148 Brattle St.]
- Baumgartner, Milton D., Professor of Germanic Languages, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Baur, Grace van Sweringen, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col. [901 University Ave.]
- Baur, William F., Assistant Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col. [901 University Ave.]
- Baxter, Arthur H., Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Beach, Hazel, Professor and Head of the Department of Romance Languages, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind.
- Beach, Joseph Warren, Associate Professor of English Literature, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [1801 University Ave., S. E.]
- Beach, Sarah Morehouse, Instructor in German, Connecticut College for Women, New London, Conn.
- Beam, Jacob N., Princeton, N. J.
- Bean, Helen Alice, Fairfield, Ia. [202 N. Main St.]
- Bear, Maud Cecelia, Instructor in French and Latin, Beaver High School, Beaver, Pa. [148 Taylor Ave.]
- Beatty, Arthur, Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1824 Vilas St.]
- Beatty, Joseph Moorhead, Jr., Instructor in English, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.
- de Beaumont, Victor, Associate Professor of the French Language and Literature, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. [73 Queen's Park]
- Beck, Jean Baptiste, Associate Professor of Mediæval French Literature and Head of the Department of French, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [227 Roberts Road]



- Becker, Ernest Julius, Principal, Eastern High School, Baltimore, Md.
- Bedford, Frances Elizabeth, Professor of Romance Languages, The Grand Island College, Grand Island, Neb.
- Bek, William G., Professor of German, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D. [Box 1233, University, N. D.]
- Belden, Henry Marvin, Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. [811 Virginia Ave.]
- Belden, Mary Megie, Professor of English, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. [287 W. College St.]
- Belknap, Arthur Train, President, The Grand Island College, Grand Island, Neb.
- Bell, Clair Hadyn, Instructor in German, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [Care Professor Paschall, 2319½ Haste St.]
- Bender, Harold H., Professor of Indo-Germanic Philology, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Benham, Allen Rogers, Professor of English, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- Bennett, Albert Arms, Assistant in English Philology, Leland Stanford, Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. [2625 Piedmont Ave., Berkeley, Cal.]
- Benson, Adolph Burnett, Instructor in German, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [18 College St.]
- Berdan, John Milton, Assistant Professor of English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Bergeron, Maxime L., Instructor in French, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Bernbaum, Ernest, Professor of English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [University Club]
- DE BÉTHUNE, Baron FRANÇOIS, Louvain, Belgium. [34 rue de Béroit]
- Betz, Gottlieb, Instructor in German, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Hamilton Hall]
- Béziat, André, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
- Bigelow, Eleanor, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass. [6 Wellington Terrace, Brookline, Mass.]
- Billetdoux, Edmond Wood, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. [324 Lincoln Ave.]
- Bishop, David Horace, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss. [University, Miss.]
- Black, Matthew Wilson, Instructor in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

- Blackwell, Robert Emory, President and Professor of English,
Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
- Blake, Harriet Manning, Head of the Department of English, The
Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Blanchard, Frederic Thomas, Assistant Professor of English, The
Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
- BLAU, MAX FRIEDRICH, Professor of Germanic Languages and Litera-
tures, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Blayney, Thomas Lindsay, San Antonio, Tex. [Narcissus Apts.]
- Blondheim, David Simon, Associate Professor of Romance Languages,
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Bloomfield, Leonard, Assistant Professor of Comparative Philology
and German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Blount, Alma, Associate Professor of English, Michigan State Normal
College, Ypsilanti, Mich. [428 Perrin St.]
- Boesche, Albert Wilhelm, Professor of German, Cornell University,
Ithaca, N. Y.
- Boezinger, Bruno, Assistant Professor of German, Leland Stanford
Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. [176 Bryant St.,
Palo Alto]
- Böhme, Traugott, Professor of Greek, Wagner Lutheran College,
Staten Island, N. Y. [2032 Fifth Ave., New York]
- Bolton, Joseph Sheldon Gerry, Assistant Professor of English,
Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [787 Ostrom Ave.]
- Bond, Otto Ferdinand, Instructor in Romance Languages, University
of Texas, Austin, Tex. [3202 West Ave.]
- Bonilla, Rodrigo Huguet, Instructor in Romance Languages, Univer-
sity of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [709 Haven Ave.]
- Bonnell, John Kester, Assistant Professor of English, U. S. Naval
Academy, Annapolis, Md. [42 Murray Ave.]
- Booker, John Manning, Associate Professor of English, University of
North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Borgerhoff, J. L., Professor of Romance Languages, Western Reserve
University, Cleveland, O.
- Borgman, Albert Stephens, Instructor in English, New York Univer-
sity, University Heights, New York, N. Y. [Faculty Club]
- Borthwick, Margaret G., Professor of the German Language and
Literature, University of Southern California, Los Angeles,
Cal.
- Bothne, Gisle C. J., Head Professor of Scandinavian Languages and
Literatures, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Bourland, Benjamin Parsons, Professor of Romance Languages,
Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
[11500 Euclid Ave.]

- Bouton, Archibald Lewis, Professor of English, Dean of the College of Arts and Pure Science, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y.
- Bowen, Abba Willard, Professor of Modern Languages, Peru State Normal School, Peru, Neb.
- Bowen, Benjamin Lester, Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [775 E. Broad St.]
- Bowen, Edwin Winfield, Professor of Latin, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
- Bowen, James Vance, Professor of Modern Languages, Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, Agricultural College, Miss.
- Bowen, Ray Preston, Professor of Romance Languages, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.
- Bowman, James Cloyd, Associate Professor of English, Iowa State College, Ames, Ia. [508 Lynn Ave.]
- Boyer, Clarence Valentine, Instructor in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Boynton, Percy Holmes, Associate Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Boysen, Johannes Lassen, Adjunct Professor of Romance Languages, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [University Station]
- Bradford, Eugene F., Instructor in English, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [524 Ostrom Ave.]
- Bradshaw, S. Ernest, Professor of Modern Languages, Furman University, Greenville, S. C.
- Brandon, Edgar Ewing, Vice-President and Dean, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- Brandt, Hermann Carl Georg, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
- Bransby, Carlos, Assistant Professor of Spanish, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [1604 Oxford St.]
- Braun, William Alfred, Associate Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Barnard College, Director of Columbia House, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Brede, Charles F., Professor of German, Northeast Manual Training High School, Philadelphia, Pa. [1937 N. 13th St.]
- Brewer, Theodore Hampton, Professor of English Literature, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
- Brewster, Dorothy, Instructor in English, Extension Teaching, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [618 W. 114th St.]
- Brewster, William Tenney, Professor of English and Provost of Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

- Briggs, Carey C. D., Assistant Professor of Public Speaking, New York University, New York, N. Y. [University Heights]
- Briggs, Fletcher, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [13 Chauncy St.]
- Briggs, William Dinsmore, Associate Professor of English, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. [249 Lowell Ave., Palo Alto]
- BRIGHT, JAMES WILSON, Professor of English Philology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Bristol, Edward N., Henry Holt & Co., 19 W. 44th St., New York, N. Y.
- Brodeur, Arthur Gilchrist, Instructor in English Philology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2617 Virginia St.]
- Bronk, Isabelle, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Bronson, Thomas Bertrand, Head of the Modern Language Department, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.
- Bronson, Walter C., Professor of English Literature, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- Brooke, C. F. Tucker, Assistant Professor of English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [725 Yale Station]
- Brooks, Neil C., Assistant Professor of German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Broughton, Leslie Nathan, Assistant Professor of English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [931 N. Tioga St.]
- Brown, Arthur C. L., Professor of English, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [625 Colfax St.]
- Brown, Calvin S., Professor of Modern Languages, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
- Brown, Carleton, Professor of English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [13 Gordon St., London, W. C., England]
- Brown, Frederic Willis, Professor of Modern Languages, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Brown, George Henry, Professor of Romance Languages, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.
- Brown, Harold Gibson, Instructor in English, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md. [217 Hanover St.]
- Brown, Kent James, Associate Professor of German, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Brown, Rollo Walter, Professor of Rhetoric and Composition, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. [607 S. Water St.]
- Brownfield, Lillian Buson, Head of the English Department, High School, Gary, Ind. [633 Delaware St.]

- Bruce, Harold Lawton, Associate Professor of English Composition, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2422 Hilgard Ave.]
- Bruce, James Douglas, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. [712 W. Main Ave.]
- Bruerton, Courtney, Instructor in French, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Bruner, James Dowden, Head of the Department of English and French, Kentucky Normal School, Richmond, Ky.
- Bruns, Friedrich, Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [2330 Rowley Ave.]
- Brush, Murray Peabody, Director, Tome School, Port Deposit, Md.
- Bryan, William Frank, Associate Professor of English, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1907 Orrington St.]
- Bryson, Walter E., Professor and Head of the Department of English, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Tex.
- Buchanan, Milton Alexander, Professor of Italian and Spanish, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. [88 Wells Hill Ave.]
- Buck, Gertrude, Professor of English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. [112 Market St.]
- Buck, Philo Melvin, Jr., Professor of Rhetoric, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [1825 Pepper Ave.]
- BUCKINGHAM, MARY H., Boston, Mass. [96 Chestnut St.]
- Buell, Llewellyn Morgan, Instructor in English, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [328 Temple St.]
- Buell, Walter Hull, Master in German, The Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn.
- Buffum, Douglas Labaree, Professor of Romance Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [60 Hodge Road]
- Bulger, Charles, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Municipal University, Akron, O.
- Burd, Henry Alfred, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [11 S. Warren St.]
- Burgum, Edwin Berry, Instructor in English, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. [202 State Hall]
- Burkhard, Oscar Carl, Assistant Professor of German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Burnet, Percy Bentley, Director of Foreign Languages, Manual Training High School, Kansas City, Mo. [3751 Flora Ave.]
- Burnett, Arthur W., Henry Holt & Co., 19 W. 44th St., New York, N. Y.
- Burnham, Josephine May, Assistant Professor of English, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [1017 Alabama St.]

- Bursley, Philip E., Assistant Professor of French and Spanish, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Burton, George Lewis, Instructor in French and Spanish, Randolph-Macon Academy, Bedford, Va.
- Busch, Ella Adeline, Teacher of Spanish, High School of Commerce, 120 W. 46th St., New York, N. Y.
- Busey, Robert Oscar, Assistant Professor of German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [2090 Inka Ave.]
- Bush, Stephen Hayes, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Bushee, Alice Huntington, Associate Professor of Spanish, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- Busse, Paul Gustav Adolf, Associate Professor of German, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Butler, Pierce, Professor of English, Newcomb College, New Orleans, Louisiana.
- Cady, Frank William, Professor of English, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. [47 South St.]
- Cairns, William B., Associate Professor of American Literature, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [2010 Madison St.]
- Caldwell, Harold Van Yox, Instructor in English, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O. [233 N. Washington St.]
- Callaway, Morgan, Jr., Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [1104 Guadalupe St.]
- Camera, Americo Ulysses Nicholas, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Supervisor of Instruction in the Academic Department, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Cameron, Ward Griswold, Assistant Professor of French, New York State College for Teachers, Albany, N. Y.
- Campbell, Charles B., Professor of Modern Languages, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, College Station, Tex.
- Campbell, Gertrude Hildreth, Instructor in English, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [1547 Westminister St., Providence, R. I.]
- Campbell, James Andrew, Professor of German, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
- Campbell, Killis, Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [2301 Rio Grande St.]
- Campbell, Lily B., Executive Secretary, Southwestern Field, Y. W. C. A., 304 Scollard Bldg., Dallas, Tex.
- CAMPBELL, OSCAR JAMES, Associate Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [15 E. Gilman St.]

- Campbell, Thomas Moody, Professor of German, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. [227 Princeton St.]
- Canby, Henry Seidel, Adviser in Literary Composition, Yale University, Assistant Professor of English, Sheffield Scientific School, New Haven, Conn. [105 East Rock Road]
- Canfield, Arthur Graves, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [909 E. University Ave.]
- Cannon, Harry Sharp, Instructor in German, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. [2735 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, Md.]
- Cannon, Lee Edwin, Professor of German, Chairman of the Department of Modern Languages, Hiram College, Hiram, O.
- Carhart, Paul Worthington, Assistant Editor, G. and C. Merriam Co., Myrick Building, Springfield, Mass.
- Carnahan, David Hobart, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Carnoy, Albert Joseph, Professor of Romanic Philology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2579 Buena Vista Way]
- Carpenter, Fred Donald, Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. [90 Henry St.]
- CARPENTER, FREDERIC IVES, Chicago, Ill. [5533 Woodlawn Ave.]
- Carpenter, Jennette, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Iowa State Teachers' College, Cedar Falls, Ia. [412 W. 8th St.]
- Carr, Muriel Bothwell, The Royal Victoria College, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Carruth, William Herbert, Professor of Comparative Literature, Head of the Department of English, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Carson, Lucy Hamilton, Professor of English, Montana State Normal College, Dillon, Mont.
- Carter, Henry Holland, Professor of English, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. [111 Maple Ave.]
- Carter, Luella, Department of Romance Languages, Hastings College, Hastings, Neb.
- Cary, Esther Celia, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Connecticut College for Women, New London, Conn.
- Casis, Lilia Mary, Professor of Romance Languages (Spanish), University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Caskey, John Homer, Instructor in English, Baylor University, Waco, Tex. [1028 S. 5th St.]
- Cave, Charles Elmer, Ames, Ia.
- Cerf, Barry, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1911 Monroe St.]

- Chandler, Frank Wadleigh, Professor of English and Comparative Literature, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. [323 Warren Ave., Clifton, Cincinnati]
- Chapin, George Scott, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Chapman, Percy Addison, Instructor in Modern Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Charles, Arthur M., Professor of German and French, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
- Chase, Gertrude, Instructor in English, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
- Chase, Lewis, Acting Assistant Professor of English, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- Chase, Stanley P., Associate Professor of English, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. [14 N. Church St.]
- Chatfield-Taylor, Hobart C., Santa Barbara, Cal.
- Cheever, Louisa Sewall, Associate Professor of the English Language and Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [Chapin House]
- Chenot, Anna Adèle, Instructor in French, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [36 Bedford Terrace]
- Chenery, Winthrop Holt, Associate Professor of Romanic Languages, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Oherington, Frank Barnes, Zanesville, O. [154 Sheridan St.]
- Oheskis, Joseph I., Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [931 S. State St.]
- Chew, Samuel Claggett, Associate Professor of English Literature, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Cheydleur, Frederic D., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of West Virginia, Morgantown, W. Va. [174 High St.]
- Child, Clarence Griffin, Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [4237 Sansom St.]
- Childs, Francis Lane, Assistant Professor of English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Chinard, Gilbert, Professor of French Literature, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Church, Henry Ward, Professor of Romance Languages, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. [296 Loomis St.]
- Church, Howard Wadsworth, Instructor in German, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.
- Churchill, George Bosworth, Professor of English Literature, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

- Churchman, Philip Hudson, Professor of Romance Languages, Clark College, Worcester, Mass. [20 Institute Road]
- Clark, Eugene Francis, Assistant Professor of German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Clark, Evert Mordecai, Adjunct Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [University Station]
- Clark, Thatcher, Head of the Department of French, School of Ethical Culture, 63d St. and Central Park West, New York, N. Y.
- Clark, Thomas Arkle, Professor of English and Dean of Men, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [152 Administration Building]
- Clarke, Charles Cameron, Professor of French, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [254 Bradley St.]
- Cobb, Bruce B., Superintendent of City Schools, Waco, Tex.
- Cobb, Charles Wiggins, Professor of Mathematics, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. [75 S. Pleasant St.]
- Coffman, George Raleigh, Professor of English, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia.
- Cohen, Helen Louise, Chairman of the Department of English, Washington Irving High School, New York, N. Y. [38 W. 93d St.]
- COHN, ADOLPHE, Emeritus Professor of the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Colby, Elbridge, Instructor in Rhetoric, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Coleman, Algernon, Associate Professor of French, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5706 Blackstone Ave.]
- Coleman, William Harold, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1155 Edgewood Ave.]
- Collier, Elizabeth Brownell, Assistant Professor of English, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [282 De Kalb Ave., Brooklyn]
- Collins, George Stuart, Professor of Modern Languages, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Collins, Varnum Lansing, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- COLLITZ, HERMANN, Professor of Germanic Philology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- COLVILLE, WILLIAM T., Carbondale, Pa.
- Colwell, William Arnold, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Comfort, William Wistar, President, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
- Compton, Alfred D., Assistant Professor of English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.

- Conant, Martha Pike, Associate Professor of English Literature, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- Conklin, Clara, Professor, and Chairman of the Department of Modern Languages, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Conklin, Henry Ernest, Instructor in English, The Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
- Conley, Carey H., Assistant Professor of English, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. [38 Wyllys St.]
- Conrow, Georgianna, Assistant Professor of French, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Cons, Louis, Assistant Professor of French, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [25 Bank St.]
- Cook, Albert Stanburrough, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [219 Bishop St.]
- Cool, Charles Dean, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1921 Keyes Ave.]
- Cooper, Clyde Barnes, Associate Professor of English, Armour Institute of Technology, Chicago, Ill.
- Cooper, Grace Berenice, Assistant in English, State Normal School, Springfield, S. Dak.
- Cooper, James W., Professor of Romance Languages, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.
- Cooper, Lane, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Cooper, William Alpha, Professor of German, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Corbin, Alberta Linton, Assistant Professor of German, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Corbin, William Lee, Associate Professor of English, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
- Corley, Ames Haven, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [189 East Rock Road]
- CORNELSON, CHARLES ARTHUR, Professor of English Literature, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind.
- Corwin, Robert Nelson, Professor of German, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [247 St. Ronan St.]
- Coues, Robert Wheaton, Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [266 Chestnut Hill Ave., Boston]
- Covington, Frank Frederick, Jr., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1215 Yale Station]
- Cowper, Frederick Augustus Grant, Acting Professor of Spanish, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. [Box 15]

- Cox, Catharine Morris, Professor of German, College of the Pacific, San José, Cal. [855 Chapman St.]
- Cox, John Harrington, Professor of English Philology, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. [54 University Driveway]
- Craig, Hardin, Professor of English, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Cram, Gordon La Fayette, Instructor in Romance Languages and Literatures, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [828 Arkansas St.]
- Crane, Ronald Salmon, Assistant Professor of English, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1823 Wesley Ave.]
- Crawford, Angus McD., Principal, Emerson Institute, 1740 P St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
- Crawford, Bartholow Vincent, Instructor in English, The Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
- Crawford, Douglas Gordon, Head of the English Department, Huntington School, Boston, Mass. [36 Morton St., Andover, Mass.]
- Crawford, James Pyle Wickersham, Professor of Romanic Languages and Literatures, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Crawshaw, William Henry, Dean and Professor of General Literature, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.
- Creek, Herbert Le Sourd, Associate in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Crippen, Helen Elizabeth, Instructor in French, University of Denver, Denver, Col. [1135 Logan St.]
- Croissant, De Witt C., Professor of English, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.
- Croll, Morris William, Assistant Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [6 North Reunion Hall]
- Cross, Ephraim, Teacher of Spanish, Stuyvesant High School, New York, N. Y. [1350 Fulton Ave., Bronx, New York]
- Cross, Samuel H., New Bedford, Mass. [43 Seventh St.]
- Cross, Tom Peete, Associate Professor of English and Celtic, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5329 Kimbark Ave.]
- Cross, Wilbur Lucius, Professor of English, Dean of the Graduate School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [24 Edgehill Road]
- Crowell, Asa Clinton, Associate Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [66 Oriole Ave., East Side Sta.]
- Crowell, Winifred Gardner, Instructor in English, Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville, Ga. [Box 113]

- Crowne, Joseph Vincent, Assistant Professor of English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Cru, Robert Loyalty, Assistant Professor of French, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- da Cruz, Daniel, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Miami University, Oxford, O. [422 Church St.]
- CUNLIFFE, JOHN WILLIAM, Professor of English and Associate Director of the School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Curme, George Oliver, Professor of Germanic Philology, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [629 Colfax St.]
- Currier, Francis Morton, Master in French and German, The Middlesex School, Concord, Mass.
- Curry, Walter Clyde, Assistant Professor of English, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
- Curts, Paul Holroyd, Associate Professor of German, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- Cushman, John Houston, Instructor in English, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [788 Ostrom Ave.]
- Cushwa, Frank William, Professor of English, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
- Cutting, Starr Willard, Professor and Head of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Daland, Rev. William Clifton, President and Professor of English and Biblical Literature, Milton College, Milton, Rock Co., Wis.
- Dale, George Irving, Assistant Professor of Spanish and Italian, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Damon, Lindsay Todd, Professor of English, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- Dana, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Cambridge, Mass. [105 Brattle St.]
- Daniels, Francis Potter, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Missouri School of Mines, Rolla, Mo.
- Danton, George Henry, Professor of Modern Languages, Tsing Hua College, Peking, China.
- Dantzler, Lehre Livingston, Professor of Philology, Head of the Department of English, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.
- Darden, William Arthur, Professor of English, Willamette University, Salem, Ore.
- Dargan, Edwin Preston, Professor of French Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Dargan, Henry McCune, Assistant Professor of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

- Darling, Eugene A., Paterson, N. J. [384 Van Houten St.]
- Darnall, Henry Johnston, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
- David, Henri Charles-Edouard, Associate Professor of French Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Davies, James, Assistant Professor of German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Davies, William Walter, Professor of the German Language, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.
- Davis, Edward Zeigler, Assistant Professor of German, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [3316 Arch St.]
- Davis, Edwin Bell, Professor of Romance Languages, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. [145 College Ave.]
- Davis, Henry Campbell, Professor of the English Language and Rhetoric, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. [2732 Divine St.]
- Davis, John James, Professor of Modern Languages, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.
- Davis, Mrs. Martelle Elliott, Professor of Modern Languages, College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Wash.
- Davis, William Hawley, Professor of English and Public Speaking, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. [4 Page St.]
- Davis, William Rees, Professor and Head of the Department of English, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. [401 Cypress St.]
- Daw, Elizabeth Beatrice, Instructor in English, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [103 South St.]
- Daw, M. Emily, Instructor in English, New Jersey State Normal School, Trenton, N. J. [634 W. State St.]
- Dawson, John Charles, Dean and Acting President, Professor of Modern Languages, Howard College, Birmingham, Ala.
- Dearborn, Ambrose Collyer, Henry Holt & Co., 19 W. 44th St., New York, N. Y.
- Deering, Robert Waller, Professor of German, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [2931 Somerton Road, Cleveland Heights]
- De Forest, John Bellows, Assistant Professor of French, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. [226 Woodland Ave.]
- Denkinger, Emma Marshall, Instructor in English Literature, Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
- Denney, Joseph Villiers, Professor of English and Dean of the College of Arts, Philosophy, and Science, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.

- Denton, George Bion, Assistant Professor of English, Northwestern University Dental School, Chicago, Ill. [1716 Clark St., Evanston, Ill.]
- D'Evelyn, Charlotte, Instructor in English Literature, Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
- De Vries, Louis, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Iowa State College, Ames, Ia.
- DeWalsh, Faust Charles, Instructor in Modern Languages, Franklin School, New York, N. Y. [18 W. 89th St.]
- Dewey, Malcolm Howard, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1531 Adams St.]
- Dey, William Morton, Professor of Romance Languages, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Dickey, William P., Roxbury Latin School, Roxbury, Mass. [Technology Chambers, Boston, Mass.]
- Diekhoff, Tobias J. C., Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Dimmick, Mildred, Instructor in French, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [912 W. California Ave.]
- Dingus, Leonidas Reuben, Professor of German, Richmond College, Richmond, Va. [108 N. Belmont Ave.]
- Dodge, Daniel Kilham, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Dodge, Robert Elkin Neil, Associate Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [15 W. Gorham St.]
- Dondo, Mathurin Marius, Assistant Professor of French, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [Columbia University, New York, N. Y.]
- Doniat, Josephine C., Teacher of French and German, Carl Schurz High School, Chicago, Ill.
- Donnelly, Lucy Martin, Professor of English, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Dooley, Mabel, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [27 Lathrop St.]
- Douay, Gaston, Professor of French, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Douglass, Philip Earle, Instructor in Modern Languages, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
- Dow, Louis Henry, Professor of French, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Downer, Charles Alfred, Professor of Romance Languages, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Doyle, Henry Grattan, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, George Washington University, Washington, D. C. [5416 33d St., Chevy Chase, D. C.]

- Draper, John William, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [69 Kirkland St.]
- Drummond, Robert Rutherford, Professor of German, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
- Dudley, Louise, Professor of English, Stephens College, Columbia, Mo.
- Dulac, Victor, Instructor in French, Notre Dame College, Baltimore, Md. [Johns Hopkins University]
- Dunlap, Charles Graham, Professor of English Literature, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Dunn, Esther Cloudman, Acting Director of the Work in English Composition, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Dunn, Joseph, Professor of Celtic Languages and Lecturer in Romance Languages, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
- Durham, Willard Higley, Assistant Professor of English, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1819 Yale Station]
- Dutton, George Burwell, Assistant Professor of English, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Dye, Alexander Vincent, War Trade Board Representative for Norway, American Legation, Christiania, Norway.
- Dye, William Seddinger, Jr., Associate Professor, Chairman of the Department of English, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. [317 W. Beaver Ave.]
- van Dyke, Henry, Professor of English Literature, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Eastburn, Iola Kay, Professor of German, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.
- Easter, De la Warr B., Professor of Romance Languages, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.
- EASTMAN, CLARENCE WILLIS, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Eberhardt, Edward Albert, Instructor in German and French, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. [2140 St. James Ave.]
- Edgerly, Clifton Tisdale, Instructor in French, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. [820 Elm St.]
- Edwards, Murray French, Major, Adjunct in German, Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va.
- Effinger, John Robert, Professor of French and Acting Dean of the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Eisenlohr, Berthold A., Professor of German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Eiserhardt, Ewald, Rochester, N. Y. [145 Harvard St.]

- Eldridge, Jay Glover, Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.
- Eller, William Henri, Alma, Wis.
- Ellinger, Esther Parker, Reader in English Composition, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Elliott, George Roy, Professor of English Literature, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Ellis, Harold Milton, Professor and Head of the Department of English, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
- Elson, Charles, Kane, Pa. [316 Chase St.]
- EMERSON, OLIVER FABRAB, Professor of English, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [1910 Wadena St., East Cleveland]
- Emery, Fred Parker, Professor of English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Engel, Elmer Franklin, Professor of German, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Ernst, Adolphine B., Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Erskine, John, Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Erwin, Edward James, Assistant Professor of English, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. [P. O. Box 233]
- Escher, Erwin, Assistant in Romance Languages and Literatures, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [6059 Ellis Ave.]
- Espinosa, Aurelio Macedonio, Associate Professor of Spanish, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Essinger, Anna, New York, N. Y. [143 E. 53d St.]
- Evans, Charles, Professor of German, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Evans, Marshall Blakemore, Professor of German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Evers, Helene M., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia.
- Ewart, Frank Carman, Professor of Romanic Languages, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.
- Eyster, John Bates, Head of the Department of German, Ethical Culture School, New York, N. Y. [6027 Liebig Ave.]
- Fahnestock, Edith, Associate Professor of Italian and Spanish, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Fairchild, Arthur Henry Rolph, Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. [708 Maryland Place]
- Fairchild, J. R., American Book Co., 100 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y.

- Fairley, Barker, Professor of German, University College, Toronto, Ontario.
- Fansler, Dean Spruill, Assistant Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Farley, Frank Edgar, Professor of English Literature, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- Farnham, Willard Edward, London, England. [Care Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall]
- Farnsworth, William Oliver, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Farr, Hollon A., Assistant Professor of German, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [351 White Hall]
- Farrand, Wilson, Head Master, Newark Academy, Newark, N. J.
- Farrar, Thomas James, Professor of Germanic Languages, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.
- Faulkner, William Harrison, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [Box 228]
- Faurot, Albert A., Associate Professor of Modern Languages, Rose Polytechnic Institute, Terre Haute, Ind.
- FAUST, ALBERT BERNHARDT, Professor of German, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [Cornell Heights]
- Faust-Newton, Cosette, Associate Professor of English, Dean of Women, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex. [4005 Miramar St.]
- Fay, Charles Ernest, Professor of Modern Languages, Tufts College, Tufts College, Mass.
- Fay, Percival Bradshaw, Assistant Professor of French, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2508 Hilgard Ave.]
- Feraru, Léon, Instructor in Romance Languages, Extension Teaching, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [318 Haven Ave.]
- Ferguson, Agnes B., Professor of German, Morningside College, Sioux City, Ia. [3909 Orleans Ave.]
- Ferguson, John De Lancey, Assistant Professor of English, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O. [94 S. Liberty St.]
- Ferren, Harry M., Professor of German, Allegheny High School, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Ferrin, Dana Holman, The Century Co., 353 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Ficken, Hilbert Theodore, Professor of Modern Languages, Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, O.
- Fife, Robert Herndon, Jr., Professor of German, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. [347 High St.]
- Fisher, John Roberts, Professor of Modern Languages, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.

- Fiske, Christabel Forsyth, Associate Professor of English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Fite, Alexander Green, Christ Church, Oxford, England.
- Fitz-Gerald, John Driscoll, Professor of Spanish, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Fitzgerald, Mrs. Sara Porter, Houston, Tex. [7 La Morada Apts.]
- FITZ-HUGH, THOMAS, Professor of Latin, University of Virginia, University, Va.
- Fletcher, Jefferson Butler, Professor of Comparative Literature, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [112 E. 22d St.]
- Flom, George Tobias, Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Flowers, Olive, Teacher of French and Spanish, West High School, Columbus, O. [115 S. 17th St.]
- Foerster, Norman, Professor of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Fogel, Edwin Miller, Assistant Professor of German, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Fogg, Miller Moore, Professor of Rhetoric, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Ford, Daniel, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [113 State St., S. E.]
- Ford, J. D. M., Professor of the French and Spanish Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [9 Riedesel Ave.]
- Ford, R. Clyde, Professor of Modern Languages, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich.
- Forman, Elizabeth Chandlee (Mrs. H. B.), Haverford, Pa.
- Forsythe, Robert Stanley, Assistant Professor of English, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [2652 Ewing Ave.]
- Fosnocht, Eddy Burke, Teacher of French, New Haven High School, New Haven, Conn. [116 Whalley Ave.]
- Fossler, Laurence, Professor of Modern Languages, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Foster, Dorothy, Associate Professor of English Literature, Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
- Foster, Elizabeth Andros, Instructor in Spanish, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [57 Prospect St.]
- Foster, Finley Melville Kendall, Assistant Professor of English, Delaware College, Newark, Del.
- Foster, Frances Allen, Assistant Professor of English, Appleton College, Appleton, Wis. [632 Union St.]
- Foster, Irving Lysander, Professor of Romance Languages, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. [140 S. Pugh St.]

- Fouré-Selter, Robert, Instructor in Romance Languages, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
- Fowler, Earle Broadus, Professor and Head of the Department of English, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- Fowler, Thomas Howard, Professor of German, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
- Fox, Charles Shattuck, Professor of Romance Languages, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa. [119 S. High St., Bethlehem]
- FRANOKE, KUNO, Professor of the History of German Culture, Emeritus, and Honorary Curator of the Germanic Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [Quarry Hill, Gilbertsville, N. Y.]
- Frank, Colman Dudley, Head of the Department of Romance Languages, De Witt Clinton High School, 59th St. and Tenth Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Fraser, Margaret E. N., Professor and Head of the Department of Romance Languages, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.
- Freeman, Clarence Campbell, Professor of English, Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky. [515 W. 3d St.]
- Frelin, Jules Theophile, Assistant Professor of French, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- French, George Franklin, Instructor in Modern Languages, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. [12 School St.]
- French, John Calvin, Associate Professor of English, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. [3002 N. Calvert St.]
- French, M. Katherine Jackson, (Mrs. W. F.), Shreveport, La. [888 Jordan St.]
- French, Robert Dudley, Instructor in English, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. [67 Bishop St.]
- Friedland, Louis S., Instructor in the English Language and Literature, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Fries, Charles Carpenter, Professor of English, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.
- Friess, Charlotte L., Instructor in German, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [70 Morningside Drive]
- Froelicher, Hans, Professor of German, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.
- Fuentes, Ventura P., Associate Professor of Spanish, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Fuess, Claude Moore, Instructor in English, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. [183 Main St.]
- FULTON, EDWARD, Urbana, Ill. [1008 W. Oregon St.]
- FURST, J. HENRY, J. H. Furst Co., 23 S. Hanover St., Baltimore, Md.

- Galloo, Eugénie, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Galpin, Stanley Leman, Professor of Romance Languages, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
- Gambrill, Louise, Head of the French Department, Brookline High School, Brookline, Mass. [264 Brookline Ave., Boston, Mass.]
- García de Diego, Vicente, Profesor del Instituto de Zaragoza, Zaragoza, Spain.
- Gardner, Dorothy Margaret, Instructor in English, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. [16 Idaho St.]
- Gardner, Edward Hall, Associate Professor of Business Administration, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [2018 Chamberlain Ave.]
- Gardner, May, Assistant Professor, Department of Hispanic Languages and Literatures, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Garver, Milton, Instructor in French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [801 Yale Station]
- Garrett, Robert Max, Assistant Professor of English, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- Garrison, Stewart Lee, Instructor in English and Public Speaking, Worcester Academy, Worcester, Mass.
- Gates, William Bryan, Instructor in French, Latin, and History, High School, Magee, Miss.
- Gauss, Christian, Professor of Modern Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- GAW, Mrs. RALPH H., Topeka, Kas. [1321 Filmore St.]
- Gay, Lucy Maria, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [216 N. Pinckney St.]
- Gayley, Charles Mills, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Gearhart, R. H., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
- GEDDES, JAMES, JR., Professor of Romance Languages, Boston University, Boston, Mass. [20 Fairmount St., Brookline, Mass.]
- Geissendoerfer, John Theodore, Instructor in Modern Languages, Wartburg Academy, Waverly, Ia.
- Gerig, John Lawrence, Associate Professor of Celtic, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Gerould, Gordon Hall, Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Ghosh, Praphulla Chandra, Professor of English Literature, Presidency College, Calcutta, India.
- Gibson, Susan B., Teacher of French and Latin, Atchison County High School, Effingham, Kas.



- Gideon, Abram, Newspaper Representative, Simplified Spelling Board, New York, N. Y. [9 Franklin Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.]
- Gilbert, Allan H., Instructor in English, The Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
- Gilbert, Donald Monroe, Assistant in Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1218 Jenifer St.]
- Gildersleeve, Virginia Crocheron, Dean and Professor of English, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Gillet, Joseph Eugene, Glen Rock, N. J. [7 Wilson St.]
- Gilligan, Arthur Chew, Instructor in Romance Languages, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [715 Foster St.]
- Gingerich, Solomon Francis, Assistant Professor of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [517 Elm St.]
- Girard, William, Instructor in French, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [1589 Le Roy Ave.]
- Glascock, Clyde Chew, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, The Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
- Glicksman, Harry, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1601 Adams St.]
- Goddard, Eunice Rathbone, Instructor in German, The Bryn Mawr School, Baltimore, Md. [13 E. Read St.]
- Goddard, Harold Clarke, Professor of English, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Goebel, Julius, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Goettach, Charles, Associate Professor of Germanic Philology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Goggio, Charles, Associate Professor of Romanic Languages and Literatures, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. [44 W. 8th St.]
- Good, John Walter, Professor of English, Georgia Normal and Industrial College, Milledgeville, Ga.
- Goodale, Ralph Hinsdale, Professor of English Literature, Hiram College, Hiram, O.
- Goodnight, Scott Holland, Associate Professor of German, Dean of Men, Director of the Summer Session, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [2130 West Lawn Ave.]
- Goodrich, Charles Gourlay, Professor of Modern Languages, Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill.
- Goodyear, Nolan A., Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Emory University, Emory University, Ga.
- Gordon, Mark Dee, Professor of Modern Languages, Eureka College, Eureka, Ill. [P. O. Box 39]
- Gordon, Robert Kay, Assistant Professor of English, University of Alberta, Edmonton South, Alberta, Canada.

- Gorman, Frank Thorpe, Instructor in Spanish, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Graham, Walter James, Assistant Professor of English, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- GRANDGENT, CHARLES HALL, Professor of Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [107 Walker St.]
- Grant, Harry Alexander, Junior Master, Senior German Teacher, English High School, Boston, Mass. [12 Wren St., West Roxbury]
- Graves, Isabel, Associate Professor of English, The Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Graves, Thornton Shirley, Professor of English, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. [301 Watts St.]
- Gray, Charles Henry, Professor of English, Tufts College, Tufts College, Mass. [97 Talbot Ave.]
- Gray, Claudine, Assistant Professor of French, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Gray, Henry David, Associate Professor of English, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Gray, Jesse Martin, Instructor in German, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [410 Hamilton Hall]
- Green, Alexander, Modern Language Editor for D. C. Heath & Co., 231-245 W. 39th St., New York, N. Y.
- Greene, Ernest Roy, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. [3 Occam Ridge]
- Greene, Herbert Eveleth, Collegiate Professor of English, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. [1019 St. Paul St.]
- Greenfield, Eric Viele, Assistant Professor of German, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind.
- Greenlaw, Edwin, Professor of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Greenough, Chester Noyes, Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [26 Quincy St.]
- Greever, Gustavus Garland, Associate Professor of English, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [310 W. 106th St., New York, N. Y.]
- Grendon, Felix, Assistant Professor of English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Griebsch, Max, Director, National Teachers' Seminary, 558-568 Broadway, Milwaukee, Wis.
- GRIFFIN, JAMES O., Professor of German, Emeritus, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Griffin, Eldon, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.

- Griffin, Nathaniel Edward, Professorial Lecturer in English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [416 Eighth Ave., S. E.]
- Griffith, Dudley David, Associate Professor of English, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia. [1220 Sixth Ave.]
- Griffith, Kate, Assistant Professor of German, Baylor University, Waco, Tex. [1422 S. 8th St.]
- Griffith, Reginald Harvey, Associate Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [University Station]
- Griffith, Thomas Morris, Instructor in English, Cass Technical High School, Detroit, Mich.
- Grimm, Charles, Instructor in French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [Box 777, Yale Sta.]
- Grimm, Karl Josef, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.
- GRISCOM, REV. ACTON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [37 Fifth Ave.]
- Grojean, Gabriel H., Instructor in French, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Gronow, Hans Ernst, Assistant Professor of German, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Gruenbaum, Gustav, Associate in Romance Languages, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- GRUENER, GUSTAV, Professor of German, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [146 Lawrence Hall]
- Grumann, Paul H., Professor of Modern German Literature, Director of the School of Fine Arts, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [1967 South St.]
- Guérard, Albert Léon, Professor of the History of French Civilization, The Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
- Guerlac, Othon G., Assistant Professor of French, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [3 Fountain Place]
- Guitner, Alma, Professor of German, Otterbein College, Westerville, O. [75 W. College Ave.]
- Gurd, Patty, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa.
- Gutiérrez, Santiago, Instructor in Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Guyer, Foster Erwin, Assistant Professor of French, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Gwyn, Virginia Percival (Mrs. H. B.), Kenilworth, Ill.
- Hacker, Emil Frederic, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [186 E. 16th Ave.]

- Hackes, Everett Louis, Instructor in French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [507 Mack Road]
- Hadsell, Sardis Roy, Professor of English, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla. [204 S. Santa Fé Ave.]
- Haertel, Martin H., Assistant Professor of German, Secretary of the Faculty, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Haessler, Luise, Assistant Professor of German, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [100 Morningside Drive]
- Hagen, Sivert Nielsen, Professor of English, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.
- Hale, Edward E., Professor of English, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
- Hale, William Gardner, Professor of Latin, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Hall, Edgar A., Professor of English, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [265 Monroe St.]
- Hall, John Lesslie, Professor of the English Language and Literature, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.
- Haller, William, Instructor in English, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Halley, Albert Roberts, Professor of Romance Languages, Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss. [1300 N. President St.]
- Hamilton, Anna J., Associate Professor of English and Dean of Women, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. [643 S. Limestone St.]
- Hamilton, George Livingstone, Professor of Romance Languages, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [316 Fall Creek Drive]
- Hamilton, Grace W., Portsmouth, N. H. [291 South St.]
- Hamilton, Theodore Ely, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Hammond, Eleanor Prescott, Chicago, Ill. [1357 E. 57th St.]
- Handschin, Charles Hart, Professor of German, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- HANEY, JOHN LOUIS, Professor of English Philology, Head of the Department of English, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Hanford, James Holly, Associate Professor of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Hanscom, Elizabeth Deering, Professor of English, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [26 Franklin St.]
- Hardy, Ashley Kingley, Professor of German and Instructor in Old English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Hare, Mabel, Kirkland, Childress Co., Tex.



- Harper, Carrie Anna, Associate Professor of English Literature, Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
- Harper, George McLean, Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- HARRIS, CHARLES, Professor of German, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [2466 Kenilworth Road, Euclid Heights]
- Harris, Julia Hamlet, Professor of English, Oxford College, Oxford, O.
- Harrison, Frederick Browne, Master in Tome School, Jacob Tome Institute, Port Deposit, Md.
- Harrison, John Smith, Professor, and Head of the Department of English, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind. [343 N. Audubon Road]
- Hart, Walter Morris, Professor of English Philology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2255 Piedmont Ave.]
- Hartmann, Jacob Wittmer, Assistant Professor of the German Language and Literature, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [468 W. 153d St.]
- Harvey, Edward Léon, Professor of English, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N. B.
- Harvitt, Hélène, Instructor in French and Spanish, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [192 Hooper St., Brooklyn, New York]
- Harwell, Robert Ritchie, Professor of Greek and Instructor in German, Austin College, Sherman, Tex. [912 Cleveland Ave.]
- Hastings, Harry Worthington, Professor of English, New York State College for Teachers, Albany, N. Y.
- Hastings, William Thomson, Assistant Professor of English, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- HATFIELD, JAMES TAFT, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- Hatheway, Joel, Master, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, High School of Commerce, Boston, Mass.
- Hauhart, William F., Assistant Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [914 Hill St.]
- Havens, George R., Assistant Professor of French, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Havens, Raymond Dexter, Assistant Professor of English, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- Hayden, Philip Meserve, Instructor in Spanish, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Hamilton Hall]
- Haymaker, Catherine Lois, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [66 St. James Place]
- Hazelton, Sidney Channing, Master in Modern Languages (French), Worcester Academy, Worcester, Mass.

- Heaton, Harry Clifton, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, New York University, New York, N. Y. [University Heights]
- Heffner, Roe-Merrill Secrist, Instructor in Modern Languages, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. [8 Centre St.]
- Heinzelmann, Paul, Instructor in Modern Languages, Horace Mann School for Boys, W. 248th St., New York, N. Y.
- Heiss, John, Professor of Modern Languages, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind.
- Heller, Otto, Professor of the German Language and Modern European Literature, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Helmholz-Phelan, Mrs. Anne Augusta, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Hemingway, Samuel Burdett, Assistant Professor of English, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. [24 Lincoln St.]
- Hempl, George, Professor of Germanic Philology, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. [355 Kellogg Ave., Palo Alto]
- Hendrix, William Samuel, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Hénin, Benjamin L. A., Instructor in Romance Languages, Stuyvesant Scientific High School, 345 E. 15th St., New York, N. Y.
- Henning, George Neely, Professor of Romance Languages, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.
- Henry, Laura Alice, Teacher of English, North High School, Minneapolis, Minn. [2414 Garfield Ave., So.]
- Henry, Mellinger Edward, Teacher of English, Dickinson High School, Jersey City, N. J.
- Herrick, Asbury Haven, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [34 Maple Ave.]
- Herrington, Hunley Whatley, Assistant Professor of English, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Hersey, Frank Wilson Cheney, Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [45 Oxford St.]
- Heuser, Frederick W. J., Assistant Professor of the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Heusinkveld, Arthur Helenus, Fulton, Ill.
- HEWETT, WATERMAN THOMAS, Professor Emeritus of the German Language and Literature, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Hewitt, Theodore Brown, Assistant Professor of German, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Heyd, Jacob Wilhelm, Professor of Modern Languages, State Normal School, Kirksville, Mo.

- Hibbard, Laura Alandis, Associate Professor of English Literature, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- Hill, Edith A., Professor of Modern Languages, University of Redlands, Redlands, Cal. [14 Clifton Ave.]
- Hill, Herbert Wynford, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev.
- Hill, Hinda Teague, Professor of Romance Languages, State Normal College, Greensboro, N. C.
- Hill, John, Associate Professor of Spanish, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [425 S. Grant St.]
- Hill, Murray Gardner, Instructor in English, Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Hill, Raymond Thompson, Assistant Professor of French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Hillhouse, James T., Assistant Professor of Rhetoric, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [112 Church St., S. E.]
- Hills, Elijah Clarence, Professor of Romance Languages, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Himmer, William Conrad, Instructor in Modern Languages, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.
- Hinckley, Henry Barrett, New Haven, Conn. [391 Temple St.]
- Hinsdale, Ellen C., Professor of the German Language and Literature, Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
- Hinton, James, Professor of English, Emory University, Emory University, Ga.
- Hochdoerfer, K. F. Richard, Professor of Modern Languages, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. [900 N. Limestone St.]
- HODDER, Mrs. ALFRED, Baltimore, Md. [33 Mt. Vernon Place, East]
- Hodges, John Cunyus, Associate Professor of English, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O. [120 Oak Hill Ave.]
- Hoffman, Rodolphe O., Professor of Modern Languages, Grand Rapids, Mich. [Y. M. C. A.]
- Hohlfeld, Alexander R., Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Holbrook, Richard Thayer, Senior Professor of French, Chairman of the Department of French, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Hollander, Lee M., Instructor in German and Scandinavian, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [202 Forest St.]
- Holliday, Carl, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Professor of English, Toledo University, Toledo, O.
- Hopkins, Annette Brown, Associate Professor of English, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.

- Hopkins, Edwin Mortimer, Professor of Rhetoric and the English Language, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Hornicek, John, Instructor in Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [34 Mellen St.]
- Horning, Lewis Emerson, Professor of Teutonic Philology, Victoria College, Toronto, Canada.
- Hosic, James Fleming, Professor and Head of the Department of English, Chicago Normal College, Chicago, Ill.
- Hoskins, John Preston, Professor of the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [22 Bank St.]
- House, Ralph Emerson, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- House, Roy Temple, Professor and Head of the Department of Modern Languages, State University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla. [317 W. Eufaula St.]
- HOWARD, WILLIAM GUILD, Assistant Professor of German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [39 Kirkland St.]
- Howe, Thomas Carr, President, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Howe, Will David, of Harcourt, Brace and Howe, Inc., 1 W. 47th St., New York, N. Y.
- Hoyt, Prentiss Cheney, Professor of English, Clark College, Worcester, Mass. [940 Main St.]
- Hrbkova, Šárka B., Assistant Professor, Head of the Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [112 University Hall]
- Hubbard, Frank Gaylord, Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [2006 Monroe St.]
- Hubbard, Lucius Lee, Regent, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [Houghton, Mich.]
- Hubbell, Jay Broadus, Associate Professor of English, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.
- Hubert, Merton Jerome, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
- Hughes, Mrs. Charlotte Condé, Tutor in Romance Languages and Literatures, Grand Rapids, Mich. [20 N. College Ave.]
- Hughes, Helen Sard, Assistant Professor of English, State University of Montana, Missoula, Mont.
- Hulbert, James Root, Assistant Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [Faculty Exchange]
- Hulme, William Henry, Professor of English, College for Women, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Humphreys, Wilber R., Assistant Professor of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1435 Cambridge Road]

- HUNT, THEODORE WHITFIELD, Professor Emeritus of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Hurlburt, Albert Francis, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [Box 26, College Hall]
- Hutchins, Henry Clinton, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [801 West End Ave.]
- HYDE, JAMES HAZEN, New York, N. Y. [23 W. 50th St.]
- Imbert, Louis, Instructor in Romance Languages, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [508 Hamilton Hall]
- Ingraham, Edgar Shugert, Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Jack, William Shaffer, Philadelphia, Pa. [1926 Diamond St.]
- Jackson, George Pullen, Professor of German, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
- von Jagemann, H. C. G., Professor of Germanic Philology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [113 Walker St.]
- Jameson, Russell Parsons, Associate Professor of Romanic Languages, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. [162 S. Cedar Ave.]
- JENKINS, T. ATKINSON, Professor of the History of the French Language, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5411 Greenwood Ave.]
- Jenney, Adeline Miriam, Valley Springs, S. D.
- Jenney, Florence Gertrude, Instructor in German, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Jensen, Gerard Edward, Assistant Professor of English, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- Jente, Richard, New Haven, Conn. [86 Henry St.]
- JESSEN, KARL DETLEV, Professor of German Literature, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Johnson, Amandus, Assistant Professor of Scandinavian and German, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [Box 39, College Hall]
- Johnson, Carl Wilhelm, Assistant Professor of German, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Johnson, Elizabeth F., Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.
- Johnson, Herman Patrick, Adjunct Professor of English Literature, University of Virginia, University, Va. [Box 164]
- Johnson, William Savage, Associate Professor of English Literature, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [1135 Ohio St.]
- Johnston, Oliver Martin, Professor of Romanic Languages, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.

- Jonas, Johannes Benoni Eduard, Head of the Department of German, DeWitt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y.
- Jones, Cecil Knight, Instructor in Spanish, George Washington University, Washington, D. C. [Library of Congress]
- Jones, Frederick M., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. [P. O. Box 944]
- Jones, Harry Stuart Vedder, Assistant Professor of English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Jones, Howard Mumford, Associate Professor of General Literature, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Jones, Raymond Watson, Assistant Professor of German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Jones, Richard Foster, Instructor in English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Jones, Virgil Laurens, Professor of English, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark. [728 W. Maple St.]
- Jordan, Brady R., Instructor in French, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [602 S. Baldwin St.]
- Jordan, Daniel, Assistant Professor of the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [522 W. 112th St.]
- Jordan, Mary Augusta, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [Hatfield House]
- Joslin, Richard Carleton, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass.
- Joyce, Hewette Elwell, Instructor in English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. [60 Lebanon St.]
- Judson, Alexander Corbin, Adjunct Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Judy, Clinton K., Professor of English, Throop College of Technology, Pasadena, Cal.
- Kany, Charles Emil, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [32 Grays Hall]
- Kaufman, Paul, Acting Director, Bureau of Communication, The American Red Cross, 1810 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
- Kaye, Frederick B., Instructor in English, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1222 Elmwood Ave.]
- Kayser, Carl F., Professor of the German Language and Literature, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [723 W. 177th St.]

- Keegen, J. L. C., Instructor in English, Tufts College, Tufts College, Mass. [217 Freeman St., Brookline, Mass.]
- Keep, Robert Porter, Principal, Miss Porter's School, Farmington, Conn.
- Keidel, George Charles, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- Keith, Oscar L., Professor of Modern Languages, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. [1518 University Place]
- Keller, May Lansfield, Professor of English and Dean, Westhampton College, Richmond, Va.
- Kellogg, Robert James, Professor of Modern Languages, Denison University, Granville, O.
- Kelly, Edythe Grace, Instructor in Romance Languages, College for Women, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Keniston, Ralph Hayward, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [1 East Ave.]
- Kennedy, Arthur G., Instructor in English Philology, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. [1527 Waverley St., Palo Alto]
- Kennedy, Charles William, Assistant Professor, Preceptor in English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Kennedy, Mary Stewart, Associate Professor in English, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [111 St. James Place, Brooklyn]
- Kenngott, Alfred, Instructor in French, Riverside High School, Milwaukee, Wis. [50 Mack Block]
- Kenyon, Herbert Alden, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Kenyon, John Samuel, Professor of the English Language, Hiram College, Hiram, O.
- Kern, Alfred Allan, Professor of English, Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss.
- Keyes, Charles Reuben, Professor of German, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Ia.
- King, James Percival, Professor of German, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- Kinney, Muriel, Professor of English, Constantinople College, Constantinople, Turkey.
- Kip, Herbert Z., Professor of German, Connecticut College for Women, New London, Conn.
- Kitchel, Anna Theresa, Instructor in English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- KITTBEDGE, GEORGE LYMAN, Professor of English Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [8 Hilliard St.]

- Kittredge, Rupert Earle Loring, Professor of French, Trinity College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.
- Klaeber, Frederick, Professor of Comparative and English Philology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- KLEIN, DAVID, Instructor in English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- von Klenze, Camillo, Professor of the German Language and Literature, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Kline, Earl Kilburn, Professor of Modern Languages, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo. [709 Sheridan St.]
- Klocksien, Arthur Charles, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1105 E. University Ave.]
- Knickerbocker, William Edwin, Instructor in French, Supervisor of Instruction in Romance Languages in the Academic Department, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Knizek, Charles, Instructor in Slavic Languages, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Knoepfler, John Baptist, Professor and Head of the Department of German and French, Iowa State Teachers' College, Cedar Falls, Ia.
- Knott, Thomas Albert, Associate Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Knowlton, Edgar Colby, Instructor in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [706 Gregory Place]
- Koenig, Alfred Edmund, Assistant Professor of German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Kolbe, Parke Rexford, President, Municipal University of Akron, Akron, O.
- Koller, Armin Hajman, Associate in German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1110 S. 3d St., Champaign, Ill.]
- Kotz, Theodore Franklin, Instructor in German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1565 Worthington St.]
- Kraemer, Casper John, Instructor in English, New York University, New York, N. Y. [University Heights]
- Krapp, George Philip, Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Krappe, Alexander Haggerty, Instructor in Romance Languages, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [720 E. Third St.]
- Krause, Carl Albert, Head of the Modern Language Department, Jamaica High School, Jamaica, New York, N. Y. [1087A Prospect Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.]
- Krehbiel, August Robert, 211 Winne Bldg., Wichita, Kas.
- Kroeh, Charles F., Professor of Modern Languages, Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J.

- Kroesch, Samuel, Assistant Professor of German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Krowl, Harry C., Associate Professor of English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Kruse, Henry Otto, Associate Professor of German, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Kugelman, Frederick B., Instructor in English, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [319 Dempster St.]
- Kuhl, Ernest Peter, Professor of English, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.
- Kuhne, Julius W., Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- Kuhns, Oscar, Professor of Romance Languages, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- Kullmer, Charles Julius, Professor of German, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [505 University Place]
- Kümmerle, Katharine Emilie, Assistant Instructor in German, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Kunz, Katherine, Instructor in German, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [502 W. 113th St.]
- Kurath, Hans, Instructor in German, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Kurrelmeyer, William, Associate Professor of German, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. [2120 Maryland Ave.]
- Lambuth, David, Assistant Professor of English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Lancaster, H. Carrington, Professor of French Literature, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Lang, Henry R., Professor of Romance Philology, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [176 Yale Station]
- Langdon, Ida, Elmira, N. Y. [303 N. Main St.]
- Lange, Carl Frederick Augustus, Professor of German, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Langley, Ernest F., Professor of French, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.
- Lansing, Ruth, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [Plymouth Inn]
- de La Rochelle, Philippe, Professor of French, College of New Rochelle, Instructor at Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [318 W. 57th St., New York, N. Y.]
- Larwill, Paul Herbert, Professor of Romance Languages, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.

- Lathrop, Henry Burrowes, Associate Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [204 N. Murray St.]
- Lauer, Edward Henry, Associate Professor of German, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. [308 Ronalds St.]
- Lavertu, Francis Louis, Head of the Modern Language Department, Hill School, Pottstown, Pa.
- Law, Robert A., Associate Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [2614 Salado St.]
- Lawrence, William Witherle, Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Leach, Henry Goddard, Secretary, The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 25 W. 45th St., New York, N. Y.
- Learned, Henry Dexter, Instructor in French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Leavenworth, Clarence Eldredge, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind.
- Lecompte, Irville Charles, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Le Coq, Jean Pierre, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Drake University, Des Moines, Ia.
- Le Duc, Alma de L., Instructor in French, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Ledyard, Caroline S. (Mrs. Edgar M.), Salt Lake City, Utah. [1111 Third Ave.]
- Lee, Alfred O., Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [904 Church St.]
- Leiper, Margaret Dale, Teacher of French, William Penn High School, Philadelphia, Pa. [Swarthmore, Pa.]
- Lensner, Herman Julius, Head of Modern Language Department, Glenville High School, Cleveland, O. [1433 Alameda Ave., Lakewood, O.]
- Leonard, Arthur Newton, Professor of German, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. [12 Abbott St.]
- Leonard, William Ellery, Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Lessing, Otto Eduard, Professor of German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Levi, Moritz, Professor of French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Lewis, Charlton Miner, Professor of English Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Lewis, Edwin Herbert, Professor of English, and Dean of the Faculty, Lewis Institute, Madison and Robey Sts., Chicago, Ill.

- Lewis, Mary Delia, Associate Professor of the English Language and Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [Haven House]
- Lewis, Rebecca Renshaw, New York, N. Y. [416 W. 122d St.]
- Lewman, Ruth Lorena, Teacher of French and Spanish, Manual Training High School, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Licklider, Albert Harp, Assistant Professor of English Literature, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Lieder, Frederick William Charles, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [37 Dana Chambers]
- Lillehei, Ingebrigt, Professor of Romance Languages, Iowa State Teachers' College, Cedar Falls, Ia.
- Lincoln, George Luther, Instructor in Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [2000 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.]
- Lindsay, Julian Ira, Assistant Professor of English, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. [106 N. Willard St.]
- Lipari, Angelo, Lecturer in Italian and Spanish, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.
- Livingston, Albert Arthur, Professor of Romance Languages, Western University, London, Ont., Canada.
- Lockert, Charles Lacy, Jr., Assistant Professor of English, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.
- Lockwood, Francis Cummins, Director General of University Extension, University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.
- Lockwood, Laura E., Associate Professor of English, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- Loiseaux, Louis Auguste, Associate Professor of French, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Lomax, John Avery, representing Lee, Higginson & Co., 910 W. 26th St., Austin, Tex.
- Long, Orie William, Assistant Professor of German, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Long, Percy Waldron, Cambridge, Mass. [3 Fuller Place]
- Longden, Henry Boyer, Professor of the German Language and Literature, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
- Lorenz, Charlotte Marie, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. [Ormsby Hall]
- Lotspeich, Claude Meek, Professor of Comparative Philology, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
- Lowes, John Livingston, Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [983 Charles River Road]
- Luebke, William Ferdinand, Professor of English, Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa.

- Luquiens, Frederick Bliss, Professor of Spanish, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [97 Canner St.]
- Lusky, George Frederic, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, University of Montana, Missoula, Mont.
- Lustrat, Joseph, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
- Lynn, Margaret, Associate Professor of English Literature, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Lyon, Charles Edward, Atlanta, Ga. [984 Piedmont Ave.]
- Lyons, Jessie M., Las Cruces, N. M. [R. F. D.]
- MacArthur, Mildred Sherwood, Professor of Romance Languages, Drury College, Springfield, Mo.
- McClelland, George William, Assistant Professor in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [College Hall, U. of P.]
- MacClintock, Lander, Instructor in French, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- MacClintock, William D., Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5629 Lexington Ave.]
- MACCRACKEN, HENRY NOBLE, President, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- McCully, Bruce, Professor of English, State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash.
- McCutcheon, Roger Philip, Associate Professor of English, Denison University, Granville, O.
- MacDonald, Wilbert L., Professor of English, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B. C.
- McHale, Charles F., Instructor in Spanish, National City Bank, New York, N. Y. [81 Downing St., Brooklyn]
- Mack, Jesse Floyd, Assistant Professor of English, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. [168 E. College St.]
- Mackall, Leonard Leopold, Hon. Member, Georgia Historical Society, Foreign Member, Bibliographical Society of London. [420 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y.]
- McKENZIE, KENNETH, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Mackenzie, William Roy, Professor of English, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- McKIBBEN, GEORGE FITCH, Professor of Romance Languages, Emeritus, Denison University, Granville, O.
- Mackimmie, Alexander Anderson, Professor of French, Massachusetts Agricultural College, No. Amherst, Mass.
- McKnight, George Harley, Professor of English, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.

- McLaughlin, William Aloysius, Assistant Professor of French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1103 Fardon Road]
- McLean, Charlotte Frelinghuysen, Professor of English, Lebanon Valley College, Annville, Pa. [P. O. Box 165]
- MacLean, Malcolm Shaw, Instructor in English, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [620 Hinman Ave.]
- McLeod, Malcolm, Assistant Professor of English, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- McLucas, John Sherwood, Professor of English, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col.
- MacMartin, Jane, Teacher of German, Hartford Public High School, Hartford, Conn. [28 Gray St.]
- McMahon, Amos Philip, New York, N. Y. [The Harvard Club, 27 W. 44th St.]
- McMaster, Albert Marian Cohn, Instructor in Modern Languages, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md. [86 Duke of Gloucester St.]
- MacVeagh, Lincoln, Henry Holt & Co., 19 W. 44th St., New York, N. Y.
- Madison, Elisa Gertrude, Dean of Bowman Hall and Instructor in English, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia.
- Malakis, Emile, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [College Hall]
- Malecot, G. L., Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.
- Manchester, Frederick A., Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Manchester, Paul Thomas, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1208 18th Ave.]
- Mandell, Max S., Instructor in Slavic Languages, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [899 Yale Station]
- Manley, Edward, Englewood High School, Chicago, Ill. [6100 University Ave.]
- Manly, John Matthews, Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Manthey-Zorn, Otto, Professor of German, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Mantz, Harold Elmer, Instructor in French, Department of Extension Teaching, and Lecturer in Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1 W. 100th St.]
- Marcou, Philippe Belknap, Paris, France. [28 Quai d'Orléans]
- Marden, Charles Carroll, Professor of Spanish, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

- Marinoni, Antonio, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.
- Maronpot, Raymond Philip, Paterson, N. J. [129 Madison St.]
- Marquardt, Carl Eugene, Associate Professor of French, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. [109 S. Atherton St.]
- Marsh, George Linnæus, Extension Associate Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Marvin, Robert B., Head of the Department of German, Commercial High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. [826 Marcy Ave.]
- Mason, James Frederick, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Mason, John Edward, Instructor in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [251 S. 44th St.]
- Mason, Lawrence, Assistant Professor of English, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. [604 Chapel St.]
- Matthæi, Daniel H. G., Instructor in German, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
- MATTHEWS, BRANDER, Professor of Dramatic Literature (English), Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [337 W. 87th St.]
- Maxcy, Carroll Lewis, Dean and Professor of Rhetoric, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Maxfield, Ezra Kempton, Professor of English, Northeastern College, Boston, Mass. [41 Ridgely Hall, Cambridge, Mass.]
- Maxwell, Baldwin, Instructor in English, The Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
- Mayfield, George Radford, Assistant Professor of German, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [Kissam Hall]
- Maynard, William Doty, Instructor in Romance Languages, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Mead, Marian, Winnetka, Ill. [975 Pine St.]
- Mead, William Edward, Professor of the English Language, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- Meador, Clarence Linton, Professor of General Linguistics, in charge of instruction in Russian, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1941 Geddes Ave.]
- Medici de Solenni, Gino V., Instructor of Romance Languages, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.
- Menner, Robert James, Honesdale, Pa. [1006 Church St.]
- Mensel, Ernst Heinrich, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Mercier, Louis Joseph Alexander, Assistant Professor of French, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- Meredith, J. A., Instructor in Romanic Languages, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [College Hall, U. of P.]

- Merrill, Ray March, Professor of Romance Languages, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D.
- Mesick, Jane Louise, Instructor in English, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
- Metcalf, John Calvin, Professor of English, University of Virginia, University, Va.
- Michaud, Régis, Professor of French, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [University of California, Berkeley, Cal.]
- Miles, Louis Wardlaw, Assistant Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Miller, Douglass Wood, Instructor in English and Public Speaking, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho. [226 E. 1st St.]
- Miller, George Morey, Professor and Head of the Department of English, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho. [103 S. Polk St.]
- Miller, Raymond Durbin, Fallston, Md.
- Mims, Edwin, Professor of English, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
- Mitchell, Robert McBurney, Assistant Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [90 Congdon St.]
- Moffatt, J. S., Jr., Instructor in English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Mookerjee, H. C., Assistant Professor of English, Calcutta University, Calcutta, India. [Moghul Garden House, 1 and 2 Dehi Serampore Road]
- Moore, Cecil Albert, Professorial Lecturer in English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [827 University Ave., S. E.]
- Moore, Clarence King, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- Moore, Nettie Terrill, Instructor in Romance Languages, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.
- Moore, Olin Harris, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [319 Dempster St.]
- Moore, Robert Webber, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.
- Moore, Samuel, Associate Professor of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1503 Cambridge Road]
- Moraud, Marcel, Assistant Professor of French, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont. [527 Brunswick Ave.]
- More, Robert Pattison, Assistant Professor of German, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.
- Morgan, Bayard Quincy, Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1710 Adams St.]

- Morgan, Charlotte E., Instructor in English, Mrs. Randall-McIver's Classes (Miss Davidge's Classes), New York, N. Y. [1173 Bushwick Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.]
- Morgan, Stella Webster, Head of the English Department and Dean of Women, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind.
- Moriarty, William Daniel, Assistant Professor of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1212 Roosevelt Ave.]
- Morize, André, Assistant Professor of French Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [374 Commonwealth Ave., Boston]
- Morley, Sylvanus Griswold, Associate Professor of Spanish, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2535 Etna St.]
- Morris, Amos Reno, Professor of English, Parsons College, Fairfield, Ia.
- Morris, George Davis, Associate Professor of French, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [307 E. 2d St.]
- Morris, John, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
- Moseley, Thomas Addis Emmet, Professor of French and Spanish, The Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va.
- Mott, Lewis F., Professor of the English Language and Literature, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Moyse, Charles Ebenezer, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Vice-Principal and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Mukhopadhyay, Rama Prasad, Care of Hon. Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C. S. I., Bhowanipur, Calcutta, India. [77 Russa Road, N.]
- Mulfinger, George Abraham, Chicago, Ill. [6044 Woodlawn Ave.]
- Murch, Herbert Spencer, Assistant Professor, Preceptor in English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [14 '79 Hall]
- Murray, William Henry, Professor of French, Amos Tuck School, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Mutterer, Frederick Gilbert, Professor of German, Indiana State Normal School, Terre Haute, Ind. [667 Oak St.]
- Myers, Clara Louise, Associate Professor of English, College for Women, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Myers, Walter R., Assistant Professor of German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Myrick, Arthur Beckwith, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. [43 S. Prospect St.]
- Nadal, Thomas William, President, Drury College, Springfield, Mo.

- Nardin, F. Louise, Dean of Women, Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [Lathrop Hall]
- Nason, Arthur Huntington, Professor of English and Director of the University Press, New York University, Instructor in English, Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y. [P. O. Box 84, University Heights]
- Neal, Young A., Chattanooga, Tenn. [100 Walnut St.]
- Neef, Francis J. A., Assistant Professor of German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Neff, Theodore Lee, Assistant Professor of French, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Neidig, William J., Chicago, Ill. [1156 N. Dearborn St.]
- NEILSON, WILLIAM ALLAN, President, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Nelson, Clara Albertine, Professor of French, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.
- Nettleton, George Henry, Professor of English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- NEWCOMER, CHARLES BERRY, Professor of Romance Languages, Fairmount College, Wichita, Kas.
- Newport, Mrs. Clara Price, Assistant Professor of German, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Nichols, Charles Washburn, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Nichols, Edwin Bryant, Professor of Romance Languages, DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind. [529 Anderson St.]
- Nicolay, Clara Leonora, Head of the Modern Language Department, Wesley College, Greenville, Tex.
- Nitze, William Albert, Professor and Head of the Department of Romance Languages, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1220 E. 56th St.]
- Noble, Charles, Professor of the English Language and Rhetoric, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia. [1110 West St.]
- Nolle, Alfred Henry, San Marcos, Tex.
- Nollen, John S., President, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill.
- Nordmeyer, Heinrich Waldemar, La Salle, Ill. [650 5th St.]
- Northrop, George Norton, Assistant Professor of English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [2213 Grand Ave.]
- NORTHUP, CLARK SUTHERLAND, Assistant Professor of English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [407 Elmwood Ave.]
- Northup, George Tyler, Associate Professor of Spanish Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Noyes, George Rapall, Professor of Slavic Languages, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [1434 Greenwood Terrace]

- Nykerk, John Bernardes, Professor of English Literature, Hope College, Holland, Mich.
- Ober, Caroline Haven, Professor of Spanish, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- O'Connor, Horace William, Acting Professor and Head of the Department of English, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. [300 S. Grant Ave.]
- Odebrecht, August, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Denison University, Granville, O.
- Ogden, Phillip, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
- O'Leary, Raphael Dorman, Professor of English, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [1106 Louisiana St.]
- Olinger, Henri César, Instructor in Romance Languages, New York University, New York, N. Y. [181 Claremont Ave.]
- OLIVER, THOMAS EDWARD, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [912 W. California Ave.]
- Olmsted, Everett Ward, Professor and Head of the Department of Romance Languages, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [2727 Lake of the Isles Blvd.]
- Olthouse, John W., Adjunct Professor of French and German, College of Wooster, Wooster, O. [703 Quinby Ave.]
- Ortega, Joaquín, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [823 University Ave.]
- Orts y Gonzales, Juan, Instructor in Spanish, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [2010 Broad St.]
- Osgood, Charles Grosvenor, Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Osthaus, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Professor of German, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [417 S. Fess Ave.]
- Otis, William Bradley, Assistant Professor of English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [504 W. 112th St.]
- Ott, John Henry, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Northwestern College, Watertown, Wis.
- Owen, Arthur Leslie, Professor of Spanish, Chairman of the Department of Hispanic Languages and Literatures, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [1702 Massachusetts St.]
- Owen, Daniel Edward, Assistant Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [322 S. 43d St.]
- OWEN, EDWARD THOMAS, Emeritus Professor of French and Linguistics, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [614 State St.]
- Owen, Ralph Woodland, Eau Claire, Wis. [1501 State St.]

Owens, James Newton, Professor of Modern Languages, Baptist University of Oklahoma, Shawnee, Okla.

Padelford, Frederick Morgan, Professor of English, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. [University Station]

Padín, José, Spanish Editor in charge of Latin-American Department, D. C. Heath & Co., 231-241 W. 39th St., New York, N. Y.

PAGE, CURTIS HIDDEN, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

Paine, Donald Arthur, Head of the Spanish Department, Lakewood High School, Lakewood, Cleveland, O.

Paine, Henry Gallup, Secretary, Simplified Spelling Board, 1 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

Palacios, Antonio, Principal, Cortina Academy of Languages, 12 E. 46th St., New York, N. Y.

Palmblad, Harry Victor Emmanuel, Professor of Modern Languages, Carthage College, Carthage, Ill.

Palmer, Earle Fenton, Assistant Professor of English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [828 St. Nicholas Ave.]

Palmer, Philip Mason, Professor of German, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.

Palomo, Angela, Instructor in Spanish, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

Panaroni, Alfred G., Instructor in Romance Languages, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.

PANCOAST, HENRY SPACKMAN, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. [Spring Lane]

Park, Clyde William, Associate Professor of English, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.

Parker, Eugene Fred, Instructor in Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [84 Perkins Hall]

Parmenter, Clarence Edward, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Parrott, Thomas Marc, Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

Parry, John Jay, Instructor in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Passarelli, Luigi A., Instructor in Romance Languages and Literatures, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.

Patch, Howard Rollin, Assistant Professor of English, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [79 West St.]

Paton, Lucy Allen, Cambridge, Mass. [Strathcona Hall, Charles River Road]

- Patterson, Arthur Sayles, Professor of French, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [415 University Place]
- Patterson, Frank Allen, Assistant Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Patterson, Shirley Gale, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Patterson, William Morrison, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, D. C.
- Patton, Julia, Professor of English, Russell Sage College, Albany, N. Y.
- Paul, Harry Gilbert, Associate Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [713 W. Oregon St.]
- Payne, Leonidas Warren, Jr., Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [2104 Pearl St.]
- Peck, Harvey Whitefield, Instructor in English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [803 W. 31st St.]
- Peck, Mary Gray, Geneva, N. Y. [R. F. D. 2]
- Peck, Walter Edwin, Exeter College, Oxford University, Oxford, England. [140 Kingston Road]
- Pellissier, Adeline, Associate Professor of French, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. [2204 N. Calvert St.]
- Pendleton, Charles S., Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [248 W. Marquette Road, Chicago, Ill.]
- PENNIMAN, JOSIAH HARMAR, Vice-Provost, Professor of English Literature, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [4326 Sansom St.]
- Pepper, Charles Robertson, Professor of Latin and French, Austin College, Sherman, Tex. [1313 E. Richard St.]
- Percival, Milton, Assistant Professor of English, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Perdriau, Louis, Professor of French Literature, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- PERRIN, MARSHALL LIVINGSTON, Professor of Germanic Languages, Boston University, Boston, Mass. [688 Boylston St.]
- Perry, Bliss, Professor of English Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [5 Clement Circle]
- Perry, Frances Melville, Professor of Composition and Rhetoric, University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.
- Perry, Henry Ten Eyck, Instructor in English, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [328 Temple St.]
- Peters, Walter August, Instructor in English, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [6910 Madison Ave., N. W.]

- Peterson, Roy M., Professor of Spanish and Italian, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
- Pettengill, Ray Waldron, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [60 Martin St.]
- Pettigrew, Bessie, Instructor in English, Georgia Normal and Industrial College for Women, Milledgeville, Ga. [Clark St.]
- Phelps, Frances, New York, N. Y. [70 W. 49th St.]
- Phelps, Ruth Shepard, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Phelps, William Lyon, Professor of English Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Phillipp, Louis Samuel, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Ala.
- Phinney, Chester Squire, Instructor in German and Spanish, Worcester Academy, Worcester, Mass.
- Pierce, Frederick Erastus, Assistant Professor of English, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Plaisance, Robert, Instructor in French, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Plimpton, George A., Ginn & Co., 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Poll, Max, Professor of German, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Pope, Paul Russel, Professor of German, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Popper, Alice, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.
- Popplestone, Charles Edward, Professor of French, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N. B.
- Porterfield, Allen Wilson, *The Evening Post*, New York, N. Y.
- Potter, Albert Knight, Professor of English, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [212 Waterman St.]
- Pound, Louise, Professor of the English Language, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [1632 L St.]
- Powell, Chilton Latham, Instructor in English, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Prenez, Blanche, Lecturer in French, Barnard College, Secretary of the Maison Française, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [411 W. 117th St.]
- Preston, Ethel, Instructor in French, The University High School, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Prettyman, Cornelius William, Professor of German, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
- Price, Lawrence M., Instructor in German, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2404 Cedar St.]

- Priest, George Madison, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Prokosch, Eduard, Lecturer in German and Anglo-Saxon, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Provost, Antonio J., Instructor in Romance Languages, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. [Box 803]
- Pugh, Anne R., Professor of French, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
- Pugh, William Leonard, Professor of English, Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C. [141 College Place]
- Pumpelly, Laurence, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Purcell, Margaret A., World Book Co., Yonkers, N. Y.
- Purin, Charles Maltador, Head of the Junior College and Foreign Language Department, State Normal School, Milwaukee, Wis.
- PUTZKER, ALBIN, Professor Emeritus of German Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2600 Telegraph Ave.]
- Quimby, Ernest Scott, Teacher of English, Evander Childs High School, New York, N. Y. [244 E. 86th St.]
- Quinn, Arthur Hobson, Dean of the College, and Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Rachael, Sister M., Professor of English, College of Saint Teresa, Winona, Minn.
- Ramey, Robert, Assistant Professor of English, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla. [430 College Ave.]
- Ramsay, Robert Lee, Associate Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. [1320 Wilson Ave.]
- Rand, Albert Edward, Assistant Professor of German, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- Rankin, James Walter, Assistant Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Ransmeier, John Christian, Professor of German, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. [St. Charles Ave.]
- Raschen, John Frederick Louis, Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Ratti, Gino A., Assistant Professor of Romanic Languages, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- Raven, Anton Adolph, Instructor in English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. [Box 462]
- Raymond, Frederic Newton, Associate Professor of Rhetoric, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [808 Illinois St.]
- Raymond, William O., Instructor in English Literature, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1317 Forest Court]

- Rea, John Dougan, Professor of English, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
- Read, William A., Professor of the English Language and Literature, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. [340 Lafayette St.]
- Reed, Albert Granberry, Professor of English Literature, in charge of the Department of Comparative Literature, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. [658 Boyd Ave.]
- Reed, Edward Bliss, Assistant Professor of English Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [Yale Station]
- Reed, Frank Otis, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Reed, Katharine M., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Municipal University, Akron, O.
- Reed, William Howell, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Tufts College, Tufts College, Mass. [P. O. Box 54]
- Rees, Byron Johnson, Professor of English, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Reeves, William Peters, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.
- Reichard, Harry Hess, Teacher of American History, Atlantic City High School, Atlantic City, N. J. [16 N. Sovereign Ave.]
- Reid, Elisabeth, Dean of Women, Huron College, Huron, S. D. [547 Nebraska St.]
- Reinhardt, Aurelia Henry, President, Mills College, Oakland, Cal.
- Remy, Arthur Frank Joseph, Associate Professor of Germanic Philology, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Renaud, A. Etienne Bernardeau, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Denver, Denver, Col. [University Park]
- Rendtorff, Karl Gustav, Professor of German, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. [318 Lincoln Ave., Palo Alto]
- Rey, Ernest, Instructor in French, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. [446 Front St.]
- Reynolds, George Fullmer, Professor of English Literature, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col.
- Rice, John Pierrepont, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Rice, Richard Ashley, Professor of English Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Richards, Alfred Ernest, Professor and Head of the Department of English, New Hampshire State College, Durham, N. H.
- Richards, Edna H., Dean of Women and Instructor in German, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

- Richardson, Henry Brush, Instructor in French, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [37 Blake St.]
- Riddell, Agnes Rutherford, Associate in Italian, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [Low Buildings]
- Ridenour, Harry Lee, Professor of English and Head of the Department, Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, O. [326 Front St.]
- Rinaker, Clarissa, Associate in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [908 Nevada St.]
- Ristine, Frank Humphrey, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
- Roberts, Morris, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- ROBINSON, FRED NORRIS, Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [Longfellow Park]
- Rockwood, Robert Everett, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Roe, Frederick William, Assistant Dean, and Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [2015 Van Hise Ave.]
- Roedder, Edwin Carl, Associate Professor of German Philology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1614 Hoyt St.]
- Rollins, Hyder Edward, Aspermont, Tex.
- Romera-Navarro, Miguel, Instructor in Spanish, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- van Roosbroeck, Gustave L., Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [1623 Fourth St., S. E.]
- Root, Robert Kilburn, Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Rosenberg, S. L. Millard, Professor of Romance Languages, Girard College, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Ross, Annie, Teacher of French, Flushing High School, Flushing, N. Y. [317 Madison Ave.]
- Roulé, Jules Claude, Instructor in French, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. [5 W. South St.]
- Roulston, Robert Bruce, Associate Professor of German, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Rourke, Constance Mayfield, Grand Rapids, Mich. [111 Luton Ave., S. E.]
- ROUTH, JAMES, Professor of English, Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Ga.
- Rowbotham, Arnold H., Professor of French, Tsing Hua College, Peking, China.

- Royster, James Finch, Professor of English, University of Texas,
Austin, Tex.
- Runge, Ralf T., Baraboo, Wis.
- Rutz-Rees, Caroline, Headmistress, Rosemary Hall, Greenwich, Conn.
[1 Rosemary Cottages]
- Rypins, Stanley I., Instructor in Rhetoric, University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, Minn. [210 S. Victoria St., St. Paul]
- Saby, Anna Gunilla, Professor of Romance Languages, College of
Emporia, Emporia, Kas. [801 W. 12th St.]
- Saeger, Armin L., Instructor in German, South Philadelphia High
School, Philadelphia, Pa. [122 S. 33d St.]
- de Salvio, Alfonso, Professor of Romance Languages, Northwestern
University, Evanston, Ill. [1115 Davis St.]
- Salyer, Sandford M., Assistant Professor of English, University of
Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
- Sampson, Martin Wright, Professor of English, Cornell University,
Ithaca, N. Y.
- Sanders, Mary Shipp, Assistant Professor of English, Southwestern
University, Georgetown, Tex. [1516 S. College St.]
- Sandison, Helen Estabrook, Assistant Professor of English, Vassar
College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- de Santo, Vincenzo, Instructor in Romance Languages, University
of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Savage, Henry Lyttleton, Fellow in English, Princeton University,
Princeton, N. J. [The Graduate College]
- Savage, Howard James, Associate Professor of Rhetoric, Bryn Mawr
College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [Cartref, 6]
- Sawtelle, Mary Anna, Lecturer on Literature, Hartford, Conn. [34
Whiting Lane]
- Scammell, John C., Assistant Professor of English, Tufts College,
Tufts College, Mass. [91 Center St., Dorchester Center, Mass.]
- Scarborough, Dorothy, Instructor in Extension Teaching (in English),
Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [150 Madison Ave.,
Tompkinsville, Staten Island, N. Y.]
- Schappelle, Benjamin Franklin, Assistant Professor of Romanic
Languages, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
[College Hall, U. of P.]
- Scheifley, William H., Assistant Professor of French, Indiana Uni-
versity, Bloomington, Ind. [Kirkwood Hall]
- Schelling, Felix E., Professor of English Literature, University of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [College Hall, U. of P.]
- Schenck, Eunice Morgan, Associate in French, Bryn Mawr College,
Bryn Mawr, Pa. [Low Buildings]

- Schevill, Rudolph, Professor of Spanish, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Schilling, Hugo Karl, Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2316 Le Conte Ave.]
- Schindler, Mathilde, Instructor in French, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Schinz, Albert, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Schlatter, Edward Bunker, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [2259 Regent St.]
- Schlenker, Carl, Professor of German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [514 Eleventh Ave., S. E.]
- Schmidt, Alfred Francis William, Professor of German, and University Librarian, George Washington University, Washington, D. C. [2023 G St., N. W.]
- Schmidt, Friedrich Georg Gottlob, Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. [609 E. 14th Ave.]
- Schmidt, Gertrud Charlotte, Head of the German Department, Miss Wright's School, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [631 Montgomery Ave.]
- Schmidt, Lydia Marie, Head of the Department of German, University High School, Chicago, Ill.
- Schneider, Franklin, Instructor in German, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [403 Wheeler Hall]
- Schobinger, Elsie, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Harvard School for Boys, 4731 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Schoenemann, Friedrich, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [7 Chauncy St.].
- SOHOFIELD, WILLIAM HENRY, Professor of Comparative Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [Hotel Somerset, Boston, Mass.]
- Scholl, John William, Assistant Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [917 Forest Ave.]
- Scholz, Frederick William, Instructor in German, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Scholz, Karl W. H., Instructor in German, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [146 Carruth House, U. of P.]
- Schreiber, Carl F., Assistant Professor of German, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [414 Ellsworth Ave.]
- Schultz, John Richie, Professor of English, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. [325 Prospect St.]

- Schulz, Gustav Frederick, Instructor in Public Speaking, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Schwander, Elise Neuen, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Schwartz, Henry B., Professor of English Literature, College of the Pacific, San José, Cal. [103 Randol Ave.]
- SCOTT, CHARLES PAYSON GURLEY, Editor, Yonkers, N. Y. [49 Arthur St.]
- Scott, Franklin William, Assistant Professor of English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Scott, Fred Newton, Professor of Rhetoric, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1351 Washtenaw Ave.]
- Scott, John Hubert, Assistant Professor of English, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. [426 S. Governor St.]
- Searles, Colbert, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- SeBoyar, Gerald Edwin, White Plains, N. Y. [27 Church St.]
- Segall, Jacob Bernard, Washington, D. C. [3208 Que St.]
- Sehrt, Edward H., Professor of Modern Languages, Washington College, Chestertown, Md.
- Seiberth, Philipp, Assistant Professor of German, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. [2306 Ashland Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.]
- Senger, J. Henry, Professor of German, Emeritus, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [1321 Bay View St.]
- Senosiain, Candido B., Instructor in Spanish, University of Denver, Denver, Col. [3860 Meade St.]
- Serfs, Homero, Associate in Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Seronde, Joseph, Assistant Professor of French, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Seymour, Arthur Romeyn, Associate in Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [909 Nevada St.]
- Seymour, Clara Gertrude, New York, N. Y. [144 E. 22d St.]
- Shackford, Martha Hale, Professor of English Literature, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [7 Midland Road]
- Shafer, Robert, Assistant Professor of English, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. [1805 Madison Ave.]
- Shanks, Lewis Piaget, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Western University, London, Ont.
- Shannon, Edgar Finley, Professor of English, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.
- Shaw, Esther Elizabeth, Professor of English, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O.

- Shaw, James Eustace, Professor of Italian and Spanish, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.
- Shearin, Hubert Gibson, Professor of English, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal.
- Sheffield, Alfred Dwight, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric and Composition, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [60 Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass.]
- SHELDON, EDWARD STEVENS, Professor of Romance Philology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [39 Kirkland St.]
- Shelly, Percy Van Dyke, Assistant Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Shepard, Grace Florence, Associate Professor of English, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.
- Shepard, William Pierce, Professor of Romance Languages, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
- Sherburn, George Wiley, Assistant Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Sherman, Lucius A., Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Sherman, Stuart Pratt, Professor of English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1016 W. Nevada St.]
- Shipherd, Henry Robinson, Assistant Professor of English, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
- Shulters, John Raymond, Assistant Professor of French, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind. [120 Andrew Place]
- Shumway, Daniel Bussier, Professor of German Philology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Shute, Henry Martin, Instructor in German, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
- Sibley, Robert Pelton, Professor of English, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill.
- Sills, Kenneth Charles Morton, President, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Silvercruys, Robert, Attaché of Embassy, Belgian Embassy, Washington, D. C.
- Simonds, William Edward, Professor of English Literature, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
- SIMONTON, JAMES SNODGRASS, Professor Emeritus of the French Language and Literature, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.
- Singleton, Caroline Bates, Instructor in French, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Sirich, Edward Hinman, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

- Sisson, Louis Eugene, Associate Professor of English, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [1236 Louisiana St.]
- Skidmore, Mark, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz. [908 E. 4th St.]
- Skillings, Everett, Professor of German, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. [Addison House]
- Skinner, Macy M., Assistant Professor of Chinese and Dean of Men, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- Skinner, Prescott Orde, Professor of Romance Languages, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Slater, John R., Professor of English, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- Smart, Walter Kay, Professor of English, Armour Institute of Technology, Chicago, Ill. [1534 E. 66th Place]
- Smedley, M. Lillian, Instructor in English, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Ia.
- Smith, Charles Alphonso, Professor and Head of the Department of English, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
- Smith, Edward Laurence, Professor of Modern Languages and Dean, Delaware College, Newark, Del.
- SMITH, FRANK CLIFTON, Gurleyville, Conn.
- Smith, Hamilton Jewett, Instructor in English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [706 Gregory Place]
- Smith, Horatio Elwin, Professor of French, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Smith, Hugh Allison, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [15 Prospect Ave.]
- Smith, Loru Hamah, Adjunct Professor of English, West Texas State Normal College, Canyon, Tex. [1100 W. 22d St., Austin, Tex.]
- SMITH, MAHLON ELLWOOD, Dean of Service Departments, Oregon Agricultural College, Cornwallis, Ore.
- Smith, Reed, Professor of English, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. [1628 Pendleton St.]
- Smith, Richard R., Manager, College Department, The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Smith, Stanley Astredo, Assistant Professor of Romanic Languages, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Smith, Winifred, Assistant Professor of English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Smyser, William Emory, Professor of English, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.
- Snively, Guy Everett, Dean of Practical Arts, Converse College, Spartanburg, S. C.

- Snell, Ada L. F., Associate Professor of English, Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
- Snyder, Alice Dorothea, Instructor in English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Snyder, Edward Douglas, Assistant Professor of English, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
- Snyder, Henry Nelson, President and Professor of English, Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C.
- Sóltoft, Henriette, Instructor in French, The Bryn Mawr School, Baltimore, Md.
- Soto, Rafael A., Assistant in Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [901 W. Nevada St.]
- Sowers, William Leigh, Instructor in English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [262 Speedway]
- Spaeth, J. Duncan, Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Spanhoofd, Arnold Werner, Head of the Modern Language Department in the High and Manual Training Schools, Washington, D. C. [2015 Hillyer Place, N. W.]
- Spanhoofd, Edward, Head of the Department of German, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.
- Spaulding, John Austin, Professor of French and German, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N. B. [83 Store St.]
- Spencer, Forrest Eugene, Instructor in Spanish, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2427 Durant Ave.]
- Spencer, Matthew Lyle, Director, School of Journalism, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- Spiers, Alexander Guy Holborn, Associate Professor of French, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- SPINGARN, JOEL ELIAS, New York, N. Y. [9 W. 74d St.]
- Spooner, Edwin Victor, Instructor in French, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
- Staaf, Oscar Emil, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- STAIB, BIRD, Assistant Professor of English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Stanton, Amida, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Starck, Adolf Ludwig Taylor, Madrid, Spain. [c/o Miss Gretchen Todd, 419 W. 119th St., New York, N. Y.]
- Stathers, Madison, Professor of Romance Languages, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.
- Steeves, Harrison Ross, Assistant Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

- Steinbrunn, William C., Instructor in Modern and Old Languages, Montezuma School, Los Gatos, Cal.
- Stampel, Guido Hermann, Associate Professor of Comparative Philology, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [723 S. Park Ave.]
- Sterling, Susan Adelaide, Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [109 W. Washington Ave.]
- Stevens, Alice Porter, Associate Professor of German, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
- Stevens, Clarence Dimick, Associate Professor of English, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. [Senator Place Apartments, Clifton]
- Stevens, David Harrison, Instructor in English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [Faculty Exchange]
- Stevens, Ernest Nichols, Assistant to the Editor-in-Chief, Ginn & Co., 15 Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass.
- Stevens, Henry Harmon, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [54 Garden St.]
- Stevenson, Olla, Professor of French, Marshall College, Huntington, W. Va.
- Stewart, Morton Collins, Assistant Professor of German, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. [1 Rugby Road]
- Stewart, Robert Armistead, Associate in Romance Languages, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Stewart, William Kilborne, Professor of German and Instructor in Comparative Literature, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- STODDARD, FRANCIS HOVEY, Professor Emeritus of the English Language and Literature, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. [22 W. 68th St.]
- Stoll, Elmer Edgar, Professor of English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [504 Fifth St., S. E.]
- Stone, Emma Louise, Professor of Romance Languages, Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa.
- Stone, Herbert King, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Stork, Charles Wharton, Philadelphia, Pa. [Logan P. O.]
- Storn, Martin W., Professor of Modern Languages, Central College, Fayette, Mo.
- Stowell, William Averill, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Strauss, Louis A., Professor of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1601 Cambridge Road]
- Stroebe, Lilian L., Associate Professor of German, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

- Strozier, Edmond Walton, Associate Professor of English, Georgia Normal and Industrial College, Milledgeville, Ga. [P. O. Box 386]
- Struck, Henriette, Assistant Professor of German, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Strunk, William, Jr., Professor of English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [107 Lake St.]
- Struthers, Lester B., Instructor in Romance Languages, The Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
- Stuart, Donald Clive, Assistant Professor, Preceptor in Modern Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [Western Way]
- Stuff, Frederick Ames, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [Station A]
- Sturtevant, Albert Morey, Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Super, Ralph Clewell, Associate Professor of Modern Languages, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
- Supple, Edward Watson, Instructor in Spanish, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Swain, Millicent A., Instructor in English, College for Women, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [1830 Beersford Road, East Cleveland]
- Swiggett, Glen Levin, Special Collaborator in Commercial Education, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.
- Sypherd, Wilbur Owen, Professor of English, Delaware College, Newark, Del.
- Taft, Arthur Irving, Assistant Professor in English, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. [58 E. Lorain St.]
- Talamon, René, Assistant Professor of French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Tatlock, John Strong Perry, Professor of English Philology, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- TAYLOR, ARCHER, Assistant Professor of German, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Taylor, George Bingham, Instructor in French and Spanish, Saint Paul's School, Garden City, N. Y.
- Taylor, Marion Lee, Assistant in German, New York City High Schools, Brooklyn, N. Y. [34 Monroe Place]
- Taylor, Robert Longley, Professor of Romance Languages, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Telleen, John Martin, Assistant Professor of English, Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, O.

- Temple, Maud Elizabeth, Hartford, Conn. [17 Arnoldale Road]
- Teter, Dwight Hall, Professor and Head of the Department of Romance Languages, Fairmount State Normal School, Fairmount, W. Va.
- Thaler, Alwin, London, England. [Care Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall]
- Thayer, Harvey Waterman, Assistant Professor of German, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Thayer, Mary Rebecca, Assistant Professor of English, The College of Wooster, Wooster, O.
- Theobald, Ottilie, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
- Theodosius, Sister M., Principal Teacher of English, Sacred Heart Academy, 2209 Monroe St., Madison, Wis.
- Thieme, Hugo Paul, Professor of French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [3 Geddes Heights]
- Thomas, Daniel Lindsey, Professor of English, Central University, Danville, Ky.
- Thomas, Joseph Morris, Professor and Head of the Department of Rhetoric and Public Speaking, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Thomas, May, Assistant Professor of German, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [343 W. King Ave.]
- Thompson, Elbert N. S., Associate Professor of English Literature, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Thompson, Everett Edward, Editor, American Book Co., 100 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y.
- Thompson, Garrett William, Professor and Head of the Department of German, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
- Thompson, Guy Andrew, Professor of English Literature, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
- Thompson, Harold William, Assistant Professor of English, New York State College for Teachers, Albany, N. Y.
- Thompson, Stith, Professor of English, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col. [930 N. Weber St.]
- Thorndike, Ashley Horace, Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Thurber, Charles H., Ginn & Co., 15 Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass.
- Thurnau, Harry Conrad, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [1424 Tennessee St.]
- Tietjen, Anna M., Teacher of French, High School of Commerce, San Francisco, Cal. [1832 Franklin St.]

- Tilley, Morris Palmer, Professor of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1015 Ferdon Road]
- Tilly, Edmund, Instructor in French and German, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
- Tinker, Chauncey B., Professor of English Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [38 Vanderbilt Hall]
- Tisdell, Frederick Monroe, Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. [1316 Wilson Ave.]
- Titworth, Paul E., Professor of Modern Languages, Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y.
- Todd, Gretchen, Instructor in Spanish, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [419 W. 119th St., New York, N. Y.]
- TODD, HENRY ALFRED, Professor of Romance Philology, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Todd, Theodore Walter, Professor of German, Washburn College, Topeka, Kas. [1618 W. 15th St.]
- Tolman, Albert Harris, Professor of English Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Towles, Oliver, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Toy, Walter Dallam, Professor and Head of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Trautman, William D., Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, O.
- Traver, Hope, Professor of English, Mills College, Oakland, Cal.
- Trent, William Peterfield, Professor of English Literature, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [139 W. 78th St.]
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- WITHINGTON, ROBERT, Assistant Professor of English, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
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[1908]
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[1915]
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[1903]
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 JOHN BELL HENNEMAN, University of the South, Suwanee, Tenn.
 [1908]
 WILLIAM ADDISON HERVEY, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 [1918]
 RUDOLF HILDEBRAND, University of Leipzig [1894]

- JULES ADOLPHE HOBIGAND, Boston, Mass. [1906]
JULIAN HUGUENIN, University of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, La. [1901]
THOMAS HUME, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
[1912]
ERNEST ILGEN, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
[1917]
ANDREW INGRAHAM, Cambridge, Mass. [1905]
RAMÓN JAÉN, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [1919]
HENRY JOHNSON, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. [1918]
EDWARD S. JOYNES, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.
[1917]
J. KARGÉ, Princeton College, Princeton, N. J. [1892]
GUSTAV E. KARSTEN, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1908]
F. L. KENDALL, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. [1893]
CHARLES W. KENT, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1917]
PAUL OSCAR KERN, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1908]
ROBERT AUGUSTUS KING, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind.
[1918]
EUGEN KÖLBING, University of Breslau [1899]
ALBERT FREDERICK KUERSTEINER, Indiana University, Bloomington,
Ind. [1917]
CHRISTIAN LARSEN, Utah Agricultural College, Logan, Utah [1913]
GUSTAV GEORGE LAUBSCHER, Randolph-Macon Woman's College,
Lynchburg, Va. [1918]
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Pa. [1917]
EUGENE LESER, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [1915]
J. LÉVY, Lexington, Mass. [1891]
AUGUST LODEMAN, Michigan State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich.
[1902]
JULES LOISEAU, New York. [1890]
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Cambridge, Mass. [1891]
J. LUQUIENS, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1899]
ALBERT BENEDICT LYMAN, Baltimore, Md. [1907]
THOMAS MCCABE, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1891]
J. G. R. MCELROY, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
[1899]
EDWARD T. McLAUGHLIN, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1893]
JAMES MACNIE, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D.
[1909]
EDWARD H. MAGILL, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. [1907]
FRANCIS ANDREW MARCH, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. [1911]
JOHN E. MATZKE, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford Univer-
sity, Cal. [1910]

- MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, University of Madrid [1912]
 LOUIS EMIL MENDER, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1903]
 CHARLES WALTER MESLOH, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
 [1904]
 GEORGE HENRY MEYER, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1915]
 PAUL MEYER, Ecole des Chartes, Paris, France [1917]
 JAKOB MINOR, University of Vienna [1912]
 SAMUEL P. MOLENAER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 [1900]
 ERNESTO MONACI, University of Rome [1918]
 EDWARD PAYSON MORTON, Chicago, Ill. [1914]
 JAMES AUGUSTUS HENRY MURRAY, Oxford, England [1915]
 JAMES O. MURRAY, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [1901]
 ADOLF MUSSAFIA, University of Vienna [1905]
 ARTHUR SAMPSON NAPIER, University of Oxford, England [1916]
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 AMALIE IDA FRANCES NIX, St. Paul, Minn. [1913]
 CONRAD H. NORDEY, College of the City of New York, New York,
 N. Y. [1900]
 FRANCESCO NOVATI, University of Milan, Italy [1915]
 FREDERICK CURRY OSTRANDER, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
 [1913]
 C. P. OTIS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.
 [1888]
 ROY BENNETT PACE, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. [1918]
 ARTHUR HUBBELL PALMER, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 [1918]
 GASTON PARIS, Collège de France, Paris, France [1903]
 CALVIN WASSON PEARSON, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. [1917]
 ERNEST NOËL PERRIN, College of the City of New York, New York,
 N. Y. [1918]
 W. H. PERKINSON, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898]
 HERBERT T. POLAND, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1906]
 SAMUEL PORTER, Gallaudet College, Kendall Green, Washington, D. C.
 [1901]
 FRANCES BOARDMAN SQUIRE POTTER, University of Minnesota, Min-
 neapolis, Minn. [1914]
 MURRAY ANTHONY POTTER, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 [1915]
 F. YORK POWELL, University of Oxford, Oxford, England [1904]
 RENÉ DE POYEN-BELLISLE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1900]

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SYLVESTER PRIMER, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [1912]
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CHARLES REINING, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. [1918]
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HENRY B. RICHARDSON, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. [1906]
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OLIVE RUMSEY, Westfield, N. Y. [1912]
MARY J. T. SAUNDERS, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, College Park, Va. [1914]
M. SCHÈLE DE VERE, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898]
JAKOB SCHIPPER, University of Vienna [1915]
ERICH SCHMIDT, University of Berlin [1913]
MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [1918]
O. SEIDENSTICKER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1894]
ERNEST ELISHA SEVERY, Simmons College, Abilene, Tex. [1917]
JAMES W. SHERIDAN, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [1902]
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F. R. STENGEL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1890]
CARLTON BEECHER STETSON, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. [1912]
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HERMANN SUCHIER, University of Halle-Wittenberg [1914]
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FREDERICK HENRY SYKES, Cambridge, Mass. [1917]
H. TALLIOT, Austin, Tex. [1894]
CALVIN THOMAS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1919]
ADOLF TOBLER, University of Berlin [1910]
RUDOLF TOMBO, JR., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1914]
HIRAM ALBERT VANCE, University of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn. [1906]
E. L. WALTER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1898]

- KARL WEINHOLD, University of Berlin [1901]
 CARLA WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1902]
 HÉLÈNE WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1888]
 ADOLPH WERNER, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
 [1919]
 MARGARET M. WICKHAM, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [1898]
 R. H. WILLIS, Chatham, Va. [1900]
 EDWIN CAMPBELL WOOLLEY, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 [1916]
 CHARLES F. WOODS, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. [1912]
 RICHARD PAUL WÜLKER, University of Leipzig [1910]
 CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1889]
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-

INDEX TO PROCEEDINGS

	PAGE
Report of the Tresurer for the year 1918.—Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, held at San Francisco, Cal., November 30, 1918.	
Report of the Tresurer, - - - - - - -	iii

MEETING OF THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

Report of the Tresurer, - - - - - - -	vii
Report of the Secretary, - - - - - - -	vii
Appointment of Committees, - - - - - - -	viii
Election of Officers, - - - - - - -	viii
1. The <i>Poimandres</i> , A Type of Second-Century Religious Philosophy. By WILLIAM J. WILSON, - - -	ix
2. The Four Daughters of God in Spain. By HOPE TRAVER,	ix
3. The Canterbury Tales at Chaucer's Death. By JOHN S. P. TATLOCK, - - - - - - -	ix
4. Notes on Stevenson's <i>Olalla</i> . By RAMÓN JAÉN, -	ix
5. Latin Adjectival Clauses with the Subjunctive. By FRANK H. FOWLER, - - - - - -	ix
6. More Light on the Greek Theater of the Fifth Century, B. C. By JAMES T. ALLEN, - - - -	x
7. Chaucer's Prioress's Tale. By WALTER MORRIS HART,	x
8. The Real Nature of Dissimilation. By ALBERT J. CARNOY,	x
9. The Wrath of Achilles. By AUGUSTUS T. MURRAY, -	x
10. Address of the President of the Association: "Literature and International Misinterpretations." By GILBERT CHINARD, - - - - - -	x
11. On Some Passages in the <i>Silvae</i> of Statius. By WIL- LIAM A. MERRILL, - - - - - -	x
12. Hrozný's Conception of Hittite. By GEORGE HEMPL, -	x

13. An Idiomatic Use of 'This.' By WILLIAM H. CARRUTH,	x
14. A Note on Goethe's Advocacy of Burns. By LAWRENCE M. PRICE, - - - - -	x
15. Interpretation of the First Canto of the <i>Divine Comedy</i> . OLIVER M. JOHNSTON, - - - - -	x
16. New Gods for Old. By WILLIAM CHISLETT, - -	x
17. Aristotle's Theory of Poetry in the Light of the New Aesthetic. By JEFFERSON ELMORE, - - -	ix
18. Vowel Germination in English Spelling. By ARTHUR G. KENNEDY, - - - - -	xi
19. Bunyan's Works in Germany. By RUDOLPH A. EINFERT,	xi

Officers of the Association, - - - - -	xii
Constitution of the Association, - - - - -	xiii
Acts of the Executiv Council, - - - - -	xvii
Members of the Association, - - - - -	xxi

INDEX TO ARTICLES

	PAGE		PAGE
Acker, Paul.....	43	Bolton's, Edmund, <i>Hypercritica</i> ,	583
Alexandrine verse.....	193	Boulangisme.....	34
<i>American Whig Review</i>	443	<i>Broadside Ballad, The Black-</i>	
Aretinus, Benedictus.....	152	<i>Letter</i> — (H. E. ROLLINS) ..	258
Ariosto, <i>Spenser's Imitations</i>		<i>Broadway Journal</i>	439
<i>from —: Supplementary</i> (A.		Butzer, Martin.....	485
H. GILBERT).....	225		
——'s <i>Orlando Furioso</i>	225	Campagna, Bernardino.....	481
Aristotle	482	Campbell's, George, <i>The Philos-</i>	
Aristotelian view of tragedy...	343	<i>ophy of Rhetoric</i>	89
Anstey's, F., <i>The Tinted Venus</i> ,	577	CAMPBELL, K., <i>The Poe-Gris-</i>	
Augustine's <i>City of God</i>	484	<i>wold Controversy</i>	438
		<i>Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie</i> ...	191
Bachelor of Rome.....	556	Celtic cross.....	242
Badius, Jodocus.....	481	<i>Chanson de Roland</i>	192
<i>Ballad and the Dance</i> (L.		Chapman's <i>The Revenge of</i>	
POUND).....	360	<i>Bussy d'Ambois</i>	586
——, <i>The Black-Letter Broad-</i>		——'s <i>The Widdowes Teares</i> ..	585
<i>side</i> — (H. E. ROLLINS)....	258	<i>Churchill's, Charles, Treatment</i>	
——, etymology of —.....	362	<i>of the Couplet</i> (J. M. BEATTY,	
Ballad tunes.....	313	JR.).....	60
Barptolomæus	481	Churchyard, Thomas.....	260, 294
Bateson on <i>Clannesse</i>	494	" <i>Clannesse</i> ," <i>Middle English</i> —	
BAUM, P. F., <i>The Young Man</i>		(O. F. EMERSON).....	494
<i>betrothed to a Statue</i>	523	<i>Olerk of Pisa</i>	552
Bazin, René.....	45	Coincy, Gautier de.....	548
BEATTY, J. M., JR., <i>Charles</i>		<i>Commonwealth, The Prose Dia-</i>	
<i>Churchill's Treatment of the</i>		<i>logue of the — and the Resto-</i>	
<i>Couplet</i>	60	<i>ration</i> (B. V. CRAWFORD)....	601
Beauvais, Vincent de.....	526	Conservatism in the art of	
Betrothal ring.....	536	Pereda.....	70
<i>Bible, The German Dramatist</i>		<i>Contributions to German Lexi-</i>	
<i>of the Sixteenth Century and</i>		<i>cography from Translations</i>	
<i>his</i> — (J. E. GILLET).....	465	<i>of Heinrich von Eppendorff</i>	
Birch, William.....	260	(W. KURBELMEYER).....	151
<i>Black Arts, Love Obtained by</i>		COOPER, W. A., <i>Goethe's Re-</i>	
<i>the</i> —.....	558	<i>vision and Completion of his</i>	
<i>Black-Letter Broadside Ballad</i>		" <i>Tasso</i> ".....	14
(H. E. ROLLINS).....	258	Corneille.....	195
Blair's, Hugh, <i>Lectures on</i>		<i>Couplet, Charles Churchill's</i>	
<i>Rhetoric and Belles Lettres</i> ,	89	<i>Treatment of the</i> — (J. M.	
Bletz, Zacharias.....	479	BEATTY, JR.).....	60
Böhme's, Franz, <i>Geschichte des</i>		CRAWFORD, B. V., <i>The Prose</i>	
<i>Tanzes in Deutschland</i>	390	<i>Dialogue of the Common-</i>	
Boileau.....	194	<i>wealth and the Restoration</i> ,	601

	PAGE		PAGE
Crüger, Bartholomæus.....	491	Falstaff.....	1
<i>Cruæ gemmata</i>	239	Faroe folk-song.....	388
<i>Cuadros de costumbres</i>	70	Farquhar's <i>Sir Harry Wildair</i> , 137	
Dance, <i>The Ballad and the</i> —		<i>Faust</i> , Goethe's.....	408
(L. POUND).....	360	Ferry, Jules.....	40
Danish ballads.....	386	Figures of speech.....	105
Dekker's plays.....	591	Fletcher's, John, <i>The Faithful</i>	
Deloney, Thomas.....	260, 275, 304	<i>Shepherdess</i>	593
<i>Democratic Review</i>	450	Floridus, Franciscus.....	152
DENTON, G. B., <i>Herbert Spencer</i>		Fontanus, Jacobus.....	152
<i>and the Rhetoricians</i>	89	Ford's, John, <i>The Lovers Mel-</i>	
Descaves, Lucien.....	32	<i>ancholy</i>	591
Détanger (Emile Nolly).....	51	Fort, Paul.....	199
D'EVELYN, C., <i>The "Revela-</i>		France, le roman militaire en, 30	
<i>tions" of Methodius: Correo-</i>		France, Anatole.....	32
<i>tions</i>	112	<i>Fraser's Magazine</i>	449
<i>Dialogue, the Prose — of the</i>		<i>Frau Jutta</i>	466
<i>Commonwealth and the Res-</i>		French dance songs.....	385
<i>toration</i> (B. V. CRAWFORD), 601		Frischlin, Nicodemus.....	491
DONDO, M. M., <i>Vers libre</i>	189	Gaudy's <i>Venetianische Novellen</i> , 575	
Dramatist, German, of the 16th		Gautier de Coincy.....	548
century.....	465	<i>German Dramatist of the Six-</i>	
" <i>Dream of the Rood</i> ," <i>Liturgi-</i>		<i>teenth Century and his Bible</i>	
<i>cal Influence in the</i> — (H. R.		(J. E. GILLET).....	465
PATCH).....	233	— lexicography.....	151
Dryden, John.....	60	Gibson, Leonard.....	260
" <i>Dynasts</i> ," <i>Notes on the form</i>		GILBERT, A. H., <i>Spenser's Imita-</i>	
<i>of the</i> — (B. FAIBLEY).....	401	<i>tions from Ariosto: Supple-</i>	
Ecko von Repkau.....	530	<i>mentary</i>	225
Economy in style.....	91	GILLET, J. E., <i>The German</i>	
<i>Edinburgh Review</i>	448	<i>Dramatist of the Sixteenth</i>	
Eichendorff's <i>Das Marmorbild</i> , 574		<i>Century and his Bible</i>	465
Elderton, William,		Ginzberg's <i>Legends of the Jews</i> ,	
260, 270, 274, 294, 304		502, 506, 509	
<i>Elene</i>	235	<i>Godey's Lady's Book</i>	452
<i>Elizabethan Times, Play-Pub-</i>		Goethe's <i>Faust</i>	408
<i>lishing in</i> — (H. R. SHIP-		—'s <i>Italienische Reise</i>	18
HERD).....	580	—'s <i>Revision and Comple-</i>	
EMERSON, O. F., <i>Middle English</i>		<i>tion of his "Tasso"</i> (W. A.	
" <i>Olannesse</i> ".....	494	COOPER).....	14
English ballads.....	393	<i>Graham's Magazine</i>	437
—, Saxon —.....	94	Greff, Joachim.....	477, 488
— verse, syllabic quantity		Grimald's <i>Christus Redivivus</i> , 490	
in —.....	416	Griswold, Poe and —.....	436
Eppendorff, Heinrich von, trans-		Hardy's, Thomas, <i>The Dynasts</i> , 401	
lations of —.....	151	—'s <i>The Return of the Native</i> , 404	
<i>Eye, Wordsworth's</i> (M. MEAD), 202		Hausmann, Nicolaus.....	488
Faerie Queene, Spenser's.....	225	Hayneccius, Martinus.....	480, 491
FAIBLEY, B., <i>Notes on the form</i>		Henslowe's <i>Diary</i>	595
<i>of "The Dynasts"</i>	401	<i>Holden's Review</i>	444
		<i>Home Journal</i>	442, 451

	PAGE		PAGE
Hugo, Victor.....	195	Margueritte frères.....	37
Hunnius, Ægidius.....	481	Marienlegenden	523
Icelandic dance songs.....	385	Marprelate, Martin.....	606
<i>Influence of Conservatism on</i>		Marston's <i>The Malcontent</i>	589
<i>the Art of Pereda</i> (J. VAN		Maupassant	31
HORNE)	70	MEAD, M., <i>Wordsworth's Eye</i>	202
<i>Iphigenia in Tauris</i>	344	Menéndez y Pelayo.. ..	76
James's, Henry, <i>The Last of</i>		Mérimée's <i>Vénus d'Ille</i>	575
<i>the Valerii</i>	576	Metaphor	107
Jewelled cross.....	239	<i>Methodius, The "Revelations"</i>	
Johnson, Richard.....	260, 275	of —: <i>Corrections</i> (C.	
Jonson's <i>The New Inn</i>	596	D'EVELYN)	112
—'s <i>The Queen's Masques</i> ...	592	<i>Middle English "Olanesse"</i>	
Kaimes's, Lord, <i>Elements of</i>		(O. F. EMERSON).....	494
<i>Criticism</i>	89	<i>Militaire, le roman — en</i>	
<i>Kaiserchronik</i>	529	France	30
Kemp, William.....	270	Miracles of the Virgin....	523, 548
<i>Knickerbocker, The</i>	444, 448	Moore's, Tom, <i>The Ring</i>	575
KURBELMEYER, W., <i>Contribu-</i>		Morgann's, Maurice, <i>Essay on</i>	
<i>tions to German Lexicog-</i>		<i>the Dramatic Character of</i>	
<i>raphy from Translations of</i>		<i>Sir John Falstaff</i>	3
<i>Heinrich von Eppendorff</i>	151	Morris's <i>The Earthly Paradise</i> ,	576
La Fontaine.....	195	Mosellanus, Petrus.....	487
Latham's, Robert G., <i>The Eng-</i>		Munday, Anthony.....	260
<i>lish Language</i>	89	Narcissa <i>Episode in Young's</i>	
Latrobe, J. H. B.....	455	<i>"Night Thoughts"</i> (H. W.	
Laud, William.....	603	O'CONNOR)	130
Lavedan's <i>Servir</i>	46	<i>National Intelligencer</i>	440
Leonardus Chiensis.....	151	— <i>Magazine</i>	451
LeRoux, Hugues.....	40	<i>Nature of Tragedy</i> (C. E. WHIT-	
L'Estrange's <i>Observer</i>	602	MORE)	341
Lexicography, German.....	151	<i>Neglected Mary Image</i>	556
Licensed ballads.....	281	<i>New England Weekly Gazette</i> ,	441
<i>Liebe durch Teufelskunst</i>	558	— <i>Version of the "Peregri-</i>	
Linck, Hieronymus.....	486	<i>nus"</i> (K. YOUNG).....	114
<i>Literary World</i>	450	— <i>World, The</i>	438
<i>Liturgical Influence in "The</i>		<i>New York Tribune</i>	442
<i>Dream of the Rood"</i> (H. R.		<i>Nineteenth Century</i>	451
PATCH)	233	Nolly, Emile.....	51
Loti, Pierre.....	32	<i>North American Review</i>	450
<i>Love Obtained by the Black</i>		<i>Notes on the Form of "The</i>	
<i>Arts</i>	558	<i>Dynasts"</i> (B. FAIRLEY)....	401
"Ludwig Article".....	442	<i>Novela regional</i>	78
Luther	482	Objective <i>Study of Syllabic</i>	
Macropedius	492	<i>Quantity in English Verse</i>	
Maerlant, Jacob van.....	550	(A. L. F. SNELL).....	416
Malherbe	194	O'CONNOR, H. W., <i>The Narcissa</i>	
Malmesbury, William of.....	524	<i>Episode in Young's "Night</i>	
		<i>Thoughts"</i>	130
		Oldcastle, Sir John.....	4
		<i>Orlando Furioso, Ariosto's</i>	225

	PAGE		PAGE
Parker, Martin,		Ring, betrothal —	536
261, 275, 280, 295, 301, 304		ROLLINS, H. E., <i>The Black-</i>	
Passion-Play	481	<i>Letter Broadside Ballad</i>	258
PATCH, H. R., <i>Liturgical Influ-</i>		<i>Roman d'Alexandre</i>	193
<i>ence in "The Dream of the</i>		— <i>militaire en France de</i>	
<i>Rood</i> ".....	233	<i>1870 à 1914 (A. SCHINZ)</i> ...	30
Patterson, W. M.....	200	<i>Rome, Bachelor of</i> —.....	556
Pembroke, Philip Earl of —		Ronsard	194
and Montgomery.....	599	Ruff, Jacob.....	479
Pereda, <i>The Influence of Con-</i>		<i>Russell's Magazine</i>	452
<i>servatism on the Art of</i>			
— (J. VAN HORNE).....	70	St. Agnes.....	562
Peregrinus, <i>A New Version of</i>		<i>Saturday Courier</i>	443
<i>the "—" (K. YOUNG)</i>	114	— <i>Evening Post</i>	449
Pfeilschmidt, Andreas.....	480	Saxon English.....	94
<i>Philadelphia Saturday Museum,</i>	438	SCHINZ, A., <i>Le Roman militaire</i>	
<i>Pisa, Clerk of</i> —.....	552	<i>en France de 1870 à 1914</i> ...	30
<i>Play-Publishing in Elizabethan</i>		Schöpfer, Jacob.....	492
<i>Times (H. R. SHIPHERD)</i>	580	Scottish ballads.....	393
Plays not literature.....	583	Serassi's <i>Vita di Torquato Tasso,</i>	14
Pléiade	194	<i>Shakespeare, Why did — create</i>	
<i>Poe-Griswold Controversy (K.</i>		<i>Falstaff (A. H. TOLMAN)</i> ...	1
<i>CAMPBELL)</i>	436	—'s influence on Churchill..	65
<i>Poe's Conchologist's First Book,</i>	454	—'s <i>Troilus and Cressida</i> ...	598
—'s <i>Literati</i>	459	SHIPHERD, H. R., <i>Play-Publish-</i>	
Poetry, effect of — explained..	108	<i>ing in Elizabethan Times</i> ...	580
Pope, Alexander.....	63	Simile	107
POUND, L., <i>The Ballad and the</i>		SNELL, A. L. F., <i>An Objective</i>	
<i>Dance</i>	360	<i>Study of Syllabic Quantity</i>	
Price, Laurence.....	261	<i>in English Verse</i>	416
<i>Prose Dialogue of the Common-</i>		<i>Southern Literary Messenger,</i>	
<i>wealth and the Restoration</i>		441, 444, 448	
(B. V. CRAWFORD).....	601	Souza, Robert de.....	200
Psichari, Ernest.....	54	<i>Speculum Historiale</i>	526
		— <i>Laicorum</i>	527
Quantity, syllabic, in English		Spencer, Herbert, and the <i>Rhet-</i>	
verse	416	<i>oricians (G. B. DENTON)</i>	89
		—'s <i>The Philosophy of Style,</i>	89
Racine	195	Spenser's <i>Faerie Queene</i>	225
Rapin	194	—'s <i>Imitations from Ariosto:</i>	
Rebhun's <i>Susanna</i>	471, 476	<i>Supplementary (A. H. GIL-</i>	
<i>Regional, novela</i> —.....	78	<i>BERT)</i>	225
Régnier, Henri de.....	197	<i>Spigel Historiae</i>	551
Repkau, Ecko von.....	530	Stationers' Company.....	281
<i>Restoration, The Prose Dialogue</i>		<i>Statue, The Young Man be-</i>	
<i>of the Commonwealth and</i>		<i>trothed to a — (P. F. BAUM),</i>	523
<i>the — (B. V. CRAWFORD)</i> ...	601	Stoa, Quintianus.....	481
Retté, A.....	199	Suggestive style.....	108
" <i>Revelations</i> " of Methodius:		<i>Susanna</i>	471, 476
<i>Corrections (C. D'EVELYN)</i> ..	112	Syllabic quantity in English	
<i>Rhetoricians, Herbert Spencer</i>		verse	416
<i>and the — (G. B. DENTON),</i>	89	Synecdoche	105

	PAGE		PAGE
Tasso, Goethe's.....	14	Waldis, Burkhard.....	476
Taylor, Walter.....	132	<i>Waverley Magazine</i>	451
Terrebasse, M. de.....	131	Webster's <i>The White Devil</i>	592
<i>Teufelskunst, Liebe durch</i> —..	558	Wentworth, Thomas	603
Texte, Joseph.....	135	Whately's, Richard, <i>Elements</i>	
TOLMAN, A. H., <i>Why did Shake-</i>		<i>of Rhetoric</i>	89
<i>speare create Falstaff?</i>	1	Whitman, Mrs.....	455
<i>Tragedy, The Nature of</i> — (C.		WHITMORE, C. E., <i>The Nature</i>	
E. WHITMORE).....	341	<i>of Tragedy</i>	341
<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>	598	Wickram	479
Tscharner, V. B. von.....	143	Wild Hunt	538
		William of Malmesbury.....	524
Van Horne, J., <i>The Influence</i>		Willis, N. P.....	442
<i>of Conservatism on the Art</i>		Wither, George	261, 291, 307
<i>of Pereda</i>	70	Woffington, Peg	140
Variot, Jean.....	47	<i>Wordsworth's Eye</i> (M. MEAD),	202
Venus statue.....	523, 531		
Verhaeren, E.....	200	Young, K., <i>A New Version of</i>	
Verlaine	195	<i>the "Peregrinus"</i>	114
<i>Vers libre</i> (M. M. DONDO)....	189	<i>Young Man betrothed to a</i>	
Verse, syllabic quantity in		<i>Statue</i> (P. F. BAUM).....	523
English —.....	416	<i>Young's "Night Thoughts," The</i>	
<i>Vie de Saint Léger</i>	192	<i>Narcissa Episode in</i> — (H.	
Vielé-Griffin	199	W. O'CONNOR).....	130
Vincent de Beauvais.....	526		
Virgin, miracles of the —, 523,	548	Zola, Emile.....	31
Vives, Juan Luiz.....	483	—'s <i>Débâcle</i>	35
<i>Voyage de Charlemagne</i>	192	Zyrl, Christian	480

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